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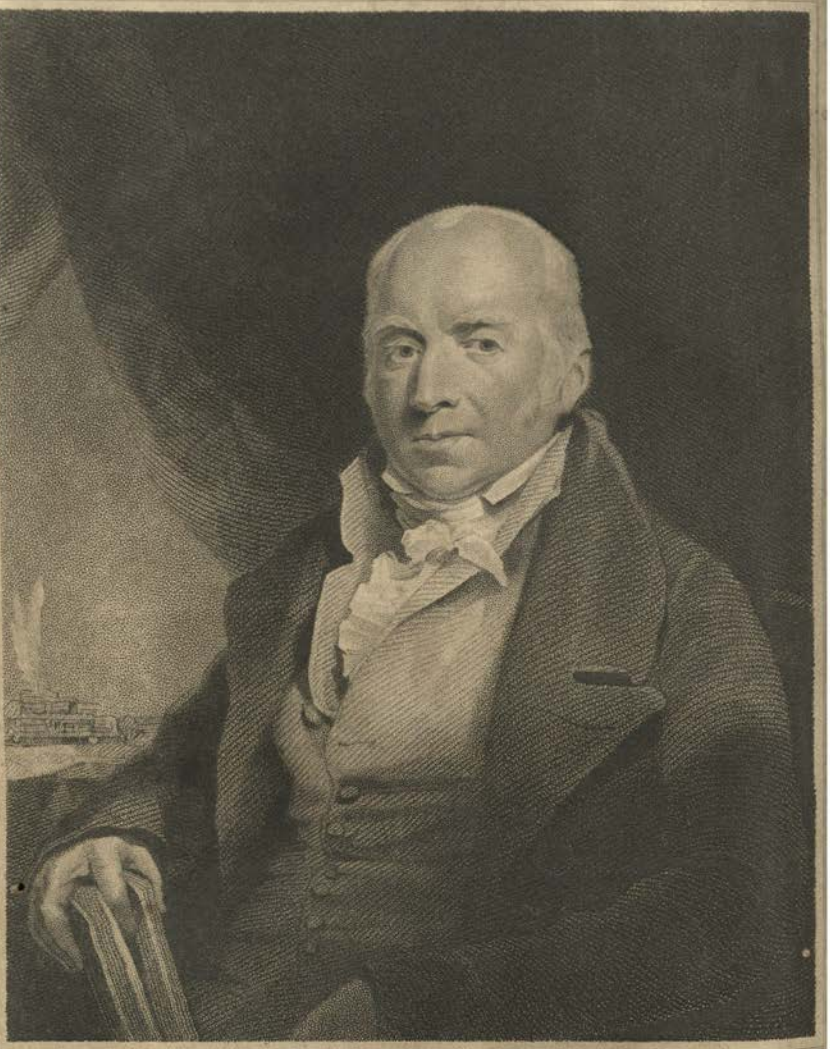

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Sir N. William Wraxall, Bart.

Published March 30th 1815, by T. Cadell & W. Davies, Strand, London.

HISTORICAL

MEMOIRS

OF

MY OWN TIME.

PART THE FIRST,

FROM 1772 TO 1780.

PART THE SECOND,

FROM JANUARY, 1781, TO MARCH, 1782.

PART THE THIRD,

FROM MARCH, 1782, TO MARCH, 1784.

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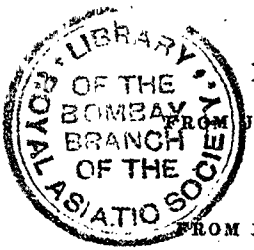

By Sir N. WILLIAM WRAXALL, Bart.

Igitur ubi Animus requievit, non fuit Consilium Socordia atque Desidia bonum Otium conterere; neque vero Agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus Officiis intentum, Ætatem agere. Sed a quo incepto Studio me Ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui Res gestas carptim, ut quæque Memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a Spe, Metu, Partibus Reipublicæ, Animus liber erat. SALLUST.

THIRD EDITION,

REVISED AND CORRECTED.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

W VV 622

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1818.

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John M'Creery, Printer,
Black Horse Court, London.

PREFACE.

HAVING been sent to the King's Bench Prison, in May, 1816, for a most unintentional Act of Inadvertence committed in the first Edition of these Memoirs, I immediately stopped the Sale, which has been suspended near two Years. During that Period of Time, I have endeavoured, by very attentively revising and correcting the present Edition, to avoid a similar Error. While making those Corrections, I have added a vast Variety of new Matter which suggested itself to me, and remodelled the whole Work.

I have prefixed to this Edition, my "Three Letters in Answer to the Re-

viewers." Not from the slightest Consideration or Respect for their calumnious Criticisms; but, as the best Vouchers that I can offer to Posterity, for my general Impartiality, Accuracy, and Veracity. To Posterity I look for my Reward, perfectly satisfied if I can secure their Approbation.

N. WM. WRAXALL.

Charlton, near Cheltenham,
2d May, 1818.

AN

ANSWER

TO THE

CALUMNIOUS MISREPRESENTATIONS

OF THE

"QUARTERLY REVIEW,"

THE

"BRITISH CRITIC,"

AND THE

"EDINBURGH REVIEW,"

CONTAINED IN THEIR

Observations

ON

SIR N. WILLIAM WRAXALL'S

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

HIS OWN TIME.

BY SIR N. W. WRAXALL, BART.

London;

1818.

ANSWER,

&c.

AFTER the very severe personal Attack made upon the Author of these "Memoirs," and upon the Work itself, by the Writers of the "Quarterly Review;"—an Attack in which they have been followed, though with somewhat diminished Asperity, by the "Bri-"tish Critic;"—it might appear like conscious Acquiescence, if I left it wholly without Reply. Yet, as I am intimately persuaded that no Panegyric can permanently elevate a mean Work, and that no Censures can long depress a Book of Merit, I should perhaps have left those Strictures to their own intrinsic Weight, if the Editors of the "Quarterly Review" had not wantonly made Sir John Macpherson, the Object of their illiberal and pointed Sarcasms. Independant of the high Character, the public Services,

the financial Resources, and recognized Disinterestedness, which Sir John displayed when Governor-General of Bengal;—Facts too well established in the Memory of his Countrymen, to stand in need of my Testimony;—I should have imagined, that if any Portions of the present Work could have challenged Respect, Sir John's Communications would have been entitled to it. Can they consider the Particulars given relative to the Emperor Leopold the Second; a Prince who was known to have honoured Sir John Macpherson with his Confidence and Friendship; as destitute of Interest? The Title of these Facts to Belief, is irresistible, and they develope the secret Policy, Feelings, as well as Character of that Sovereign. From what Information more authentic, can contemporary History be generally drawn? The Anecdote of His present Majesty and William, Duke of Cumberland, that of Hyder Ally, and many others, derived from the same Source, which are scattered over the two Volumes, speak for themselves. Contumelious Irony, and insulting Epithets, should be well weighed before they are applied; and when applied without obvious or apparent Reason, they lead us to suspect some con-

cealed Motives for their Adoption. Can any such have been offered and accepted in the Case before us? The World will judge for themselves. To have censured *me* with Severity, is explicable, perhaps deserved, in all Cases natural, and in the common Order of Things. But, it is more difficult to account on ordinary Principles, for the Fact of honorable Men exercising the Function of literary Censors, incapable, therefore of prostituting or selling their Suffrage; heaping contemptuous Expressions on a distinguished Individual, merely for having contributed some Passages to the Work under their Examination. When one reflects on these Circumstances, one is almost led to imagine that the Article in Question was made *for* them, not *by* them; and though it is impossible to form even a Conjecture of the Quarter from whence such acrimonious Comments could originate, yet is one tempted to exclaim with Faulconbridge in "King John," applying the Words to the literary Fathers of the "Quarterly Review,"

"Sir Robert might have eat his Part in me,
Upon Good Friday, and ne'er broke his Fast.——
—Sir Robert never holp to make this Leg."

The Charges made against myself, may be reduced to three; namely, my Want of *Ability*, and utter *Inaptitude* for executing the Work that I have undertaken; my *Immorality*, and lastly, my *Deviations from Truth*, sometimes resulting from gross Ignorance, sometimes destitute even of that Apology. Heavier Imputations can hardly be affixed on an Author. Let us see how they are sustained.

The "Quarterly Review," after stating that I have "egregiously mistaken the Amount of my Resources and of my Ability," compares me for Incapacity and Self-Importance, to "P. P. Clerk of this Parish," whose "Memoirs" furnish so much ludicrous Entertainment in the Works of *Pope:* while the "British Critic" characterizes the Book as "mere Gossip, and languid Imbecility." It would not become me to appreciate the Rank which my own Understanding holds in the Scale of Intellect: but, either the Public does not think so meanly of the "Historical Memoirs," and their Author, or they manifest a most incorrigible Obstinacy and Inattention to the friendly Admonitions reiterated by their literary Guides, who exert

every Endeavour to prevent their Readers from throwing away "Eighteen Shillings on a new Edition in Octavo, of the Daily Advertizer." Now I can assure these Gentlemen, that the first Edition of this imbecile Work, consisting of one Thousand Copies, was sold in thirty-three Days, between the 14th of April, and the 17th of May of the present Year; though the Price was, not *eighteen*, but, *six and twenty* Shillings. No Efforts of the Press could bring out a second Edition before the Middle of June: but, of that Edition, very nearly as many have been already sold. How are we to account for this Fact?—"Audacious Charges "against distinguished Persons,"—"Stories resting on no Basis of Truth or Probability,"—"flippant and offensive Reports,"—followed by "pompous Gossip, and inflated Trash;"—how could Men be found so weak as to purchase such a Compilation of Absurdity, Plagiarism, and Matter already better given in the *Annual Register*, or the *Court Calendar?* I leave the Solution of this pecuniary Enigma to the Gentlemen Reviewers, who will doubtless expose the Juggle that has evidently been practised on the Understand-

ings, and on the Pockets of the British Public.

Nor is it merely my Defect of natural Capacity, but, my utter Unacquaintance with the Sources, from which alone, authentic Materials for composing "Memoirs of my own "Time" could have been drawn, that disqualify me, as they assert, for so delicate a Task. "It is very clear," says the *Quarterly Review*, "that Sir Nathaniel was not "at all in the *Secret* of any Party, and the "Face of the political World was to him "like the Town Clock.—He saw the Hand "move, and heard the Bell strike; but, ob"served nothing of the Springs which im"pelled, and knew nothing of the Principles "that regulated the Machine." The "Bri"tish Critic" observes, "In Fact Sir Wm. "Wraxall is not qualified as the Author of "Historical Memoirs of my own Time. He "has not been behind the Curtain, and seen "the Wires of the Puppets worked. To "write Memoirs, so that they may form legi"timate Materials for History, it is necessary "for Men to be able to say, *Quorum Pars "magna fui.*" On reading these Animad-

versions, one is almost tempted to doubt whether the Reviewers had perused the Work, which they so severely criticize. It will not be disputed that I lived in daily and intimate Friendship with the late Lord Sackville, then Lord George Germain, who continued to be Secretary of State, down to January, 1782. From *Him* I surely *might* have known much of the *Secret* of the Time; and that I actually *did* know some Particulars not unimportant, may be seen in the "Memoirs" themselves. From the Duke of Dorset, who was appointed Embassador to the Court of Versailles, in December, 1783, and whose Confidence, as well as Correspondence I enjoyed during the whole Period of his Embassy, I might have derived similar Information. As I lived almost always in London, and attended the House of Commons regularly; unless I laboured under insurmountable Stupidity, I *must* have caught some Warmth from the Materials and Persons that I approached.

But, I differ on another Point, from the Reviewers. For, I think, that if I had been "in "the *Secret* of any Party;" if I had "been "behind the Curtain, and seen the Wires of

"the Puppets Worked;" if I had been officially entrusted with Facts or Documents of State, I could not have divulged them during the Life of George the Third. My very Ability to compose Memoirs of my own Time, would have constituted my Disqualification. Lord Clarendon, Burnet, Dodington, Horace Walpole, were all dead, before their Memoirs or Reminiscences were given to the World. I am, in my own Person, an Instance and a Proof of the Position that I here maintain. During the Years 1774 and 1775, I had the Honour to be employed most confidentially by the late Queen of Denmark, Caroline Matilda, who then resided in the Hanoverian Dominions, at the Castle of Zell. By that Princess I was repeatedly sent over to His present Majesty, charged with Dispatches of a very interesting Nature, with whose Contents I was intimately acquainted. So strong a Sense did the King entertain of my Services rendered to his Sister, that he was graciously pleased, through the Medium of Lord North himself, then First Minister, to send me a Present of a Thousand Guineas, accompanied with Assurances of Employment. Lord North delivered the Message to me at Bushy Park,

to which Place he honoured me with an Invitation for the express Purpose. That Nobleman knew from His Majesty's own Lips, the *Nature* of the Negotiation with which I had been entrusted by the Queen Matilda. Every Fact here enumerated, can be authenticated by Persons who are still living, some of whom are of very high Rank. But, though above forty Years have elapsed since the Decease of that amiable and unfortunate Princess, I have never alluded in any of my Publications, to the Negotiation in which I was consulted and employed by Her Majesty. Yet, if disclosed, it would excite great Interest;—for, it resembled in many Particulars, a Story of Romance; and according to the Principle laid down by the Reviewers, it would "form legitimate Ma-"terials for History." But, those worthy Gentlemen and I see Objects through opposite Ends of the Telescope.

I come next to the Charge of Immorality and Indecency, respecting which the "Bri-"tish Critic," after severely arraigning the Work on this Ground, says, "To the other "Sex, and the Youth of our own, it is a "sealed Book, on account of its gross Inde-

" cencies." It is to be regretted that the Reviewers should not have glanced at the Passages to which Allusion is thus made. Such general and sweeping Censures, without specifying any particular Stories or Parts, must be considered as very unfair. On what Foundation are they preferred? Is it on the Anecdote related of Marshal Saxe and Mademlle de Chantilly?—But, it will not be contended that in relating the Marshal's Conduct, I have spared the strongest Epithets of Abhorrence and Indignation, which are so justly excited, by his depraved Treatment of an unprotected Female. If it is meant to insinuate, that I convey improper Information to the other Sex, then, the Works of Shakspeare, Otway, and Congreve, must be interdicted; and still more, the Productions of Pope, of Swift, and of Prior. Nay, every Newspaper must be carefully removed: —for, they disclose far more, than can be found in my two Volumes. But, there remains still a minor Imputation, which the " Quarterly Review" qualifies with the Terms " of filthy and indecent Garbage." Probably They have in View, the Series of Facts mentioned after the Account given of Ferdinand the Fourth, King of Naples, which are il-

lustrative of Neapolitan and of French Manners. But, are these fastidious Critics aware, or are they ignorant, that in De Thou, Sully, Davila, and D'Aubigné, similar "Garbage" is found? Are not Smollett, Gibbon, and Hawkesworth, full of such Details? Sir John Dalrymple, by express Permission, nay, under the Sanction of His present Majesty, has published Letters far more exceptionable in Point of Delicacy, (as for Instance, the memorable Letter of Charles the Second, to his Sister, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, dated "Whithall, 27th Feb^{y}, 1669," relative to which, Dalrymple himself says, that "it could hardly have been expected from a "royal Hand,") than any Thing to be met with in my "Memoirs."

It remains to meet and to repel the Attack made on my Veracity: which Imputation, the "Quarterly Review" endeavours to sustain by selecting out of the two Volumes, about fourteen prominent Instances of Error, or as he denominates them, Falsity. That my Work is not exempt from many Mistakes, I readily admit: but, the Reviewers, while censuring me, should have been careful not to fall into the very Predicament which they

reprobate. Great Triumph is assumed, because I have named *the Duke of Dorset*, as having informed me of the Circumstance attending Lord Camden's being invested with the Order of the *Garter*. No doubt I erred in thinking that I received the Account from *the Duke*. But, even the Reviewers dare not assert that the Anecdote itself is false. They "never read," they say, "a more *impertinent* "Story." Impertinent Stories may however be true Stories. In fact, though the Duke of Dorset could not have related it to me, there are ten Persons now living, who know, and are ready to depose to its Truth. How, indeed, could I invent it? I did not even know that Lord Camden's Christian Names were *John Jeffereys*, except in Consequence of the King's Remark. Here then, though I was partially mistaken, I was radically accurate.

In another Assertion, namely that I met Mr. Pitt in Company with Mr. Rose, on his way to Paris, *at Antwerp*, in August, 1783, I have likewise erred. On appealing, as I did, to Mr. Rose himself, a few Weeks ago, for the Truth of the Fact, he wrote me, "I "was at Antwerp, in, or about the Month

" of August, 1783, with Lord Thurlow, on " a Tour through a Part of the Continent. " *Mr. Pitt was not with me;* but I met him, " I think, in October, at Paris, where he " went after a short Stay at Rheims."—It appears therefore that in this Matter likewise I fell into a partial Mistake. In all the other Instances brought to prove my Deviation from Fact, the Reviewers are either mistaken, or ignorant, or they substitute their own Narration as more worthy of Credit than mine, though without adducing any Proof. But, what shall we say to Men, who are so utterly unacquainted with the very Matters on which they presume to decide and to accuse, as to assert that " Robinson's counter- " signing, as *Secretary of the Treasury*, on the " Refusal of Lord Weymouth, *the Secretary* " *of State*, an Order for the Attack on Pon- " dicherry, in 1778, is *a perfect Impossibi-* " *lity?*"

Mr. Robinson, writing to Sir John Macpherson, from " Wyke House, Isleworth, " 23d May, 1800," in a Letter, which has been long since printed, expressly says, " My " Correspondence with the Nabob (of Arcot,) " shall be produced, if desired, which it fell

" to my lot *(though not within my Province,)*
" to carry on: as also, in Concert with the
" Chairman and Deputy Chairman, *as a*
" *Special Committee*, to write out *Orders* to
" the Governor and Council of Madras, for
" the Capture of Pondicherry, which was
" effected so expeditiously, *when His Ma-*
" *jesty's Secretary of State would not sign*
" *such Orders.*". I leave this Letter to be denied, or contradicted, by the Reviewers.*

With similar Boldness, but, with as ill Success, they pronounce on Mr. Fraser's presenting to King George the Second, when Under Secretary of State, a Paper for His Majesty's Signature:—" a Duty," say they, " which never *by any Chance*, could have " devolved on Mr. Fraser, or any other Per-" son in his Situation." What! Not in Case of the Secretary of State's Illness, or necessary Absence, or Dismission, or under pressing Circumstances, in Order to expedite the Dispatch of public Business? Do these Gentlemen Reviewers know or recollect, that on the 18th of December, 1783, this

* The printed Letter has been left with Messrs. Cadell and Davies, for general Inspection, ever since August, 1815. It still remains in their Possession.

same Mr. Fraser, and Mr. Nepean, (now Sir Evan,) *as Under Secretaries of State*, by Command of His present Majesty, brought and delivered up into the King's Hand, not merely Papers, but, the Seals of Lord North's and Mr. Fox's Departments, on their Dismission from Office? It is evident that the Editors of the "Quarterly Review," have either got out of their Depth, or have hookwinked their own Judgment, and modulated their own Opinions, in Submission to others.

After *garbling*, not citing, the Account that I have given of the late Lord Liverpool; and *omitting*, for Reasons which will be obvious to every Reader, some of the most discriminating Circumstances of that Nobleman's, ordinary Demeanour described by me; the "Quarterly Review" says, "In "this Character of Lord Liverpool, though "it may be in the main, tolerably correct, "there are some Errors, which prove that "Sir Nathaniel *had no personal Acquaint-* "*ance* with the Person whose Portrait he "draws. For Instance, nothing can be less "accurate than the Statement, that His Lord- "ship's Education was narrow, and that he

" was more read in Men, than in Books." I not only was known to Mr. Jenkinson with great Familiarity, from 1781 down to 1786, when he went up to the House of Peers; but I was in constant Habits of meeting and conversing with him. I have dined at his Country Seat, Addiscombe Place, near Croydon, in 1784; as, probably, the Dowager Countess of Liverpool, and the present Duchess of Dorset, who were both there, may remember. Even down to a much later Period of his Life, he continued to honour me with his Regard; and as late as 1797, he presented me, himself, in the Queen's Drawing Room at St. James's, to the Princess of Orange. So much for my " personal Ac- " quaintance" with the Earl of Liverpool. As to his " University Education," and his having " contiuued all his Life, what is call- " ed a *bookish* Man," which the Reviewers assert; I can only repeat, that though he might be " a classic Scholar," and might " have possessed a great Variety of reading," yet his whole Life, his Speeches in Parliament, and his Elevation, sufficiently prove, that " he had read Men more than Books."

If I do not descend to answer and refute

the other Instances adduced of pretended Error or Falsehood, it is because the Examples cited, are either in themselves of little Moment, or must rest on the Degree of Credibility due to the Reviewers, as opposed to my own Testimony. Let the Public decide between us. It is not of very material Consequence, whether "the Royal George" went down in the midst of *Portsmouth Harbour*, or at *Spithead*. Nor is it very important, whether Lord Bute sold his House in Berkeley Square to Lord Shelburne, *before* he inhabited it, or *afterwards*. The "Royal "George" perished in an Instant, by the Effect of fatal Negligence; and the Earl of Bute constructed the magnificent Mansion which was purchased by Lord Shelburne. These constitute the leading Facts in both Cases. There are other Passages, where the Reviewers have, either wilfully or unintentionally, misstated and misinterpreted my Meaning. I have never asserted, as they affect to suppose and to assume, that "*the* "*Cabinet* of 1801, considered Peace with "France as impolitic, unsafe, and unwise:", but, that *His Majesty* was known so to regard it; and therefore that "Lord Hawks-"bury affixed his Signature to the Articles,

"not only without *the King*'s Consent or "Approbation, but, without his Knowledge." The Difference between the two Statements is obvious.

The "Quarterly Review" arraigns severely the Details into which I have entered, when discussing the Characters or public Merits of eminent Men. "He seems to "consider it necessary," say they, "to write "a professed Review of the Manners, Mo- "rals, Talents, and *Res gestæ* of each. In "this Way, Lord North and Lord Sackville "are spread over forty Pages; and Pitt and "Fox have, each, near thirty to their re- "spective Shares." On reading this Charge, one is tempted almost to doubt whether it can be serious. Do not Memoirs necessarily include Biography in their Range? What constitutes the peculiar Charm of *Plutarch*, except this very Circumstance, that he enters minutely into the domestic and private Life, as well as into the official Acts, of his Heroes? Even *Suetonius*, a Writer of very inferior Merit in many Points of View, yet awakens Attention by the Anecdotes that he recounts of the Cæsars, because he conducts us into their Apartments, and renders

as familiar with them. De Thou and D'Aubigné descend to similar Details. Even Grammont, St. Simon, and Horace Walpole, interest us on the same Principle. If Fox and Pitt, if Lord North and Lord Sackville, if Burke and Dunning, do not challenge minute Investigation, who can deserve it? Lord Clarendon and Burnet are liable to the same Accusation, which constitutes indeed their greatest Claim to be read by Posterity. It will not, I hope, be said that I am comparing myself to these distinguished Writers, because, like *Trinculo* in "the Tempest," I attempt to "creep under their Gabardine," in Order to avoid the Storm. I only endeavor to justify my Attempt, by setting up their Precedent.

The "British Critic" is indeed at Variance on this Point, with the "Quarterly "Review;"—for, the former of these Publications, when speaking of "the Characters of "the principal political Leaders of the Day," adds, "these we esteem by far the best "Part of his Work." They retract, it is true, their Approbation in the next Sentence, by subjoining that the Characters "are "written in a loose, prolix, *wordy* Style."

But, can we annex any Value to the Praise, or any Importance to the Blame of Men, who arrogating to decide on literary Merit, are not even exempt from Errors of Orthography? Of Men who write *Vallois*, for Valois; *Luzinska* for Leczinska, *Malgrida* for Malagrida, *Haydue* for Heyduc, *Vintrimille* for Vintimille; and many others? I forbear to make any Comment on the Manner in which both these Reviews have mentioned the Prosecution commenced against me by Count Woronzow, for having inadvertently mentioned his Name in a Way hurtful to his Feelings;—a Circumstance which could not have arisen from any Intention to injure or offend, which I regret, and for which, as soon as I was apprized of it, I made him every becoming Apology. If Decency and Liberality of Mind did not restrain the Pens of these Critics, or moderate their virtuous Indignation, other Considerations might and ought to have imposed Limits on them. Are they aware, that by attempting through the Medium of the Press, to influence the public Mind, and to anticipate the supposed Judgment of a Court of criminal Law, on a Matter pending, and not yet come to hearing; *they* are guilty of

a far more heinous Offence, than the one which it is falsely affected to attribute to *me?* For, the Purity and Majesty of English Jurisprudence, discountenances, reprobates, and punishes, every Appeal to the Passions of the Multitude, as subversive of the first Principles of Equity and Justice.

Having now so far finished my Defence at the Bar of literary Criticism, I will candidly confess the inherent, indelible, and inexpiable Faults, which pervade every Page of the "Historical Memoirs," and of which I own myself culpable: nay, from which I principally claim for the Work, any Title to be read either by the present, or by the future Age. They are,

Its Freedom, Impartiality, and Truth.*

I am well aware that these Qualities never yet did recommend, and never will recommend, to the Favor of Princes, Ministers, or of the Great. They deprecate all Disclosures; hardly approving even Panegyric, unless restrained within cautious, humble, and guarded Limits. Party, and Party only, can in this Country, support the Man who

ventures to spurn these prudent Boundaries. But I have not secured that Protection. Though nine Years have scarcely elapsed since Pitt and Fox, both, paid the Debt to Nature; though the first Offices of the State, and the Benches in either House of Parliament, are still filled with their respective Enemies, Relatives, and Adherents; I have, (most imprudently I own,) spoken of them, as I would do of the Ministers of Queen Anne; of Lord Godolphin, and Lord Bolingbroke. So have I done of George the Third, as if I were writing of William the Third, or of Elizabeth: All the affectionate Veneration necessarily inspired by his Virtues, all the Admiration excited by the Rectitude of his Intentions, has not induced me to attempt to conceal or to deny, that almost from the Period of his Accession, down to the Termination of the American War, His present Majesty did not enjoy Popularity. He might have merited it, but he did not possess it. Where then, I would ask, can this Work find Protectors, except in those who respect *Truth* as the only Quality that can render History valuable? I well know that I have neither conciliated the Followers of Pitt, of Fox, or of Lord North. Of

Course, in the Spirit of Party, I can hope for no Asylum: I look beyond the present Generation for my Reward, namely, public Approval. That Hope, whether fallacious or not, has hitherto sustained me under literary and legal Attacks. It will animate me in the future Progress of these Memoirs; which, whatever may be their Errors or Defects, and whatever Treatment their Author may experience from the Age in which he lives, will, he confidently trusts, be favorably received by Posterity.

N. WILL^M. WRAXALL.

Charlton, near Cheltenham,
22d August, 1815.

I HAD scarcely finished my Answer to the "Quarterly Review" and "British Critic," when I find myself attacked by a still more formidable, because a more voluminous, and if possible, a more acrimonious Antagonist, in the Pages of the "Edinburgh "Review." Though, as coming after the two former, he can only glean the Field which they have reaped, and has only repeated the same Charges or Accusations which they had already preferred; yet having thought it necessary to bestow on my Work, in Order, as he says, "to expose its "Worthlessness," near two and forty Pages of his loyal and high principled Review, he claims from me a separate and appropriate Reply. He begins by animadverting on my Account of Catherine the Second. His Words are, speaking of the second Edition, "The Deaths of the Emperor Peter, of "Prince Ivan, of the supposed Princess Tar- "rakanoff, of the Grand Duchess the first "Wife of Paul, and indeed, that of the Prin- "cess of Wirtemberg, are still laid to the "Charge of the Empress. Such a Series of

" Murders, including that of a Husband, of " *a Boy*, and of three young Women, one " of whom was a Daughter in Law, has " not been charged on any Individual, at " least in the modern History of Europe."

Now, in Order to expose the Injustice and Falsity of the two first of these Accusations, namely, that of Peter the Third and of Ivan, (which latter Prince, though he was born in 1740, and killed by his Guards in 1764, the " Edinburgh Review" no doubt from Ignorance, denominates *a Boy,)* I have only to cite my own Account. No Man disputes that Catherine ascended or assumed the Russian Throne, by the Deposition of her Husband, which was followed, a few Days afterwards, by his Death. I have said, when mentioning him and Ivan, " Sir " Thomas Wroughton always spoke to me " of Catherine's Participation or Acquies- " cence in the Death of Peter the Third, " as *involuntary, reluctant,* and *the Result of* " *an insurmountable Necessity.* He even con- " sidered her *Knowledge* of the *Destruction* " of the unfortunate Emperor Ivan, who was " stabbed by his own Guards at Schlussel- " bourg in 1764, with a View to prevent his

" being liberated by Mirovitsch, as *exceed-*
" *ingly problematical.*" This is almost the only *Mention* that I have made either of one, or of the other of those Princes, throughout the whole Work; except that I elsewhere say, " Peter the Third disappeared in 1762, " as the unfortunate Emperor Ivan did in " 1764." What Reply can these worthy Scotch Reviewers set up, after such an Exposal of their calumnious Misrepresentation? Their Zeal to rescue Catherine's Memory from Imputation, even at the Expence of Truth, would indeed be ludicrous, if it did not excite Indignation. One would almost imagine that it was " the great Na-" poleon," or the virtuous Carnot, in whose Defence they had drawn their Pen. While I am speaking on this Subject, I will further add, that all the Information which I ever received at Petersburgh in 1774, when Ivan had been dead only ten Years, and Peter the Third, scarcely twelve; went to confirm Sir Thomas Wroughton's Opinion, of Catherine's Repugnance to sanction or permit any Violence being used towards the deposed Emperor, her Husband. She long refused, even with Tears, to authorize Measures of Rigour, and he fell a Victim to revolutionary military

Necessity, sustained by the Fears of the Conspirators who had placed Catherine on the Throne. She was only a passive Agent in the Business. Nor is it in any Manner proved that she was acquainted with Mirovitsch's Attempt to liberate Ivan. The Empress received the Intelligence of that tragical Event, while in public Company at Riga; and Opinions were greatly divided on the Subject, at the Time. But, whether she was guilty or innocent, *I* have no where given even an Opinion, throughout this whole Work. Yet, these constitute *two* out of the "Series of Murders," which "the Edinburgh Review" says, I have "laid to the Charge of the Empress."

Relative to the Death of the supposed Princess Tarrakanoff, it is not necessary for me to make any Defence, having only alluded briefly to Castera's Account of that Event, published in 1797; and having given at some Length, Sir John Dick's Explanation of his Share in the Transaction; leaving the Judgment to be formed respecting it, to the Reader. Far from aggravating Catherine's Culpability in the Part which *She* acted towards the Female in Question, I have rather

defended her Conduct. My Words are, " It " is even very difficult altogether to condemn " the Empress Catherine, for endeavouring " to get Possession of her Person." And I have stated my Reason for so thinking, namely, that Impostors were nearly as dangerous to a Czarina placed on the Throne of Muscovy by a Revolution, as a rightful Pretender to the Crown. " These Considera- " tions," I have added, " must, at least in a " political Point of View, *justify* Catherine " for taking Measures to prevent the Lady " in Question, from being made an Instru- " ment in the Hands of vindictive or am- " bitious Individuals, to accomplish their " Projects of Vengeance against herself." *I* have neither asserted nor denied, that the pretended Princess Tarrakanoff was drowned by the Waters of the Neva entering her Prison. Castera says that she did so perish. Sir John Dick admits that she died in Prison: but he asserts, her End was produced by Chagrin. Let the Reader judge between the two Accounts. And now I would calmly ask the " Edinburgh Reviewers," how they can so disgrace their own Characters and Profession, as to lend themselves to such

Attacks as these? Their own Feelings, and the public Condemnation, will amply avenge me, by exposing them to general Censure.

I come to the fourth Charge against me, that of the Death of the Grand Duchess, first Wife of Paul:—a Charge drawn up with elaborate Malevolence, and supported with no ordinary Degree of historical and critical Ability. "No Murder recorded in civilized "History," say the Edinburgh Reviewers, "approaches this. Paul is involved in it, as "much as his Mother: for it varies the Atro-"city very slightly, whether he acted from "Subserviency to the Empress, from Adop-"tion of her flagitious Policy, or from Re-"sentment at the supposed Gallantries of "his Wife."—They add, "To publish such "Stories lightly, is no small Offence."—Who, on perusing these Passages, would not be led to imagine, that I had now for the first Time revealed to the World, this Story; or at least first published it through the Medium of the Press? But, unfortunately for the Reviewers, as they themselves are obliged to admit, the whole Narration has been given in Print, eighteen Years ago, in French; a Language much more universally read than

English; printed at Paris, in 1797, immediately after the Empress Catherine's Decease, and circulated all over Europe. Paul had then newly ascended the Russian Throne, and scarcely twenty-one Years had elapsed since his first Wife's Death. Neither he, nor his Ministers, could be ignorant of the Existence of the Work in Question; and the Lapse of Time was not sufficiently great, to have carried off all the Individuals who might have elucidated the Nature of the Grand Duchess's End. Even *Levesque*, who mentions the Event, though more doubtfully, and in a Manner that leaves his own Opinion of it uncertain, published his Work in 1800. Yet Paul never attempted to answer these calumnious Misrepresentations, though he reigned down to 1801. It has been truly said that "an injudicious Friend "is the worst of Enemies.". The Edinburgh Reviewers stand in this Predicament. For, they must either be compelled to admit that Paul, knowing himself and the Empress his Mother to be innocent, yet calmly acquiesced in the Accusation; not participating the Anxiety manifested by his present Advocates, and utterly regardless of his Reputation; or they must be reduced to suppose

that he had Reasons for not stirring the Business of his first Consort's Death. I leave them to choose between the two Alternatives. They cannot pretend to believe that Paul, even though he had been actually implicated in the Grand Duchess's End, could have wanted venal and prostitute Pens to have undertaken his Defence. The historic, as well as the poetic Muse, frequently indeed succeeds best in Fiction. The Application of these Remarks will be easily made by the Edinburgh Reviewers.

Let us now advert to my own Account of the Event under Discussion. It is given on the Testimony of two Princes of Hesse Philipstahl who were at Vienna in 1778, and seemed to derive some Probability or Confirmation, from the Circumstance of the Person named as the Grand Duchess's Lover, being then resident in the Austrian Capital. But I have contented myself with relating the Story, without asserting that I believed the Empress or Paul to have committed the Act attributed to them. It is true that I have added, "When we contemplate the History "of the imperial Family of Russia, from the "Reign of Peter the First inclusive, down to

" the present Time, we shall find nothing in " the Story above related, either improbable " in itself, or inconsistent with the Measures " to which the Sovereigns of that Empire " have continually had Recourse, under simi- " lar Circumstances, in various Instances." Do not the Reviewers know that the Wife of the Czarowitz Alexis, only Son of Peter the Great, perished or disappeared in 1715, precisely like Wilhelmina, Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, *in Childbed*;—an Event which was produced by the ferocious Treatment of her Husband? She was in the Flower of Youth, beautiful, virtuous, and at least as much an Object of Compassion, as the first Wife of Paul. Did not Alexis himself disappear in 1719, under Circumstances which have no Parallel in modern History, except Philip the Second's Execution of Don Carlos? Contemplate the arbitrary Acts of barbarous Power, exercised under Elizabeth, Catherine's Predecessor; when Women of Quality, stript, were exposed to the Lash of the Executioner, and expired under the Punishment of the *Knout*, on a public Scaffold. They excite Horror, and may justify us in supposing that Events, which never could be credited, if the Scene lay

at Stockholm, at Berlin, or at Madrid, might possibly have been true at Petersburgh. If, nevertheless, I were called on to state my own Opinion respecting the Death of the Grand Duchess in Question, I owe it to my Love of Truth to say, that I believe it resulted from natural Causes, and was not accelerated by any Violence. But, as no Measures were ever adopted either by Catherine or by Paul, to disprove the Reports circulated under the former, and printed under the latter Sovereign, accusing them of having accelerated her End, the Subject must remain Matter of historical Doubt and Discussion.

It is a Duty incumbent on the "Edinburgh Reviewers," not merely as calling themselves impartial and honorable literary *Censors*, but, from Regard to their moral Character as *Men*; to explain on what Ground they have thought proper to accuse me of laying to Catherine's Charge, the last of this "Series of Murders." I mean, that of the Princess of Wirtemberg. They must either have done it from a systematic Sacrifice of Truth, to other Motives best known to themselves; or they never can have read the Remarks made by me on the Event in

Question:—for, my Opinion and Observations are altogether favorable to the Empress, and tend to acquit her of any Participation in that Princess's Death, even on the Supposition that it was not natural:—a Supposition which I by no Means sanction. That the illustrious and unfortunate Lady was confined in the Interior of Muscovy, for some asserted Errors of Conduct; that she there expired at the End of about eighteen Months; that her Body was refused to be delivered up to her Parents; that no *Procès verbal*, or authenticated Account of her Disorder and Decease, was ever published by the Court of Petersburgh, or of Stutgard; that injurious Reports respecting her End were circulated throughout Europe, and obtained considerable Belief even in this Country;—— on all these Points, there is no Difference of Opinion. They are universally admitted. Now, what have I said?—After stating the Suspicions entertained of Poison, or other Means having been resorted to, I add, "It "is natural to ask, Why did Catherine cause "the Princess to be imprisoned or poisoned? "Her Gallantries, however culpable or no-"torious they might be, yet constituted no "Crime against the Empress of Russia;

" who exhibited in her own Conduct, an " Example of Emancipation from all Re- " straint and Decorum on the Article of " Female Irregularities of Deportment."—— " In the Case of the two Emperors, Peter the " third and Ivan; as well as in the Instances " of the pretended Princess Tarrakanoff, and " of the first Grand Duchess of Russia; the " Motives for her Commission of a Crime, " by depriving them of Life, are obvious. " *But, none such appear in the Instance before* " *us.*"——What Answer can the Reviewers make to this Charge of wilful Misrepresentation and false Accusation, which I bring against them?

Having thus vindicated myself, as I trust, satisfactorily, from the five Imputations of the Edinburgh Reviewers, respecting the Empress of Russia, and retorted on themselves the calumnious Accusations with which they have loaded me; I will only add that I perfectly acquiesce in the Conclusion to which they come at last. They say, " The Probability seems to be, that this " Princess, at the Desire of her Husband, " for real or supposed Indiscretions, was re- " legated to a Provincial Prison, in a Coun-

" try where the secret Death of an illustrious " Prisoner, though really natural, might be " plausibly imputed to Assassination." That the present King of Wirtemberg proved to George the Third, by Documents and Papers the most authentic, that he had not any Knowledge of, or Participation in, his first Wife's Death, is incontestable. His Majesty, as I have stated, " after a full Inspec- " tion of them, became perfectly convinced " of his having had no Part in that dark and " melancholy Transaction." This Fact I have given on the Authority of a Gentleman who well knew, and had seen, those Proofs. He is the same Individual, whom the Edinburgh Reviewers contemptuously call my " Informer," and of whose interesting Recital they speak, as " a long and *very dull* Story." These Reviewers are inconsciously treading on very delicate Ground, and should be reminded of Hamlet's Advice to the Players, " not to say more than is set down for " them." " His Majesty's Reluctance and " Hesitation" to conclude the Union of the Prince of Wirtemberg with his eldest Daughter, to which I allude, probably arose only from parental Attachment. And, without having Recourse to any Supposition of Vio-

lence, we may easily conceive that the Decease of the first Princess might have been caused by her own Situation, shut up in a Muscovite Castle, deprived of her German Attendants, male and female, a Prey to Solitude and Chagrin. Such Circumstances are usually of themselves sufficient to abbreviate the Term of human Life.

I shall now endeavor with Calmness,—for, Truth is a powerful Buckler;—to repel some of the minor Calumnies or Distortions of Fact, in which the Reviewers indulge themselves. Joseph, King of Portugal, they represent me to have described, "as a drunken "old Moor." My Words are these. "In "his Cheeks he had a high scorbutic Hu- "mor, attributed commonly to Excesses of "Wine; though it might partly arise from "violent Exercise constantly taken under a "burning Sun. His Face, indeed, was "nearly as dusky as that of a Moor." With similar Regard to Veracity, these Gentlemen say, "Sir Nathaniel's *Hero*, among the So- "vereigns of the eighteenth Century, is "Louis the Fifteenth;"—an Assertion contradicted by the Memoirs under our Review. I have, indeed, spoken of *a Portion* of

Louis's Reign, with the warmest Approbation. So I should have done, when writing of the "'*Quinquennium Neronis*," the first five Years of Nero, if I had composed the History of that execrable Monster's Life. But, I have depictured Louis the Fifteenth during the *concluding* Years of his Government, as a Man sunk in every degrading Gratification or Pursuit. After stating that "Louis, during his last Years, excites Dis-"gust, unqualified by any Sentiment of Pity, "or of Respect;" I add, "His Death, which "took Place under these Circumstances, "was hailed by the French, as the Æra of "their Liberation from a Yoke equally dis-"graceful and severe." Reviewers, who thus unblushingly trample on Truth, must set little Value on Character, or must hold the Understandings of Mankind in great Contempt. I have elsewhere said, when mentioning Louis the Fifteenth, "Unquestion-"ably, the four last Years of his Reign, "were passed in a Manner worthy of Sarda-"napalus; oblivious of his public Duties, "insensible to national Glory, and lost to "every Sentiment of private Virtue, or even "of Decorum." And this is the King whom I am represented as having made my "Hero."

Nor have they less misrepresented my Assertion, that "Louis covered himself and "his Country with Military Glory." The Paragraph in Question is as follows. "If "Louis the Fifteenth, by the Peace of 1736, "acquired Lorrain for France; he covered "himself and his Country with Military "Glory *during the War that commenced in* "1741, *on the Death of the Emperor Charles* "*the Sixth.*" Can this Fact be disputed? Did not Marshal Saxe defeat us and our Allies, in repeated Battles; overrun the whole Netherlands, break down the Dutch Barrier, and threaten the total Overthrow of the Balance of Europe, as much as France did in 1793? At the Peace of Aix la Chapelle, in 1748, Louis had attained to a very elevated Point of Glory, cemented by Moderation. But, he lived to become the Scorn of his Subjects and of Europe. While, however, I thus expose the wanton or inexcusable Inattention to Fact in the Reviewers, I must with equal Candour admit that they have pointed out an Error in this part of my Work, which I gladly correct. It is where I have said that Henry the Fourth conquered the Counties of *Bourg* and Bresse. It should have been *Bugey* and Bresse. The

Mistake was a mere Inadvertence of the Pen, but I return them Thanks for having noticed it. Indeed, no Details, however minute, seem to have been considered by them as beneath their Notice, which might, as they hoped, cover me with Confusion. I would nevertheless ask, on what Ground they presume to assert that I have made "a horrible "Insinuation against the late Stadtholder." *Where*, and *what* is it? They are bound to speak out. I have said of the Prince of Orange, that, "after arriving in this Coun- "try, under a dark political Cloud, and after "residing here many Years, without acquir- "ing the public Esteem, or redeeming his "public Character, he finally and precipi- "tately quitted England under a still darker "Cloud." What "horrible Insinuation" is couched under these words? "*Honi soit*, "*qui mal y pense.*"

I pass over the coarse and vulgar Accusations of "Nastiness, Obscenity, Impurity," &c. these being, as I before observed, only "the Gleanings of the Field;" and having already answered their Predecessors, the "Quarterly Review" and "British Critic," on all these Points. But, I cannot allow their

Animadversions on the Fate of John and Cornelius de Witt, to remain unnoticed. If the Edinburgh Reviewers had looked into the *second* Edition of My Work, which lay before them; they would there have seen, that in order to guard against malignant Representations respecting the Death of the two de Witts, which, I was sensible, might be made, from the brief manner in which I had alluded to their tragical End; I have said, "Van Berkel merited the Fate which "*unjustly befel the two de Witts*, and only "escaped it by the inert and incapable Con-"duct of the Stadtholder." Yet, this is the Passage, for which the Reviewers assert, "I "should be punished by the general Exe-"cration of Mankind," as exhibiting "Symp-"toms of unmanly Ferocity," and "degrad-"ing the English Language into a Vehicle "of cowardly and sanguinary Maxims." Perhaps, however, I ought not to be surprized at this exquisite Sensibility of the Edinburgh Reviewers, when engaged in the pious Office of rescuing from Odium, the name of *Van Berkel;* an Enemy of England and of the House of Orange, devoted to the Interests of France and of America. He was a natural and proper Object of *their*

Admiration, in Proportion as he excites opposite Sensations in every loyal or patriotic Bosom.

Whether *Thiebault* or I are most in the right, as to the *Cause* of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic's Dismission from the Prussian Service, is a Matter of very little Moment. I am most ready to allow and believe, that *Thiebault*, who resided long at Berlin, is more likely to have given the true Reason, than myself. The unworthy Motives assumed by the Reviewers, as dictating the Manner in which I have mentioned the Regent; followed by their Comments on my Assertion, that "His present Majesty resembles "the Antonines, in the leading Features of "his Character;"—such Animadversions neither admit Reply, nor merit an Answer. But, when they pass the Line of Truth, in Order to oppress me; I shall always flatly contradict them. How are they warranted in asserting that I have said, "George the "Second *eagerly* told the Countess of Yar-"mouth, *as a Piece of good News*, 'Freddy "is dead.'" My Account runs thus. "His "Majesty had just sat down to Play, and "was engaged at Cards, when a Page, dis-

"patched from Leicester House, arrived, "bringing Information that the Prince was "no more. He received the Intelligence "*without testifying either Emotion or Sur-* "*prize.* Then rising, he crossed the Room "to Lady Yarmouth's Table, who was like- "wise occupied at Play; and leaning over "her Chair said to her in a low Tone of "Voice, in German, 'Fritz is dode.' Freddy "is dead. Having communicated it to Her, "he instantly withdrew."—Where is the *Eagerness,* or the *Joy, as at a Piece of good News,* here manifested? It exists only in the Pages of these Scotch *Munckhausens,* who exaggerate or twist every Fact to their own Purposes. That George the Second did not particularly love his eldest Son, nor perhaps had any great Reason so to do, is Matter of Notoriety: but, he did not disgrace himself before Spectators, by displaying his Satisfaction at the Prince's Decease. How hard run must these Reviewers have been, to find *real* Matter of Censure or of Condemnation in my Work, when they are reduced to *invent* Circumstances, to suit the humiliating Task which they have undertaken to perform!

But, we come now to "the Coalition of "Lord North and Fox;" a subject on which their Feelings overcoming their Judgment, have carried them far beyond the sober Bounds of Reason or of Decorum. While they accuse me of "atrociously libelling the "Memory of Lord North;" because I assign Motives to justify or palliate his Union with Fox, drawn from, Prudence, and from his political Situation at the Close of the American War; they suppose me to be animated by "Rancour" against Mr. Fox, which Sentiment they ingeniously ascribe to "Syco-"phancy." To whom, I would ask, could I make my Court in 1815, by descending systematically to calumniate Mr. Fox, if I were capable of such Baseness? It would be thrown away on the King, and no Man doubts that it would awaken Sentiments of mingled Aversion and Resentment in the Bosom of the Regent. Lord Liverpool, I fancy, will not suspect me of meaning to render myself acceptable to *him*, by traducing an illustrious Adversary, long since dead. "But, it requires," say the Reviewers, "the fullest Operation of the composing "Power of Contempt, to preserve the Mind "from some Indignation, at reading in such

"a Writer as this, that Mr. Fox's Claims on "Office, were unsustained by moral Quali- "ties." Did these Gentlemen never hear the Answer of Father O'Leary to the Bishop of Waterford, when discussing the Doctrine of Purgatory? "Your Lordship," said he, "may go *farther*, and fare *worse*." I have spoken of Mr. Fox, as I thought of him, with Admiration, but, with Freedom; and I believe, even his Friends admit, with Candour and Impartiality, though I generally differed from him on political Subjects, and peculiarly disapproved of the Part that he took after the Commencement of the French Revolution.

It is, however, only by unfairly selecting a few detached Words of a long Sentence, and reasoning on so fallacious a Basis, calculated for low Purposes of Deception, that the Reviewers can pretend even to accuse me of diminishing Mr. Fox's Claim to moral Esteem and Approbation. I regret the Necessity of citing from my own Work, but it is necessary to my Honour, to expose the malignant and uncandid Nature of the Attacks made on me. In summing up Mr. Fox's Character, I have said, "If Energy of

" Mind, Enlargement of Views, Firmness of
" Character, Amenity of Manners, Acquaint-
" ance with foreign Courts and Languages,
" Facility in conducting Business, and pro-
" digious intellectual Powers, combining
" Eloquence, Application, as well as Dis-
" cernment;——if these Endowments are
" considered as forming an incontestable
" Claim to public Employment, *unsustained*
" *by moral Qualities, or by Property;*' we
" must condemn the Sentence of Exclusion
" passed upon him. Those Persons on the
" other Hand, who consider all Talent, how-
" ever eminent, as radically defective, unless
" *sustained by Decorum, and a Regard for*
" *Opinion;* as well as all who prefer *So-*
" *briety of Conduct, Regularity of Deport-*
" *ment, and the Virtues of private Life,*
" above any Ability which Nature can be-
" stow on Man;——lastly, all who regard
" Judgment, *under the Controul of strict*
" *Principle,* as the most indispensable Re-
" quisite of a Minister, to whom the public
" Honour and Felicity are in some Measure
" necessarily entrusted;——such Persons
" will probably hesitate before they decide
" too hastily, on the Degree of Censure or
" of Commendation, which the King's Con-

" duct towards Fox, ought to excite in our " Minds." Now, after perusing this Description, any unprejudiced Mind may pass Sentence. Let it be remembered too, that the Portrait here drawn, is not the Mr. Fox of *Fifty*, such as we remember him, residing at St. Anne's Hill, a married Man, leading a domestic Life, in the Bosom of Letters and Researches of Taste: but, it is Mr. Fox at *thirty-two*, as he was in 1781, living in St. James's Street, close to Brookes's; and still devoted to those Gratifications by which he had impaired his Health, ruined his Fortune, and diminished his brilliant Reputation.

The Reviewers dilate with a Sort of Exultation, on the Circumstances of Mr. Fox's having passed three Nights, at Lord Rockingham's House, armed, during the Riots of June, 1780; and on his having collared one of the Rioters, whom he brought Prisoner to Grosvenor Square. No Man ever questioned his Attachment to the Head of his own Party, or his Abhorrence of the Excesses of a ferocious Mob, which manifested as much Antipathy to the Members of Opposition, as to the Government. But, the Ques-

tion is, Did Mr. Fox, "when pressed in the "House of Commons, to co-operate for the "Extrication of the Capital, lend any Sup- "port to Administration in that Moment of "national Distress," as Burke did?—I shall not descend to answer the Accusation of "slandering Lord Effingham," or "insinua- "ting that the Opposition were connected "with the Rioters;" because, only determined Malignity can lay such absurd Imputations to my Charge, after perusing the Passages where those Subjects are mentioned in the Memoirs. On General Fitzpatrick, I am necessitated to say a few Words, though reluctantly, as I am charged with "False- "hood," in speaking of the Decay of his Talents, previous to his Decease. The last Time that I ever met that distinguished Person in Company, was, one Morning, at Cholmondeley House, a very short Time before his Death; when, not only his Faculties, but, even his Articulation seemed to me to have sustained a Diminution, or a Shock; though probably, as *Prior* said of Charles, Earl of Dorset, he might still "drivel better "Sense, than other Men spoke." Dining at the same House, either on that Day, or soon afterwards, and mention being accidentally

made of General Fitzpatrick; some Decline of his intellectual Fire and Vigor of Mind, seemed to be generally admitted by all present. But, even on a Supposition that I erred in so imagining, how do I deserve to have it asserted, that "I seek a disgraceful "Popularity, by exposing the Decay of Men "of Genius, to make Sport for the Rabble"? The Reviewers ought to be well remunerated for these Sacrifices of Decorum, Truth, and Character. I have spoken of General Fitzpatrick, with Delicacy and Concern. Does Johnson, "seek disgraceful Popularity, or "make Sport for the Rabble," when in his Translation of the tenth Satire of Juvenal, he observes,

"From Marlbro's Eyes the Tears of Dotage flow,
And Swift expires a Driv'ler, and a Show"

I leave Dr. Musgrave's Information and Evidence, to its own intrinsic Weight; only reminding the Reviewers, that when they rashly, as well as ignorantly assert, that "the Tale was patronized by no one, in, or "out of Parliament, with the single Excep-"tion of the unscrupulous *Junius*," they probably have never read *Wilkes*'s Letter to the Electors of Aylesbury, dated "Paris, 22d

" October, 1764;" or the memorable " North " Briton," No. 45. Whether either, or both these Productions, constitute Authority, I will not venture to say: but they unquestionably tend to corroborate Ross Mackay's Account of the Venality of Parliament in 1763. Anxious as I am to take Leave of my Scotch Accusers, I must yet notice the Manner in which they inculpate my Mention of the calumnious Reports respecting Lord Shelburne's having purchased into the Funds, previous to the Peace of 1783. If there be a Part of these Memoirs, in which, contrary to my ordinary Practice, I have used the greatest Caution; leaning throughout the whole Narration, to a Disbelief of the Act imputed, and attributing the Report itself, to " the active Malignity of the First Minis- " ter's Enemies," it is on the Point in Question. I have even cited Mr. Pitt's Speech in the House of Commons, of the 21st February, 1783, in which he alluded to " the Arts " of Defamation adopted by Lord Shel- " burne's Opponents, for the Purpose of " degrading him in the national Estimation." At the same time, Truth compelled me to add, that " either He subsequently altered " his Opinion, or his Actions contradicted

"his Professions." And who, I would ask, were Lord Shelburne's most inveterate Enemies, whose Arts Mr. Pitt characterized as "deserving his Scorn?" Were they not the Adherents of Mr. Fox? Did these well informed Reviewers never hear of a Periodical Paper called "The Jesuit," which appeared during Lord Shelburne's Administration, in 1782? And are they so ignorant as not to know who was its principal Author? Let the Reviewers peruse the Speeches of Burke, and of Lee, then Solicitor General, pronounced in Parliament, between July, 1782, and March, 1783. It seems impossible for Language to accumulate more severe moral Charges, than they respectively heaped upon the first Lord of the Treasury. Lee described him "as deficient in Probity, Integrity, and every estimable Quality." And am I now, in 1815, to be held up to universal Reprobation, for only mentioning that injurious Reports were circulated relative to the Earl of Shelburne? If History be sunk so low, and if Reviewers are with Impunity, from their Retreat on the Banks of the Firth of Forth, or hid in the *Wyndes* of Edinburgh, to exhaust their impotent Rage on any Man who presumes to write with Freedom, on

public Men and public Events, it is Time to have done with historical Research.

"Frange leves Calamos, et scinde, Thalia, Libellos!"

Only one Word more on this Subject. "It "would not be fit," say the Reviewers, "to "lay open the Circumstances which occa- "sioned the political Difference of Lord "Shelburne and Mr. Pitt, for so trifling a "Purpose, as that of confuting Sir N. Wrax- "all." Yet, as two and thirty Years have now elapsed since it took Place, one should have thought, the Secret might have safely been divulged, especially as it would tend altogether to rescue Lord Shelburne's public Character from any possible Misrepresentation. But, it seems, Mr. Pitt did not confer the Marquisate of Lansdown on that Nobleman; which Title, we are now told, "was "requested and obtained directly from the "King, by the Duke of Rutland, on his ac- "cepting the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland." I do not presume to contradict this Affirmation of the Reviewers; simply remarking, that if the Duke of Rutland could thus dispose of the highest Honours of the Crown, without the Participation or Intervention of the first Minister, in Favour of a Person with

whom he was at Variance, or with whom, at least, he had a "political Difference;" the Duke was more powerful than the first Lord of the Treasury. But, there occurs another apparent Difficulty respecting it:—for, the Duke of Rutland went over to Dublin, early in March, 1783, whereas Lord Shelburne was not raised to the Marquisate, before the End of the following November. I leave these little Knots to be untied by the Reviewers.

For all the insulting personal Abuse with which they have honoured me, for the Reflections on what they are pleased to denominate my "public Morality," for the generous Solicitude that they demonstrate to prevent the Mischief which must arise to Society, from the Diffusion of a Work so malignant, immoral, and licentious, as the "Historical Memoirs," I thank the Edinburgh Reviewers. Their List of "Gallicisms, Scotticisms, Hibernicisms, Barbarisms, Vulgarisms, incoherent Metaphors, bad English, and absolute Nonsense," to be found in the Work; and which they kindly point out to the World, as literary Rocks and Quicksands, to be avoided by succeeding Writers; claim the public Gra-

titude. There is great Philanthropy in such disinterested Attention to prevent so pernicious a Book, *of which two Thousand have been already sold*, from penetrating any further, and corrupting the whole Inhabitants of the United Kingdom. I trust, the "Society for the Suppression of Vice," will notice as becomes them, these generous Efforts of Men, who can have no Motive except virtuous Indignation, to propel their Endeavours; and who find the Reward of their Labours, in their own conscious Rectitude. Such Men are rare on this Side of the Tweed, and should be encouraged, wherever they are found. Yet, with their Zeal, it would be as well, if they mixed a little Knowledge and Moderation. For Instance, when, towards the Conclusion of their Philippic, speaking of me, they say, "He is so "perfectly regardless of Truth, that we are "convinced, there is not a *single Anecdote* "in the Book, which can be safely believed "on his Testimony," they compel me to stand on my Defence. Not a single Anecdote! What! not the Account given of Lord Sackville's Reception of the News of the Surrender of the British Army, at York Town!—The Earl of Glandore, and Mr. Herbert of Muckruss, his two Sons in Law, as

well as Lord Walsingham, who were all present, are still alive, and could contradict it, if not true.* Do the Reviewers mean to doubt my having sent the first Intelligence overland to India, of the Peace of 1783; for not doing which, the late Lord Sydney, then Secretary of State, narrowly escaped, as I know, being called on to make his Defence in the House of Peers?—Will these Gentlemen venture to question my Account of Sir Fletcher Norton's Elevation to the Peerage by Lord Rockingham; and of his kissing the King's Hand at the Queen's Drawing Room, on his being raised to that Dignity? Which of the numerous Particulars recounted, of George the Third, of Lord North, or of Mr. Pitt, do they presume to deny? Is it the King's Interview and Conversation with Lord George Germain, previous to his being created a Viscount; or is it the Story of Sir Eyre Coote's red Ribband, which covered Fox with no little Ridicule, in November, 1783, just before the Fall of the "*Coalition*"? This Pyrrhonism is excessive. The most determined Sceptic might believe *something* out of such a Mass of Anecdote, between

* Since this Answer was composed, I have lost the first and the last of those three old Friends.

1772 and 1784, as are contained in the "Historical Memoirs."

The Contradictions and conflicting Opinions of these "same learned Thebans," the Reviewers, form not the least ridiculous Feature of their Criticisms; and prove that, though they have all been "screwed up to the sticking Place," namely *extinguishing the Work*, yet they differ *toto Cœlo*, on the main Points of their Judgment. For Instance, the "British Critic" says, (Page 27) "The Materials of his *Second* Part, are much superior "to those of the *first*." Now hear the "Edinburgh Review," (Page 188.) "On the "whole, it must be owned that the Part of "the Book which relates to the *Continent*, "is much more tolerable than that which regards *England*." Again, upon the Subject of Mr. Fox, the "Quarterly" and the "Edinburgh," are, (as might indeed be expected,) completely opposed to each other. The first of these worthy Reviews says, "The Friends "of the late Mr. Fox, will allege that Sir "Nathaniel has been unjust to that eminent "Man: but *we* think that on this delicate "Subject, the Opinion of Sir N. is not only "sincere, but, *justified by the Circumstances*

"*of Mr. Fox's Life.*" After very warmly inveighing against that great Statesman, for "the Mischief of his public Conduct, and his "Sacrifices to Ambition," they add, "We "say nothing of his Conduct in latter Times. "On that Subject we confess, we ourselves "could scarcely write impartially. But, "with Regard to the Transactions that Sir "N. Wraxall relates, we must do him the "Justice to say, that we think his Bias "against the Politics of Mr. Fox, is not "only *just* and *reasonable;* but, that similar "Sentiments are common to the great Ma-"jority of Mankind." (See Quart. Review, Pages 206 and 207.) These Opinions are Wormwood to the Advocates of Fox, who indignantly exclaim, "To apply such Lan-"guage as Sir Nathaniel applies to Mr. Fox, "is, indeed, to libel all his eminent Contem-"poraries; and through them, the Age and "Nation of which they were the Ornaments." Their pious Rage, excited by the Comments which I have made upon their great Idol, makes them strike at Random, and heap upon me at once Accusations of *Sycophancy* and of *Falsity*, blended with *Rancour*, which entitle me at once to their *Indignation* and their *Contempt*. (See "Edinburgh Review,"

Pages 204—206, and 207.) But, it would lead me too far, if I were to attempt to point out the Inconsistencies of Men, who seem to be agreed only on one Point, that of earning the Reward of their virulent Attack on the Book, and on its Author.

All the Thunders of the Scottish Vatican are concentred in their concluding Sentence, which, though long, yet as containing the Quintessence of their critical Acumen, and displaying a Specimen of impartial literary Justice, I must transcribe. Speaking of the Work before us, they say, "By the disgust-"ing or indecent Character of his private "Anecdotes; by his Belief in Stories, which "were always incredible; by his Attempt to "perpetuate Weaknesses, which ought to be "forgotten; by the shameless Profligacy, or "atrocious Criminality of the Acts, which he "imputes coolly and groundlessly to public "Men, with no other Distinction than that "inspired by a pretty constant, though not "a very judicious Attention, to the Wishes "of the powerful; he has done his utmost "to blacken the Character of his Age and "Country, to extinguish all Confidence in "political Honesty, and thus to destroy that

"public Esteem, which is the only outward "Reward of those who do not court royal "Favour." Why, what a nefarious Book must this be! It ought to be burnt by the common Hangman, opposite the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, under the immediate Direction of the Scotch Reviewers, habited as Spanish Inquisitors. The "Essay on Woman," fell short of it in Indecency. Aretine and Machiavel were not so subversive of public Morality. Boccace, La Rochefoucault, or Brantome, could not compete in Profligacy with such a Work. John Knox himself, their own Countryman, in his holy Rage, against the Whore of Babylon, against Popery and Monarchy, scarcely surpassed the Virulence of these Reviewers. Methinks I behold them, perched on the sacred Mausoleum of David Hume, from the Summit of the Calton Hill, darting their *black* Lightnings on my devoted Head! I am nevertheless, I assure them, unappalled and undismayed. These are not the Arrows of *Teucer*: they are the imbecile and harmless Darts of *Priam*. "*Telum imbelle, sine Ictu*," which inflict no Wound, and leave no Cicatrice. The Rumbling of *their* Thunder, only reminds us of the brazen-hoofed Horses of

Salmoneus, and never can imitate the Bolts of Jove.

But, let me calmly ask these worthy Guardians of the Chastity and Purity of the British Press, what is their Object in thus letting loose their Rage on me? Is it in the Hope or Expectation of at once *putting down the Book*, and extinguishing it under Invectives? Do they fancy that the English People will give them Credit for immaculate Criticism, and for unbought Censure? Or do they consider themselves as the Dictators of Literature,

"Knights of the Polar Star, by Learning placed,
"To shine the Cynosure of British Taste"?

If these are their Expectations, I trust, they will be speedily undeceived, and they egregiously mistake the Limits of their Power.

"Non illis Imperium Calamo!"

Neither their Praise nor their Satire can operate beyond the Moment, unless it be sustained by Truth, Candour, and Impartiality. In the violent, as well as indecent Attack which they have now made, we trace the inherent Proof of some foul Interference. Else,

how shall we account for the " Quarterly " and Edinburgh Reviews" forming a literary *Coalition*, like that so famous political Union of 1783, which, as they may remember, covered both Parties with Disgrace and Shame? It is time however that I should take final leave of these Reviewers, which I do by parodying the Words of *Sterne*, addressed to the venerable Doctors of the Sorbonne, when he hopes that they rested well after their Consultation. I trust in like Manner, that the Conductors of the " Edinburgh Re-" view," will receive from the Public, *the merited Reward* of their laborious and malevolent Attack on a Work, which, however great or numerous, as I admit, may be its Defects, is characterized in every Page, by Qualities vainly to be sought in *their* Productions; namely, Loyalty to the Sovereign, Detestation of French Principles, Abhorrence of Bonaparte and all his fallen Jacobin Gang, Attachment to the Crown, and Reverence for the British Constitution.

N. WILLIAM WRAXALL.

Charlton, near Cheltenham,
Wednesday, 6th September, 1815.

A SECOND

ANSWER

TO

THE CALUMNIOUS ATTACKS

OF THE

"EDINBURGH REVIEW."

By SIR N. W. WRAXALL, BART.

London:

1818.

A

SECOND ANSWER,

&c.

Paris, No. 21, Quai Voltaire,
27th January, 1816.

WHEN I last answered the Attack of the "Quarterly Review;"—for, I held the "Brit-"ish Critic" in too much Contempt, to have ever given that Publication any separate Reply; nor should I probably have attempted to repel the Calumnies of the "Quarterly "Review," if the unprovoked, and apparently inexplicable Abuse directed against Sir John Macpherson, had not roused me; ——I confidently believed, the Editors of that Review, could never notice it. So strong is the internal Evidence of the Article "having been made *for* them, not *by* "them;" and so palpably is the Demonstration of this disgraceful Fact, impressed on every Page, that its ostensible Authors had no Shelter from public Shame, except in

Silence. Hid, and in some Measure lost in the Immensity of the English Metropolis; terrified at the Idea of my *disclosing the Means* which had been used to engage their Services; and the Name of the Person employed;—in the Lapse of near five Months, they have exhibited no Sign of Life. Not so the "Edinburgh Review." Though London might conceal the Disgrace of the "Quarterly," no *Wynde* of the "ancient Capital" of Scotland, could be found dark enough to shield from the Sneers and Contempt of their Countrymen, these *Munckhausens* of the North. We may easily perceive how they wrythe and twist under the Chastisement inflicted on them, and how deeply they feel the Application of the "Metaphors," which they affect to despise. Sir Fretful Plagiary did not betray more Distress, nor smile more ruefully, than does the "idle Advocate," who, generously extending his Shield over his Associates in Humiliation, "throws away an Hour" in exposing the Errors of my Work. In that short Space of Time he has, as he asserts, actually *written* an Article containing above fourteen small, closely printed Pages, nearly equalling in Magnitude my "Answer," which

certainly cost me some Days to compose: indeed, the Article cannot be *perused* in an Hour, nor *copied* in six Hours. Why, his Countryman, the "Admirable Creighton," never wrote with such Facility, as this "idle "Advocate;" and Justus Lipsius's Work, of which Tristram Shandy says, that "they "should have wiped it up, and said no more "about it," cannot be placed in any Competition with the Production before us. If, however, I cannot rival him in Rapidity of Composition, I trust that I shall exceed him in the more essential Branches of Solidity, Truth, and every Quality that can enforce Conviction on an unprejudiced Mind.

After this short Exordium, I will endeavour, with all the Brevity of which the Subject is susceptible;—for, my first Object is a wide Circulation;——to answer pointedly the Accusations and Calumnies either repeated or invented in this "Edinburgh Re-"view;" not even omitting the Personalities, which, in Violation of Liberality or Decency, have been introduced into it. And in Order to fix the Writer to his "Charges," I will take the Series as he has enumerated

them, beginning with those to which he says "I have made no Answer." They amount to six in Number, if, after all, such Allegations can deserve to be entitled *Charges*, or are susceptible of any specific Reply.

The first is, that "I impute Cowardice to "Louis the Sixteenth."

The second, that "I accuse Mr. Pitt, Mr. "Fox, and Mr. Burke, of being ready to "bring Lord North to the Block."

The third, that "I accuse Lord North of "having coalesced with Mr. Fox, from "*prudential* Motives."

The fourth, (if it means any thing,) arraigns me for attributing to Lord Thurlow, the Reply which he made to His Majesty, when the King entertained Ideas of visiting his Hanoverian Dominions.

The fifth and sixth form a complicated Charge; namely, that I first "impute to "the King, Duplicity to his Ministers;" and next, that "I excuse or approve his "Conduct."

These heavy Accusations, the "idle Ad"vocate" says, "are all passed over in pro-

"found and prudent Silence." I will endeavour at least to remove that Ground of Censure.

To the *first* Charge, I reply that I never did impute *Cowardice* to Louis the Sixteenth. I have indeed said that, "his personal Courage was problematical, and that "he did not comport himself with the "Serenity and Self-possession of Charles "the First, and Mary, Queen of Scots, "when laying down their Heads on the "Block." But, so far have I been from endeavouring to prove that he was a Coward, I add, (after remarking on the Nature of the Guillotine, as "bereaving Death of all its "Grace and Dignity,") "I have likewise "seen and read very strong Attestations to "the Firmness displayed by the King of "France, in his last Moments." Nay, I have produced one Proof addressed to the Duke of Dorset, which declares that he died, "with the most heroic Courage." His "Attempt to resist or impede the Executioners," to which I allude, might, and probably did arise from other Motives and Feelings than personal Fear. Even Marie Antoinette turned pale at Sight of the Guil-

lotine. And, after all, what Sort of a Charge is this?—The Courage of Louis the Fifteenth, nay, of Louis the Fourteenth, was problematical. So was that of Charles the Second, and even of James the Second: while Charles the First and William the Third manifested the greatest Intrepidity in the Field. I retract not one Word, nor recede from one Expression that I have used, relative to Louis the 16th. Let the Edinburgh Reviewers make the most of it.

To the *second* Charge I answer, that both *Fox* and *Burke* did many Times menace Lord North with the Scaffold, between 1779 and 1782. If any Man can doubt it, he has only to read "Woodfall's Parliamentary "Register." But I have no where said that Mr. *Pitt*, though he expressed his Abhorrence of the American War, and of the Administration who conducted it, threatened the First Minister with the Block. These Scotch Reviewers mingle Truth with Falsehood; but it is easy to detect and expose their Arts of Deception.

I adhere to, and I maintain the Justice of every Word or Sentiment which constitutes

the Object of the *third* Charge; namely, that "Lord North's Junction with the Party "which had so long opposed him, has al- "ways appeared to me to admit of much "more Palliation, than the Conduct of Fox "and his Adherents." These are my Ex- "pressions, when speaking of the "Coali- "tion." (See Page 310—312, second Volume of the "Memoirs," second Edition. Or Pages 308 and 309, of the third Volume of the third Edition.) Unquestionably, in my Opinion, Lord North acted with *Prudence*, in meeting Fox's Overtures for a Reconciliation and Union. I do not say that he acted with Magnanimity or Elevation of Mind.

Without being affected in the smallest Degree by the Comments of the Edinburgh Reviewers, I believe on good Authority, that Lord Thurlow made the Answer to His Majesty, commemorated at Page 332 of the second Volume of the "Memoirs;" and at Page 353 of the third Volume of the Work, in the present Edition; which forms their *fourth* Accusation.

I deny that *I* attribute to His Majesty, "Duplicity towards his Ministers." Let the World judge. My Words are, (Page 464 of

the second Volume, of the second Edition; or Page 596 of the third Volume of the third Edition;) "There were nevertheless, "it must be admitted, *many Individuals* "who thought that the royal Disapproba- "tion should have been earlier signified; "and who *inclined to accuse* the King of "something like Duplicity or Deception, in "his Treatment of Administration." But, I fully admit that His Majesty's Line of Action is by me *exculpated* and *justified*, for the Reasons assigned; which Conduct of the King I approve at this Time, as much as I did in 1783. I think I cannot give a more specific Answer to the *fifth* and *sixth* Points. The Reviewers must now confess that I do not "stand mute on my Arraign- "ment."

Having met and silenced these minor Objects of impotent and malignant Accusation, I come to the great Charge respecting Dr. Musgrave's Assertion, that "the Princess "Dowager of Wales and Lord Bute received "Money from the French Court, for aiding "to effect the Peace." The "Edinburgh "Review," with that Audacity which commonly accompanies, and sometimes shelters, Ignorance, rashly ventured in their *first*

Criticism on the " Memoirs," to say that " the Tale was patronized by no one, in or " out of Parliament, with the single Excep- " tion of the unscrupulous *Junius.*" And now, when I have exposed their Unacquaintance with Wilkes's Letter to the Electors of Aylesbury, as well as their Inattention to the " North Briton," No. 45.; what is their Reply?——Do they venture to impugn or to deny those Corroborations? No—— They say, " We are disposed by *Charity*, " to leave him undisputed Possession of " Wilkes's Address to the Electors of Ayles- " bury. It is absolutely *his best historical* " *Authority.*" ——— What more authentic Testimony or Proof can well be produced in Confirmation of any public Fact, than a Letter written by a Member of the very Parliament accused by him of Venality; dated in 1764, the Year subsequent to the Peace in Question; addressed to his own Constituents; printed and circulated at the Time, throughout the Kingdom? Such a Document outweighs twenty Pages of vulgar Abuse. The "idle Advocate" would do well to remember that *Charity* begins at home. He and his Associates will stand in need of much Indulgence for their De-

viations from Liberality, Truth, and Decorum.

The Public might with Reason censure me, if I obtruded my own private Affairs on their Notice, while repelling the Calumnies thrown on my literary Character. Nor can it be necessary for me to give any Answer to the scurrilous Personalities which the Reviewers obscurely sustain by Allusions to "Benfield's Ledger," the "Memoirs of "Ossian," or the Stories of "six Members "of the House of Commons sent to that As-"sembly, by the fair or fraudulent Creditors "of the Nabob of the Carnatic." But, when they presume to assert, that "in a judicial "Examination," (no doubt, before the Carnatic Commissioners,) "I *pretty intelligibly* "assigned the Interest of those Creditors, "as the Motive of my Vote against the "India Bill, on the 1st of December, 1783," the Reviewers, or their Informers, are guilty of *a gross Violation of Truth*. It is indeed the Engine to which they systematically have Recourse, and by which alone they can attempt to colour their next Charge; namely, that when I say, "the Consciousness of all "India being subjected to the *rapacious*

" *Hands* of Fox's Adherents, by no Means " tended to tranquillize the public Mind," I mean to throw a Stigma on " the Com- " missioners for Indian Affairs, Lord Fitz- " william, the late Lord Dartmouth, the " late Lord Guildford, and the late Lord " Minto." Unfortunately for the Edinburgh Reviewers, they have mistaken *the Time* when my Observation is made, which was in *November*, 1783, whereas the Commissioners above mentioned were not then *in Existence;* the " East India Bill" in which they were named, not having even passed the House of Commons before the 9th. of *December*. It now remains therefore for these worthy and candid, but, ignorant Reviewers, to explain, how I could by Possibility mean to assert or to imply, that Commissioners who were not themselves yet appointed, had nevertheless already " promised or filled up " the first Employments in India." My Remark applies to the personal Promises or Engagements made by *Administration*, previous to the Passage of the " East India Bill" through the lower House. This impotent Attempt to mislead, and to implicate the little Passions of human Nature in the Cause of Calumny, by naming four Noblemen *of*

high and unspotted Character, as the Objects of my Animadversion, will only revert on its Authors. The Public will judge between them and me.

In the *first* Criticism of my Work, the Reviewers accused me of "making Louis "the 15th my *Hero*," and of asserting that he "had covered himself with Glory." When I exposed the Falsehood of this Imputation, by Citations from the Book itself, proving the direct contrary; instead of confessing their Fault, and asking Pardon for such shameful Misrepresentation, what do they *now* say?——"We hurry over small Matters. "He said that Louis the 15th *had covered* "*himself with Glory*. This we thought the "Height of Ridicule, till Sir N. employed "two Pages of what he calls his Answer, to "prove it,—which we think more ridiculous "still." And is this their Excuse for a wanton Perversion of Truth, when sitting in Judgment on a literary Work, after being exposed in all their Deformity, as twisting every Fact to their own Purposes? With similar Audacity they *invent*, where they cannot *find*, Subject for Accusation. I had already proved, by quoting my own Words,

that I never represented the King of Portugal, "as a drunken old Moor." They now assert that I have said, "He had a Face "carbuncled by hard Drinking." *Where*, in *what Page*, are these Words, or any synonymous Expressions to be found? The Facility which, *Hamlet* says, accompanies the Act of violating Truth, may tempt these systematic *Munckhausens* to have Recourse to the Expedient: but they may be assured it will eventually cover them with Shame. Though slow, the Verdict of the Public will overtake them. My *Erudition* informs me, and will prove to them before the Close of 1816, that

"Raro antecedentem Scelestum
"Deseruit Pede *Pœna* claudo."

But, we come now to what they denominate "higher Matter:"—for, these Men see nothing in created Nature, so *high* as their Idol. They employ two long Pages in demanding Proof that "Fox refused to lend "any personal Support to Government "during the Riots of *June*, 1780, though "Burke in the House of Commons loudly "expressed his Wish for Unanimity." What Proof would they have?—I was not then in Parliament, myself, not having been elected

till *September* of that Year. I cannot therefore assert it from my own Recollection. And if I could have done it, they would dispute my Accuracy or Veracity. The Fact is now of near thirty-six Years ago. Witnesses, therefore, such as the Reviewers call for, are not to be found every Day. But, Burke's more pronounced and unequivocal Support given to Government on that trying Occasion, was Matter of Notoriety at the Time. It grew out of the Characters of the two Individuals, which were most dissimilar, though then fighting under the same Banner. I have remarked it, when delineating the Character of Burke. Speaking of him and of Fox, ("Memoirs," Vol. 2d, Pages 39 and 40, of the second Edition; or Pages 280 and 281, of the second Volume of the third Edition,) I observe that "Even in their nearest "Approximations, there were always essen-"tial and striking Distinctions between the "two Opposition Leaders." The Case in Question was one of them. In 1793, they diverged with inconceivable Violence, in opposite Directions, never more to be reunited. And what was the *Cause* of that Separation? Was it not because Burke "lent his per-"sonal Support to Government," against

Insurrection, Jacobinism, Regicide, and Anarchy; all which Fox took under his Protection, though he denominated them Liberty? This is my Answer to the Reviewers.

They return to the Charge of my having, as they unfairly assert, declared that "Mr. "Fox's Claims to Office, were unsustained "by moral Qualities." I cannot more completely answer or refute that Mis-Statement, than I have already done in my last Reply: a Mis-Statement, "only calculated for low "Purposes of Deception." The Reviewers are pleased to denominate my Justification, "a Hubble-bubble of Words, with which "they do not chuse to encumber their "Pages." I adhere fully to my Opinion of Mr. Fox, as contained in that "Hubble-"bubble of Words;" and if they were his enlightened Friends, instead of his servile Admirers, they would be satisfied with the Terms in which I have spoken of him. I have nothing to retract or to alter in the Character that I have drawn of Fox: It is impartial, just, and candid; neither dictated by Flattery, nor tinctured in any Feature by Enmity. I respect myself too much, to lend my Pen to the base Degradation of Party,

or to the vile Arts of Misrepresentation. The only Recommendation of my Work, is its Truth.

As little have I to retract any Part of my Remarks on General Fitzpatrick, and the Explanation that I gave on the Subject; except to put the Reviewers right, when, with their accustomed Regard to Truth, they make me "*admit* that I might have erred" in supposing his mental Powers to have sustained some Diminution in Brilliancy before his Decease. I made no such *Admission*. My Words are, "But, even *on a Supposi-* "*tion that I erred* in so imagining, how do "I deserve to have it asserted, that I seek a "disgraceful Popularity, by exposing the "Decay of Men of Genius, to make Sport "for the Rabble?" The Reviewers ought to know that an Hypothesis is not an Admission. Every Writer to the Signet can tell them that Fact.

I leave the "idle Advocate" and his Associates, to the undisturbed Enjoyment of any Triumph that they may decree to themselves, for their labored Hypercriticism on my Explanation relative to the De Witts and Van

Berkel. I hope it may console them for the Mortifications to which they must submit, from all those who appreciate the Value of moral Character.

There exists not the slightest Contradiction between my Assertion, that "George "the Second considered his Son's Recovery, "if it should take Place, as an Object of "*the utmost Regret*;" and his nevertheless communicating the Intelligence of Frederic's Decease, to Lady Yarmouth, "without tes- "tifying either Emotion or Surprize." The Reviewers affect to suppose, that a Man may not regard an Event as in itself, under certain Points of View, rather beneficial than calamitous, without *eagerly* divulging, *as a* "*Piece of good News*," the Accomplishment of that Event: but, as I observed in my former Answer, "the King did not disgrace "himself before Spectators, by displaying "his Satisfaction at the Prince's Decease."

If the Edinburgh Reviewers display equal Ignorance and Incapacity in their *legal* Characters, as Advocates at the Bar of the Court of Session, as they have demonstrated in their *literary* Capacity, by their Attacks on

my Work, their Clients may be justly considered as Objects of Compassion. Never could this Observation have been more forcibly exemplified, than in their Defence of the Earl of Shelburne. While relating the Circumstances that accompanied his Resignation as First Minister, in February, 1783, I could not pass over in Silence, the injurious Reports circulated relative to that Nobleman;—Reports, which Mr. Pitt characterized in Parliament, as "the Arts of Defa-" mation, adopted by Lord Shelburne's Op-" ponents, and as deserving his Scorn:"—Reports propagated by Fox's Followers, and which were not long afterwards, (as was commonly supposed,) embodied, if I may use the Expression, by General Burgoyne, in his Comedy of "the Heiress," where not only "Allscrip" forms the principal Character; but, as we all remember, the very *Scenery* was rendered subservient to the same Effect. I believe, if my Memory does not fail me, General Fitzpatrick wrote the Prologue to this dramatic Piece, which was supported on the Shoulders of *the Party*.

Now let us see the Justification of Lord

Shelburne, set up by the Reviewers. After their usual Preface of Invective against myself, for having presumed even to mention the Existence of such Reports, they add, speaking of me, "His Logic is on a Level "with his Morals. Because Mr. Burke "and Mr. Lee perhaps abused the Liberty "of Debate in 1782, in general Invective "against Lord Shelburne, this Writer thinks "himself at Liberty to impute to him, with-"out Proof, a particular Crime of the basest "Character. They, in all the Intemperance "of Invective which the Heat of Debate "may excuse, abstained from any Allusion "to a specific Accusation. The natural "Inference is, that even in that heated and "disturbed State of Mind, they disbelieved "all such Accusations."

Who would not suppose, on reading this Defence, that Fox's, Burke's, and Lee's Speeches in the House of Commons, above alluded to, were made *subsequent* to the Imputations thrown on Lord Shelburne? No doubt, the Reviewers so thought, by producing them on the present Occasion, as negative Attestations in Favor of that Nobleman. And what will the World think of,

these ignorant Advocates, when the Truth is, that, the three violent Harangues in Question, were all pronounced between the *6th, and the 11th of July*, 1782;—whereas the pretended Purchases in the Funds, were not, and could not have been made before *November*, or *December*, 1782, or *January*, 1783, previous to the Conclusion of Peace? So that Lord Shelburne's Innocence is to result from the Silence of his Enemies respecting a Fact, which could not have been even contemplated by him, or by them, till several Months after the Speeches were delivered.

——"O Medici, mediam pertundite Venam!"

Unfortunate Lord Shelburne, to have met with such Defenders! All the Abuse which they heap on me, is Kindness, compared with such Exculpation. Pope somewhere exclaims,

"Bless'd be the Gods for what they took away,
And what they left me!"

I have only to hope from Providence, that whoever are my Friends, the Edinburgh Reviewers may always remain my Enemies.

I come now to the "five Russian Murders;" an Article of Accusation against me so prominent and so laboured in their *first* Criticism on my Memoirs, on which the *present* Article exhibits a new Proof of shameless Tergiversation. I will cite their own Words, which must constitute the most severe Chastisement, to Men not lost to the Value of Character. Last *August*, after enumerating "the Deaths of the Emperor "Peter, of Prince Ivan, of the supposed "Princess Tarrakanoff, of the Grand Duchess the first Wife of Paul, and that of "the Princess of Wirtemberg;" they add, "Such a Series of Murders, including that "of a Husband, of *a Boy*, (which Boy was "twenty-four Years old,) and of three young "Women, one of whom was a Daughter in "Law, has not been charged on any Individual, at least in the modern History of "Europe." And *now*, what is their Language?—"*We were far from blaming him* "*for having, in common with Europe, attri-* "*buted to that Princess, a Participation in* "*the Murders of her Husband, of Ivan, and* "*of the supposed Princess Tarrakanoff.*"—By what Logic will the Reviewers reconcile these Contradictions?

Relative to the Death of the Grand Duchess, and that of the Princess of Wirtemberg, I have not a Word to alter in my Account of those Events: but, when the Reviewers add, "Count Woronzow offered, "*as we read in the Newspapers*, to desist "from the Prosecution against our Author, "if the latter would name the Agent of the "Court of Wirtemberg," I must flatly contradict this supposed Fact, as *wholly destitute of Truth, or of any Foundation.* I have not the least Reluctance or Hesitation to repeat, as I now do for the third Time in Print, that I regret having very inadvertently mentioned Count Woronzow's Name, in a Manner painful or injurious to his Feelings. But, the Duke de Sorrentino, of whom Lord Blaney expressed himself in the most severe Terms, was contented to receive an Apology from him, only a few Weeks ago, in the Court of King's Bench, upon Lord Blaney's expressing his Concern and Sorrow for the Offence.

I have still to notice one more gross Deviation from Fact on the part of the Reviewers:—a Deviation which must have been intentional, unless they never read my

"Answer" to their Calumnies, which they so severely criticize. They asserted in their *first* Review of my Work, that "not a single "Anecdote contained in it, could be be- "lieved on my Testimony." When I cited various specific Facts, and called on them to contradict me if they dared; what is their Reply?—"We only said that *we thought it* "*safest* to believe nothing, merely because he "says it. And in this he evidently concurs: "for, he in this very Place enumerates the "*few trust-worthy Passages* of his Book, "*which are all attested by other Witnesses*, "and may therefore undoubtedly be believed, "notwithstanding the negative Power of his "Testimony."—But, besides the *particular* Circumstances to which I referred, I added, "Which of the *numerous Particulars* "re- "counted of *George the Third*, of *Lord* "*North*, or of *Mr. Pitt*, do they presume "to deny?"—Here was a *sweeping* Challenge thrown out to the Reviewers, comprehending probably *fourscore* or more Anecdotes, scattered through the two Volumes, *not attested by other Witnesses*.—Really, the "idle Ad- "vocate" and his Associates, must either hold the Understanding of their Readers in great Contempt, or can set little Value on

the Opinions of Mankind, when they thus wantonly sacrifice Truth, Impartiality, and every Quality that can render them estimable as Men and as Reviewers, to the Gratification of unworthy Feelings. Their Conduct will carry with it, its own Punishment.

It cannot be expected that I should attempt to answer the vulgar Reflections which they make on the *Sale* of my Work, when in one Place they say, "It is no sort of Wonder "that with such Allurements, his Sale should "have rivalled that of the *Jockey Club*, or "the *Crimes of Cabinets*:" while elsewhere they observe, alluding to the *Number* sold, "In almost any former Period, St. Giles's "would have polled more than *two Thou*-"*sand*." They conclude with an Epigram; which, though ascribed to a "young Gen-"tleman of Oxford," smells strongly of the *North Loch*. I have only one Remark to make upon it, namely, that as it accuses me of *misdating* Facts, I will venture to defy both *Oxford* and *Edinburgh*, though both are Seats of Learning, to point out *four* Errors of that Nature in my two Volumes, which contain twelve Hundred Pages. Now here I have afforded Subject at once of Occupa-

tion and of Triumph to the Reviewers, if they mean or dare to abide by their own Accusation. If they are silent, let them look to it. Guilt and Shame find their only Refuge in Silence.

I have now answered every Charge made against me, without omitting, as far as I am able, even the slightest Insinuation contained in the "Edinburgh Review." Those worthy Gentlemen, towards the Conclusion, say, "We hope not again to be obliged to "notice this Writer. But we shall think "Ourselves bound to *watch* him." As I have in this Answer, given them some Subject on which to exercise their wholesome *Vigilance;* after such a Promise made to the Public, there can be no doubt of our hearing again soon from them. Besides, since the eighteenth of June last, that day of Humiliation and Dismay to all worthy *Jacobins*, the Edinburgh Reviewers have probably more Leisure, and less Occupation for their precious Time. I have been assured from respectable Authority, that the *Number* of their loyal *Review*, in which they did me the Honor first to notice and to criticize my "Memoirs," was considerably delayed on Account of the Propriety and Necessity of can-

celling and finally suppressing, a long elaborate Article written in Favour of the Corsico-Imperial Dynasty, which the unfortunate Battle of Waterloo ruined for ever. In the preceding *Number*, they had displayed their indecent Joy and ridiculous Logic, in Favour of the Ephemeral Success of the Corsican; thus judiciously preparing the public Mind, as they hoped, for his permanent Resumption of Power. But, as that "Blessing "of a better Time," that "*Auspicium melioris Ævi*," to the unspeakable Regret of all his faithful Followers on both Sides of the Tweed, is now removed to a Rock in the other Hemisphere; and as his Memoirs, which, we are told, he is composing, cannot be yet ready for the Revision of his literary Friends; I trust, the Scottish Reviewers will lower themselves to my Level. If they do not, they will fall in the public Estimation, even below the Level of the Writers of the "Quarterly Review," who never threatened to *watch* me. With the Expression of this Sentiment, and expecting to see it accomplished by the Time I reach London, a few Weeks hence, I take my Leave for the present, of the Edinburgh Reviewers.

N. WILL^M. WRAXALL.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

MY OWN TIME.

PART THE FIRST.

HAVING long meditated to compose some account of the national Events which I have witnessed during a part of my life, I have postponed the publication of the work, till nearly all those persons of whom I must have occasion to speak, were removed from the scene. In fact, with the exception of a very small number of individuals, respecting whom I have been silent; scarcely any of the leading Characters now survive, who supported or opposed Lord North, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Shelburne, or the *Coalition* Administration. The lapse of more than thirty years, has removed every objection of that nature; and the respect that I owe to myself, has impelled

me to dismiss from my mind, before I undertook these Memoirs, every species of bias or partiality. Not that in point of fact, it is possible to speak of recent or contemporary Events, as we would write of transactions that took place under Henry the Eighth; nor to contemplate Fox and Pitt with the degree of abstraction and composure, that we regard Marius and Sylla. Such philosophic superiority to passion, whatever pretensions to it may be set up, is not given to man.

Tacitus, who wrote of events recently performed, and who intended, as he himself assures us, if he should attain to old age, to compose the history of his own Times; says, "Dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam, "a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam, nunquam abnuerim: sed incorrup-"tam fidem professis, nec amore quisquam, "et sine odio dicendus est." If I might be allowed to parody the words of that Historian, applying them to myself, I should say,—"That "I consider George the Third, notwithstanding the many errors of his government, "which were most conspicuous in the beginning of his reign, as one of the best Princes "who ever governed this Country, I readily

" confess: neither will I deny that I cannot
" recall the idea of Lord North, unconnected
" with those engaging or elevated qualities
" of mind and of deportment, which conci-
" liated the affection even of his opponents.
" Lastly, that Lord Sackville honoured me
" with his friendship, and shewed me marks
" of confidence, I avow with pride and satis-
" faction." But, none of these circumstances
" would induce me to conceal or to mis-
" represent any fact, for the purpose of
" drawing a veil over their errors or poli-
" tical transgressions." I may further add, that never having held any Employment, under any Minister, at any period of my life, I neither can be accused of divulging official secrets; nor am I linked, in however humble a degree, with any of those Ephemeral Administrations, which took place with such rapidity between 1782 and 1784. I relate the events that I either witnessed, or of which I received the accounts from respectable testimony. How imperfect a light, these sources of information enable me to throw on the Period of Time that I attempt to elucidate, I am fully aware: but, unfortunately, those individuals who, from their rank

and situation, know most of the secrets of affairs, will generally divulge least; and even imperfect light is preferable to darkness.

I cannot indeed boast of having enjoyed the same advantage as Dr. *Burnet*, Bishop of Salisbury, who, in the "History of his "own Time," says, "I have had the honour "to be admitted to much free conversation "with five of our Sovereigns, King Charles "the Second, King James the Second, King "William the Third, Queen Mary, and "Queen Anne." But, between 1780 and 1794, during all which period I sat in Parliament, I possessed many means and opportunities of knowing various facts, from high authority; and, in some instances, of ascertaining their secret causes or springs. Lord *Clarendon* and *Burnet* are almost the only persons of eminence among us, who have commemorated with ability, and at considerable length, the events of their own Time. We cannot sufficiently regret that *Prior* did not live to accomplish the same task. That he meditated and intended it, is evident from the words of his Epitaph in Westminster Abbey:—

"*Sui Temporis Historiam meditanti,*
Paulatim obrepens Febris
Operis simul et Vitæ, Filum abrupit.
Sep. 18. An. Dom. 1721."

The work which was actually published under that name in 1740, contained only some of the materials collected for it. If we consider the official or diplomatic situations that *Prior,* occupied from 1690 down to 1714; and the intimate friendship in which he lived with Charles, Earl of Dorset, the Lord Treasurer Harley, and Lord Bolingbroke; we must admit that few men could have been more competent to elucidate the Reigns of William the Third, and of Anne.

How much have we to lament that the late Mr. Fox, during his long exclusion from public Employment, between 1790 and 1805, while in retirement at St. Anne's Hill, did not occupy himself in composing the History of his own Time! Aspiring, as he did, not only to the Fame of a Statesman and an Orator, but to the praise of an Historian; how infinitely more valuable a legacy might he have bequeathed to his Countrymen, how much more durable a Monument might he have erected

to himself, by such an exertion of his talents, than he has done by exhausting his efforts on the Reign of James the Second! Not that I would be understood to express any sentiment allied to disrespect, relative to the work which Lord Holland, with pious veneration for his Uncle's memory, has given to the world. Every page of that short and unfinished production, is worthy of its author, and raises him in my estimation. The "Introductory Chapter" can hardly be exceeded for profound reflexion, elucidated by a severe and philosophic cast of thought, as well as by the most accurate and laborious disquisition of facts. Impartial, ardent for freedom, and indignant against Tyrants, the writer is nevertheless exempt from the spirit of Republicanism. The small portion of James's reign which follows, including Argyle's and Monmouth's Invasions, may in a great measure be characterized by similar Epithets; and excites regret, from presenting only a Fragment. But if, instead of collating Rapin, Hume, and Burnet; or employing his time on the inspection of Documents in the *Depôt des Archives* at Paris; he had dedicated it to a delineation, however simple, of the great political Scenes in which he had

acted so distinguished a part; with what avidity should we not have perused the work! We might then have beheld as in a mirror, the Secret History of the *Rockingham*, and the *Coalition* Administrations, drawn by a master hand, which had propelled the ostensible Ministers of the two periods. It was thus that Clarendon beguiled the hours of unmerited Disgrace and Exile, when he wrote his "History of the great Rebellion." The Cardinal de Retz, a man to whom Mr. Fox bore some Analogy in certain features of his political life, of his Character, and Fortune; made the best atonement to his Country, and to Posterity, for the irregularities and agitations which marked the Zenith of his Career, by tracing with his own hand, in his decline, the outline of those Transactions which he had guided or produced. We forget his deviations from prudence, his faction, and his Ambition, in the elegance of his Genius, and the ingenuous disclosure of his errors.

Perhaps no portion of time in the course of the two last Centuries, offers, proportionably to its duration, so few of those interesting Anecdotes where the Sovereign comes personally forward to our inspection, as the

reign of George the Third. The reason is obvious, and arose out of the King's character. Charles the Second, and Lewis the Fourteenth, surrounded by Mistresses, and all the dissipation of a Court, presented to Burnet, to Grammont, or to Voltaire, perpetual matter of entertaining recital. Even George the First and Second offered some resources of a similar nature, to Lord Melcomb, for his "Diary;" and to Horace Walpole, for his "Reminiscences." But, His present Majesty's whole life, from the age of twenty-two, down to the lamented period at which he ceased to reign, was passed either in the severe and exemplary discharge of his *public* duties of every description; or in the bosom of his family, amidst *domestic* sources of amusement. In his agricultural occupations, or when engaged in the diversions of the field, he was only seen by a few individuals who from their official situations or dignity, had access to his person. No splendid assemblies of both sexes, or festive entertainments, to which Beauty, Rank, and Pleasure in a comprehensive sense, must have contributed; by levelling him in some measure with his guests, presented him to view, divested of the forms of Royalty. Unlike

his predecessor, who even at an advanced age, still preserved a relish for those enjoyments; equally unlike his Son, the present Regent, whose graceful Manners, dignified Affability, and splendid Taste, have rendered his Palace the Center of Pleasures; George the Third, while a young man, neither frequented Masquerades, nor ever engaged at Play; nor protracted the Hours of convivial Enjoyment, nor passed his evenings in society calculated to unbend his mind from the fatigues of Business, and the vexations of State.

All the splendor of a Court was laid aside, or only exhibited for a few hours, on a Birth-day. Rarely, during the first twenty years after his Accession, did he join in any scene of public amusement, if we except the diversion of the Theatre. Still more rarely did he sit down at table with any of his Courtiers or Nobility. His repasts, private, short, and temperate, never led to the slightest excess. Hence, his enemies endeavoured to represent him, most unjustly, as affecting the state of an Asiatic Prince; scarcely ever visible except on the Terrace at Windsor, or in the Circle, at a Levee. "Junius," who

saw him through the most unfavourable medium, and who converted his very virtues, into subjects of accusation, or of reproach; depictures St. James's as a Court, "where "prayers are morality, and kneeling is reli- "gion." It was not till a period later than the point of time at which these Memoirs stop, that the King began to mix in a select Company, and occasionally to indulge in the pleasures of Society. Previous to the year 1784, it is only in the foreign or domestic transactions of his Reign, often only within the walls of one, or of the other House of Parliament, that the Materials can generally be found for writing the internal History of the Time. These Remarks, I am sensible, apply principally, though not exclusively, to the Portion of the present work where the Scene lies wholly in England; whereas the first Part traverses the Continent, through different Countries, from Portugal, round to Naples and Tuscany.

Soon after I had compleated my twenty-first year, in 1772, I went by Sea over to Portugal; in the Capital of which Kingdom, or in its vicinity, I staid a considerable time. Joseph, son and successor of John the Fifth,

then occupied the Throne; but the Kingdom was governed by the celebrated Count d'Œyras, who had been recently created Marquis de Pombal. Few First Ministers, during the course of the last Century, displayed greater talents for administration, or exercised more unlimited authority. The King, though only third in order of descent, was fourth in succession from the Duke of Braganza, denominated John the Fourth, who in 1640 recovered Portugal from the Spanish dominion; and at the time of which I speak, he had passed his fifty-seventh year. He was of a good stature, but inclined to corpulency: his features regular, his eye quick and lively, if a habit of holding his mouth somewhat open, had not diminished the expression of intelligence, which his countenance would otherwise have conveyed. In his cheeks he had a high scorbutic humour, attributed commonly to excesses of Wine; though it might partly arise from violent exercise constantly taken under a burning Sun. His face, indeed, was nearly as dusky as that of a Moor; and at Fez or Mequinez, habited in the Turkish Dress, with a Turban on his head, he might easily have passed for Muley Ismael, the Sovereign of Morocco. Never had any Lusitanian

Peasant, coarser and darker Hands. One could not look at him, without recollecting how near are the Shores, and how similar are the Climates, of Portugal, and of Africa.

Two passions or pursuits, Hunting and Music, principally occupied his time, absorbed his thoughts, and divided his affections: nor was it easy to decide which of them possessed the strongest ascendant over him. In the former diversion he passed the far greater part of the day: to the latter amusement his evenings were principally or wholly dedicated, either in public, when at the Opera; or in private, with his family. No royal House in Europe was then so musical as that of Portugal. Joseph himself performed with considerable execution, on the Violin; and the three Princesses, his Daughters, all were proficients in a greater, or in a less degree, on different instruments. If he was prevented by the weather from going out to the Chace, the King had recourse for occupation, to his Manege. On Sundays, he seldom or never missed attending the Italian Opera in Lisbon; but he likewise maintained another Opera at Belem, his residence near the Capital. I have been present at this latter perform-

ance, to which, only foreign Ministers, Officers, persons belonging to the Court, and Foreigners of Condition, were admitted; all of them, gratuitously. The house itself was of very contracted dimensions; the Pit not being calculated to contain more than about one hundred and thirty individuals. Boxes, indeed, in the proper acceptation of the term, there were none; the King, Queen, and Royal Family, being seated in a Gallery fronting the Stage, elevated considerably above the body of the House. One small Box was constructed on each side; that on the right hand being appropriated to the Patriarch, or Head of the Portugueze Church, whom I have seen present at the performance. The other usually remained vacant, being reserved for any Stranger of high rank who might visit Portugal.

The circumstance which distinguished this Entertainment from any other of the same kind which I ever witnessed, and which may appear so extraordinary as hardly to obtain credit, consisted in the total exclusion of Women, not only from the Pit, but from the Stage; either as Spectators, or as Ac-

tresses. No female could obtain admission. The reason commonly assigned by the Court, for proscribing the whole Sex from any participation in an Amusement, of which, in all other European Countries, they constitute the principal ornament and the soul; was, that there were no proper places for ladies. But, it might have been answered, that nothing could be easier than to construct Side-Boxes for their reception. Even this reason could not explain their exclusion from the Stage, on which none except Italian *Castrati* were ever admitted to sing, or to perform any part. *Battistini*, who filled with great distinction the first female Characters, was selected and engaged, not only for his superior vocal excellence, but for his feminine appearance, and admirable resemblance to a Woman, when he was dressed in female attire. So complete indeed was the deception, that I think it never would have occurred to any uninformed person, to doubt for an instant, of his being what he personated. Even the *Ballets* were all performed by Men or Boys, habited in the Costume of Nymphs, Shepherdesses, and Goddesses. This exclusion of all Females, except the Queen and Princesses, rendered the Spectacle, though

otherwise magnificent in machinery and decorations, as well as scientific in point of musical execution; comparatively insipid, dull, and destitute of interest or animation. Incredible as it may seem, the passion of Jealousy constituted the cause of so singular a prohibition. The Queen of Portugal, though at this time she was considerably advanced towards her sixtieth year, yet watched every motion of her Husband, with all the vigilant anxiety of a young Woman. And in order the better to secure his personal fidelity, she wisely took care to remove from before his eyes, as much as possible, every temptation to inconstancy. The ladies in waiting, and Maids of Honour, who attended Their Majesties in public, must certainly have been selected for their want of all attractions; and they were besides, too far advanced in years, to be longer capable of inspiring any sentiment except respect. The Portugueze Females who accompanied Catherine of Braganza in 1662, when she came over to England, in order to espouse Charles the Second; whose total deficiency in personal Charms, is so eloquently described in the "Mémoires de Grammont;" could not possibly exceed in that particular,

the Attendants on Marianna Victoria, wife of Joseph the First.

Nor was her vigilance by any means confined to the Opera. She displayed the same apprehensions, and took similar precautions, against any rival or intruder in the King's affections, whenever he went out to the Chace. Whether the diversion was hunting, or shooting, or falconing, she was constantly at his side. No woman in Europe indeed rode bolder, or with more skill. Her figure almost defied the powers of description, on these occasions. She sat astride, as was the universal custom in Portugal, and wore English leather Breeches; frequently black; over which she threw a petticoat which did not always conceal her legs. A jacket of cloth, or of stuff, and a cocked hat, sometimes laced, at other times without ornament, compleated the masculine singularity of her appearance. When, after having let loose the Falcon, she followed him with her eye in his flight, she always threw the reins on her horse's neck; allowing him to carry her wherever he pleased, fearless of accidents. She was admitted to be an excellent shot, seldom missing the bird at which she fired,

even when flying: but this Diversion had nearly produced a most tragical result; as, a few years before I visited Portugal, she very narrowly missed killing the King with a ball, which actually grazed his temple. Few princes in modern Times, have had more hair-breadth escapes from danger or assassination, than Joseph the First experienced; on which subject I shall have occasion to say much, in the course of these Observations.

In the year 1772, the Court of Lisbon offered scarcely any sources of amusement to a foreigner. Neither Levees, nor Drawing-rooms were ever held, except on Birth-days, and on a few particular festivals. The King, Queen, his brother Don Pedro, his three Daughters, and the young Prince of Beyra, lived all under the same roof, and inhabited a long wooden range of apartments at Belem, lower down the Bank of the Tagus than Lisbon. The terrors and recollection of the Earthquake of 1755, were so deeply impressed on their minds, that they preferred residing in a wooden Building, however mean in its Fabrication, or inconvenient, rather than encounter the perils annexed to

a stone Edifice. Joseph had never slept under a House, properly so denominated, during near seventeen years. Wherever he moved, either wooden Barracks or Tents, were provided for his accommodation. I have seen Tents pitched for his reception, in the fields adjoining the Palace of Maffra, while that immense and costly Edifice was totally abandoned, neglected, and unfurnished. These precautions, however singular, and almost pusillanimous, they may at first sight seem, were nevertheless necessary in Portugal. Experience had fully demonstrated, that the most solid, massy, and well-constructed Buildings of Stone, only exposed the inhabitant to greater, and more inevitable destruction, in the event of an Earthquake; because the resistance made by such materials to the undulation or shock, produced their overthrow. On the contrary, any Structure composed of wood, supported, like the Barracks inhabited by the Royal Family, on pillars of the same materials; yielding to the concussion of the Earth, rocked and waved with the convulsion, thus escaping its worst effects.

No splendor or exhibition of state was

maintained by the King of Portugal, who, though he scarcely ever failed to attend, with the Royal Family, every week, at the Bull Feasts, and at the Italian Opera in Lisbon, yet was always understood to be present incognito. The only deviation from this practice or Etiquette, took place when the Court went annually, as was the invariable custom in time of Carnival, about the middle of January, to the Palace of Salva Tierra, situated several leagues higher up the Tagus than the Metropolis. The King remained there till the month of March, and all the foreign Ministers usually attended him. Hunting parties, to which strangers of Condition were admitted, constituted the occupation of the day; followed in the evening by an Opera, like that of Belem, open gratuitously to all such persons as had been presented to the Sovereign. I was assured that Joseph expended no less a sum than about forty thousand Pounds Sterling annually, on the diversion of the Opera. Yet he was likewise fond of Play, and passed much time at the Card table. Previous to the memorable Earthquake of 1755, he was considered as temperate, drinking usually water at his meals: but, such was the effect pro-

duced on his mind, and so severe the dejection of spirits which he experienced, after that awful visitation of Providence, that it was apprehended, his Health would be seriously affected by it. His physicians prescribed the use of wine, as necessary to restore his Constitution; a prescription which proved so agreeable to the patient, that it was commonly believed, His Majesty indulged himself too freely in its use. At an earlier period of his life, he was supposed to have been guilty of excesses of another kind, and to have given the Queen, frequent occasion for jealousy: nor had the partiality of Joseph towards the Sex, by any means become extinct with the decline of years. But his attachments or amours, were always secret, decorous, and conducted with a becoming regard to public opinion, as well as with a due attention to his domestic and conjugal felicity. No Mistress, like Madame de Pompadour, or Madame du Barry in France, under Louis the Fifteenth; or Madame Chevalier at Petersburgh, under Paul the First, dishonoured and disgraced the Court of Portugal.

Joseph, considered in his kingly character

and capacity, though not to be ranked among the first Princes in vigor and ability, who then reigned in Europe, was not deficient in talents or qualities befitting the Throne. If he felt his own inability to govern, he demonstrated no common discernment and force of mind, in the selection of a Minister, to whom he delegated that office. The Marquis de Pombal exercised in fact, all the functions of the Monarchy. He possessed nearly as unlimited an ascendant over his Master, as the Cardinal of Lerma did over Philip the Third, or the Condé d'Olivarez over Philip the Fourth, Kings of Spain; and was accustomed to transact public business with his Sovereign, at hours and seasons usually dedicated to pleasure, or lost in sleep. The King very frequently signed papers of the greatest consequence after midnight, before he retired to rest; at which time the Marquis commonly waited on him for the purpose. The hereditary superstition which characterized the house of Braganza, and in the practice of which Joseph himself had been educated; which distinguished his father John the Fifth, and which survived in the present reigning Queen, till she became alienated in mind; by no means existed in

him. The seizure and expulsion of the Jesuits, a measure of great energy, and not unaccompanied with danger; sufficiently manifested his superiority to the bigotted veneration felt for that order of men, among the majority of his subjects. If he possessed, himself, no taste for the fine arts, nor evinced any passion for learning and polite letters, he at least extended protection to their professors. During the period of two and twenty years that he had then reigned since the decease of John the Fifth, a great and salutary change had taken place among the Portugueze, in all the attainments of a civilized people. Establishments for the education of the young Nobility and Gentry, had been founded, which would have done honor to Great Britain; and which, though originating with the Minister, yet could only have been fully accomplished by the consent of the Sovereign.

These laudable acts of Government, were nevertheless contrasted with corresponding defects of Administration; some of which might be justly attributed to the Marquis de Pombal, while others seemed personally to reproach the King. The people universally

and loudly complained of oppression. In the royal Household, mismanagement prevailed to such a degree, that almost all the domestic Servants and menial Attendants of the Court, having been unpaid for several years, were in the lowest stage of distress. The reverse had been the case under his predecessor John the Fifth. Joseph's revenues were commonly supposed to amount to two Millions Sterling, while the national expenditure did not usually exceed a moiety of that sum. Yet the footmen who followed the royal Carriages in public, were left almost without the means of even procuring sustenance. I never saw the King and Queen in any Carriage, except a sort of Caleche, or Chaise, drawn by two Mules of no uncommon Beauty. In this Equipage, which was nothing less than royal, they always attended the Bull Feasts. When Her Majesty accompanied the Princesses her daughters, to say Mass, or to perform her devotions, at some Church in the vicinity of Lisbon, she was drawn in a Coach, with only a pair of horses of a very inferior description, and such a set of Harness as we should scarcely consider to be good enough for a Hackney-Coach. About forty Horse-guards accompanied them, and

they generally distributed some money to the populace, or rather the beggars, who assembled in groups at the door of the Church.

I went, one day, to look at the royal Carriages, kept at Alcantara, about a mile out of Lisbon. There were at least thirty; some of which had cost, as the people assured me, two hundred thousand Crusadoes, or twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. They were very magnificent, and had all been built either in Rome, or at Paris. London had not then begun to supply the Continent with that article of luxury. Among the royal Carriages, I was struck with the Coach in which John the Fourth made his public entry into the Capital, after recovering Portugal from the Spaniards. It nearly realized the descriptions given us of those vehicles, soon after their first appearance or invention in the sixteenth Century. The Carriage in question, which had been constructed in 1641, was consequently above a hundred and thirty years old, at the time when I saw it; and might more properly be denominated a Chamber on wheels, than a Coach in the modern acceptation of the term, as it was capable of containing ten or twelve persons with the utmost

convenience. The sides were open; the windows resembling the lattices of our farm-houses, divided into small panes, with casements for the admission of air. It was preserved with pious veneration, as a monument of the Emancipation of the Kingdom by the first Prince of the House of Braganza. Henry the Fourth was seated in just such another Coach, when he was stabbed by Ravaillac, in the year 1610, in the Rue de la Ferronerie, at Paris.

Joseph the First had twice escaped from a similar fate to that of Henry: the first time, in 1758; and the last, only two years before I visited Lisbon. The former attempt, which occupies a memorable place among the tragical events of the Eighteenth Century, may rank with Damien's attempt on Louis the Fifteenth's life, in 1755; and with the attack made in 1771, on Stanislaus, King of Poland. I allude to the conspiracy of the Duke d'Aveiro, and the Marquis de Tavora, in 1758; all the leading particulars of which, I have often heard recounted by contemporary witnesses. The Duke d'Aveiro, whose family name was Mascarenhas, descended from Don George, a natural son of John the Se-

cond, King of Portugal, one of the most illustrious Princes who has reigned in modern ages; the contemporary of our Henry the Seventh; and to whose exertions we owe in an eminent degree, the discovery of a passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope. D'Aveiro's talents appear to have been very moderate, and his courage very equivocal: but, his temper, ferocious, as well as vindictive, rendered him capable of embracing the most flagitious measures for the gratification of his revenge. The King of Portugal's escape, which was altogether fortuitous, resulted from the coolness or presence of mind, manifested by the Coachman who drove the royal Carriage. For, this man, finding that several shots or balls had passed through it behind, and not doubting that Joseph was wounded; instead of proceeding forward, immediately turned round his Mules, and took the road that led to the house of the King's Surgeon. By this sudden and unexpected Manœuvre, Joseph avoided falling into the hands of four other armed parties of Conspirators, who were posted at different places, where it was known he must pass in his way to the Palace.

A woman, the old Marchioness of Tavora, formed the soul of this sanguinary enterprize, which conducted the principal persons engaged in it, to a cruel and ignominious death. Revenge, heightened by personal enmity towards the King and the first Minister, who had refused to raise the Marquis of Tavora, to the dignity of a Duke; rather than any well ascertained intention, or expectation of subverting the Government, and dethroning the Braganza Family; seem to have stimulated the Conspirators to so atrocious an undertaking. Precisely similar motives impelled the late Duke of Orleans to produce those commotions, which eventually overturned the French Throne, and led to the horrors of the Revolution. It was not in the first Instance, Ambition, or the hope of reigning, so much as personal hatred and revenge. The late Duke of Dorset, who, from the situation that he occupied during several years, as Embassador to the Court of Versailles, had opportunities of obtaining the most authentic information, has many times assured me of this fact. He knew it from Marie Antoinette herself. She constituted the principal object of the Duke of Orleans's detestation, whose malignity was not so much levelled against

Louis the Sixteenth, as against the Queen. That Princess had given him many causes of aversion; one of which consisted in endeavouring successfully to prevent the marriage of his Daughter, Mademoiselle d'Orleans, with the Duke d'Angouleme. Marie Antoinette naturally wished to unite her own Daughter in marriage with the young Prince, as she thereby secured to her the succession to the throne of France, in case Louis the Sixteenth should not leave behind him any son. The Duke of Dorset told me, that, as early as 1786, or 1787, the Queen has said to him, on her seeing the Duke of Orleans at Versailles; "Monsieur, "le Duc, regardez cette homme là. Il me "déteste, et il a juré ma perte. Je la vois "dans ses yeux, toutes les fois qu'il me fixe. "Il ne sera jamais content, jusqu'à ce qu'il "me voit étendue morte à ses pieds." He lived in fact to witness her tragical end, but he survived her only a very short time.— I return from this Digression, to the Portugueze Conspirators. They executed their attempt, like men destitute of courage: for, if the first Ball, who intercepted the King on his Return from Belem, had fired into the Carriage as he advanced, instead of wait-

ing, as they did, till he had passed, before they discharged their pieces, he must have fallen. The Ball with which he was wounded, passed between his side and his arm, tearing the flesh of both, but without inflicting any severe wound.

The consternation excited by the attempt, was augmented by the obscurity in which it was studiously enveloped; the Court remaining for some weeks, in total ignorance of the authors of the Conspiracy; as the Conspirators did, on the other hand, in equal uncertainty respecting the nature and consequences of the King's wounds. It is a fact, that the Duke d'Aveiro and the Marquis of Tavora repaired almost daily to the King's Apartment, to make their inquiries in person after his health; expressing the utmost abhorrence of the Treason. They were even admitted to his presence; but, in a Chamber intentionally kept so dark as to render it impossible for them to ascertain the probability of his recovery. Meanwhile, the vigilance of the Marquis de Pombal, aided, as is said, by some imprudent expressions of the Duke d'Aveiro, enabled the Minister to trace, and to ascertain, the guilt of the Con-

spirators. They were then arrested, and brought to trial. The Duke d'Aveiro, the Marquis of Tavora, and his two sons, were broken on the Wheel; while the old Marchioness, who, in consideration of her sex, was sentenced to be beheaded, ascended the Scaffold with a firm step, betrayed neither fear. nor contrition, and laid down her head on the Block, as she would have done on a pillow.

Haughty and imperious in her character, she was restrained by no considerations of pity or of humanity, when her vengeance, her Ambition, or her interest, impelled her. The meetings of the Conspirators were frequently held in a summer house, situate in the Garden of the Marquis of Tavora's Palace at Lisbon, with which it was connected by a long wooden Gallery. It happened that a young Portugueze lady, of noble extraction, but of reduced circumstances, who lived in the Marchioness's family, as her companion; surprized at observing lights, one evening, in this summer house, and altogether without suspicion of the cause; was attracted by curiosity to approach the place. As she advanced along the Gallery that led to it, she heard voices in earnest Conversation; and

on coming nearer, soon distinguished that of the Marchioness, who seemed to be animated by some cause, to a pitch of uncommon violence. She listened for a few seconds; and then, apprehensive of being discovered in such a situation, she was about to return from whence she came, when the door suddenly opening, the Marchioness herself appeared. Their surprize was mutual; and the latter demanded, with much agitation, what cause had brought her to that place? She answered, that her astonishment at observing lights in the summer house, had led her to ascertain the reason. "You have then, no doubt," said the Marchioness, "overheard our conversation?" The young lady protested that she was perfectly ignorant of any part of it; and that as soon as she distinguished the Marchioness's voice, her respect led her to return to the Palace, which she was about to do, at the moment when the door opened. But, the Marchioness, who had too much at stake to be so easily satisfied or deceived, assuming a tranquil air, and affecting to repose a confidence in her, "The Marquis and I," rejoined she, "have had a serious and a violent quarrel, "during the course of which, he had the

" rudeness to contradict me in the most in-
" sulting manner; and he even carried his
" audacity to such a point, as to give me the
" lie. I burst out of the room, unable to
" restrain my indignation, and no longer
" mistress of my emotions. Did you not
" hear him give me the lie at the time I
" opened the door?" " I did, Madam," imprudently replied the unfortunate lady. Aware from that instant, that the nature of their meeting, and of the subjects agitated at it, was now in some measure discovered, she instantly determined to prevent the possibility of its being further divulged. Next Morning, the Body of the unhappy listener was found in one of the Streets of Lisbon, wrapt in a Sheet, scarcely cold, and the Blood still oozing from various wounds inflicted on her with a Dagger. It was universally believed at the time, that she had been put to death by secret directions, issued from the Palace of Tavora: but, the power of that great Family, and the frequency of similar spectacles in the Portugueze Capital, silenced all judicial inquiry into the causes of her tragical end. The Marchioness expiated her crime on the Scaffold, Her Daughter-in-law, the young Marchioness of Tavora, alone, who

was Daughter to the Duke d'Aveiro; exempted from the general destruction of her Family, either on account of her presumed innocence, or, as was pretended by others, from motives of private partiality on the part of the King, was immured in a Convent. She was, I believe, still living in 1772, under Confinement.

The second attempt made on Joseph's life, arose from the irritated feelings of a poor Portugueze Peasant. This man, driven to despair by the conduct of the King's Domestic Servants, who had forcibly seized on his Carts and Cattle; rushed furiously on His Majesty, as he was going out to hunt, and aimed a blow with a long pole at his head, which narrowly missed him. It happened at the Palace of Villa Viciosa, the ancient patrimonial residence of the Dukes of Braganza, where the King used sometimes to repair, for a short time. The Peasant was not executed, but still remained, as common rumor asserted, in a Dungeon at Belem, when I was in Portugal. Two such attacks, though of very opposite kinds, yet had rendered Joseph timid, and induced him to take many precautions for his preservation against similar efforts of private

vengeance, or of Treason. Even at the Italian Opera in Lisbon, which he scarcely ever failed to attend, yet when he went, as was his custom, between the Acts, from the royal Box in front of the stage, to a Side-Box, from which he viewed the *Ballets;* he always passed through a close passage well secured, constructed on purpose, with a view to protect his person from any act of violence.

Marianna Victoria, Queen of Portugal, and wife of Joseph, was a daughter of Philip the Fifth, King of Spain, by Elizabeth Farnese, his second wife, Heiress of that celebrated Family, and herself a woman of no ordinary talents. The Princess in question had been, as is well known, betrothed, when a child, to Louis the Fifteenth; was sent to France, and resided in that country during several years; but, on the death of the Regent Duke of Orleans, in December, 1723, when the Government fell into the hands of the Duke de Bourbon; one of the earliest acts of his Administration, was to dissolve the unfinished Marriage, and to send the Princess back to Madrid. In the year 1729, when she was not more than eleven, she was carried by her father, Philip, to Badajoz, and there married

to Joseph, then hereditary Prince of Portugal, who, himself, had not attained his fourteenth year. The Nuptials were immediately solemnized; the Bride and Bridegroom being put into the same Bed together, in presence of the great Officers of the Court; but, it was near six years afterwards, in December, 1734, before she brought into the world a Daughter, the present Queen.

Marianna Victoria was said to have been very agreeable in her person, when young; but in 1772, no traces remained of that Beauty. Her figure was short and thick, her face red; her nose large, and her manner destitute of softness or elegance. There was, indeed, nothing feminine in her appearance or demeanour. Nevertheless, her Eyes, which were dark, lively, and piercing, retained their original lustre. She wore a profusion of Rouge; her neck and shoulders, whether at Church, at the Opera, or at a Bull Feast, being always bare; and she seemed to be not only in possession of health, but capable of supporting the roughest exercise, or most severe fatigue: Her arms were brown and sun-burnt, from her perpetually following the chace. Those persons who knew Her

Majesty well, always assured me that she neither wanted spirit, nor ability; though she never attempted to possess power, nor had ever attained any political influence. All her anxiety seemed to be confined to the person of her royal partner, and did not extend to the guidance of state affairs. If any opinion might be formed of her Religion, from her behaviour at Mass, she was assuredly no Bigot. I was accustomed to frequent, from motives of curiosity, the Church of the Necessidadas, and that of St. Francisco da Paola, where she constantly attended, with the Princesses, her Daughters; and I may truly assert, that I never saw any woman who manifested so little attention while at her Devotions.

Of a widely different character from her Mother in that respect, was the Princess of Brazil, Maria, eldest of the three daughters of Joseph, and presumptive Heiress to the Crown of Portugal. In her, a gloomy and severe spirit of Superstition, formed the predominant feature. Her mind was said to be deeply impressed with the tragical Catastrophe of the Duke d'Aveiro and his associates, whose fate she was believed to lament,

as having been unmerited or unjust. To her reflections upon those terrible Executions, heightened by the remonstrances or reproaches of her Confessor, has been indeed generally attributed the subsequent alienation of her understanding. In her person, she was taller than either of her Sisters, as well as thinner; of a pale and wan Complexion, that seemed to indicate Melancholy; her features, prominent, strong, and altogether destitute of any attractions. In all the duties and departments of private life, she was exemplary. Married to her Uncle, only Brother to the King, they exhibited a model of nuptial felicity. The union, however repugnant to our modes of thinking, and in some measure contrary to Nature, yet had been fruitful: they had then two sons and a daughter living. The desire of preventing any possibility of a disputed Succession, between the collateral male Heir to the Throne, and the female in direct Descent, dictated this species of incestuous Marriage; which, whatever sanction it may derive from Antiquity, among the Ptolemies, or the Seleucidæ, and even among the Cæsars, can plead no parallel among the other royal Houses of modern Europe. It forms not the least sin-

gular circumstance of the transaction, that so far from any compulsion having been used to accomplish it, the Princess, from her early youth, entertained a strong partiality and attachment towards Don Pedro, her future Husband. She was near thirty-eight years old, when I visited Portugal.

All the talents of the female part of the Braganza Family, were said to be concentrated in Donna Maria Anna, second of Joseph's Daughters. Shorter and thicker in her person than the Princess of Brazil, she was more agreeable in her countenance; possessing a ruddy complexion, as well as a more animated expression of features. Her mind was likewise expanded, and her understanding cultivated by polite knowledge. Many of her hours were dedicated to reading, and she was regarded as superior to Bigotry. In addition to these solid endowments, she joined great taste and skill in Music, with a fine voice. Though the most accomplished of the three Sisters, she was nevertheless doomed to remain unmarried in her father's Court, having attained, in 1772, her thirty-sixth year. Nature had been in some respects more bountiful to the third

Princess, Donna Maria Benedicta, who was likewise considerably younger, being only six and twenty years old at this time. Though low in stature, clumsy, and much inclined to Embonpoint, her face was very handsome; her Eyes dark and eloquent, her Complexion fair, the Contour of her Countenance rather round than oval, and her features small, as well as delicate. But she was not considered to possess the superiority of mind that distinguished Maria Anna. About seven years before the time of which I speak, a treaty of Marriage had been set on foot between this Princess and the Emperor Joseph the Second, who was then recently become a widower, by the death of his first wife, a Daughter of Don Philip, Duke of Parma. The Negotiation proceeded so far, that preparations were made for transporting her from Lisbon to Flanders, in her way to Vienna; and a Ship, constructed expressly for the purpose in the Brazils, magnificently decorated, lay ready in the Tagus. But, the intrigues and exertions of the old Queen Dowager of Spain, mother of Charles the Third, and grandmother of the Princess herself; who was incensed at the endeavours of the Marquis de Pombal, to assume the ex-

clusive merit of this Alliance; rendered the plan abortive.

It is probable, and I have been so assured at Vienna, that the pretext used to indispose the Austrian Court from accomplishing the projected nuptials, was the representation made of the improbability of Maria Benedicta producing children, on account of her tendency to become large and corpulent in her Person. Incredible and unnatural as the Fact may seem, she was actually married, several years afterwards, in 1777, when turned of thirty years of age, to her own nephew, her sister's son, the young Prince of Beyra, eventual Heir to the Throne of Portugal. The Ceremony was performed in Joseph's apartments, as he lay expiring; and they lived together many years, but never had any issue. There seems to have been no rational excuse, or adequate motive assigned, for this second union in the same Family, which impresses with a degree of horror, or at least, of disgust; and was in itself the more remarkable, as the Portugueze women of condition seldom bear children, if not married before twenty-eight or thirty Years of Age. Catherine of Portugal, daughter of John the Fourth, who was

the wife of our Charles the Second, and who espoused him at an earlier age, I believe about twenty-four, never brought him any issue, male or female; but Burnet says, that the King himself told him, (Dr. Burnet) that "she had been with child." She even once miscarried, when considerably advanced in her pregnancy, if we may believe the same historical Authority: but, as Charles had no fewer, it is asserted, (I think by Dr. Lucas, in his History of England,) than fifty-three natural Children, by different Mistresses, in the course of his life; we must suppose that his failure of legitimate issue, originated on the side of his Queen. Some excuse may be suggested for the marriage of the eldest daughter of Joseph, with his brother, Don Pedro, where no direct male issue existed to inherit the Crown; but it was reserved for the family of Braganza to exhibit to mankind, in the Eighteenth Century, the extraordinary Spectacle of a youth of fifteen, espousing his own Aunt at thirty. From such a matrimonial Connexion, it can neither excite surprise nor regret, that no Descendants should have sprung.

The Prince of Beyra himself, eldest son

of the Princess of Brazil and of Don Pedro, was then the *Marcellus* of Portugal; towards whom all eyes were turned, and from whose future auspicious Government, political miracles were fondly anticipated. It may excite the more surprise that such expectations should have been entertained, when I add, that in 1772, he had only completed the eleventh year of his age. I have seen him many times, as he never failed to attend the Royal Family in public, at the Bull Feasts, at Church, and every where except at the Italian Opera; a Diversion for which he manifested a decided aversion. He was tall and manly for his age, though his face was pale and delicate; and he appeared to have a weak or defective sight. His features and his expression of Countenance, it must be admitted, indicated intelligence. The stories related of his capacity and dawning expansion of mind, had obtained very universal credit. Some well attested instances of the goodness of his disposition, and the liberality of his temper, I have heard, which seemed to be entitled to belief: but, no sort of inference, as to his future character, could be safely drawn from these tales. Joseph the First, during the reign of his father, had excited similar ex-

pectations, which he by no means fulfilled after he ascended the throne. His grandson, who was likewise named Joseph, died at about twenty-seven years of age, in 1788, of the small-pox, which the bigotted prejudices and ignorance of his Mother, had prevented her from giving him by Inoculation; leaving, as I before observed, no issue by his Aunt, to whom he had been married during several years.

With Don Pedro, father and great uncle to the Prince of Beyra, I shall conclude my remarks on the Royal House of Portugal. He was several years younger than the King; but, not inclined, like Joseph, to corpulency; of a sallow complexion; equally destitute in his person, as in his manners and address, of Elegance or Grace; and no way distinguished by natural endowments of any kind. He excelled in no exercises of the Body; and possessed in his features, no expression of Intellect. His faculties, which were indeed very contracted, rendered him altogether unfit for the conduct of public affairs. Possessing neither political power nor influence, he could only be considered as a fixture of the Court; and never was

any Prince a more perfect cypher. He enjoyed no Command, military or civil; not even a separate Establishment or Household. When the King hunted, Don Pedro accompanied him; as he equally did to the Opera, or to Mass; never absenting himself except on account of indisposition. He had constructed a Palace at Cayluze, about six English Miles from Lisbon; but Don Pedro never resided there, though he frequently attended his brother to the Chace; commonly alighting on those Occasions for a few minutes, in order to hear Mass at Cayluze. Those who knew him intimately, assured me that he was of a devout, friendly, and benevolent Disposition. On Joseph's decease, in February, 1777, when his Consort, the Princess of Brazil, became Queen in her own right, he was made King matrimonial, by the name of Don Pedro the Third; as Henry, Lord Darnley, became in Scotland, on his marriage with Mary Stuart. Don Pedro survived his elder brother above nine years, dying in May, 1786.

The public Entertainment or Exhibition which then distinguished Lisbon from all other Capitals of Europe, was the celebra-

tion of Bull Feasts. They were held every Sunday, during the Summer and Autumn. I have been present at many of them. However barbarous the Diversion might justly be esteemed, it is the only Spectacle that I ever witnessed, which could be said to realize in some measure, the Amphitheatrical Games of ancient Rome, exhibited in the Circus. They were already extinct in Spain, where Charles the Third had abolished them, on his ascending the Throne in 1759. Joseph and the Queen his wife, on the contrary, nourished the strongest partiality, or rather decided passion, for these Games of Moresco Origin; which they never failed to attend, unless prevented by illness. I have seen the King present there, though one of his Eyes was swelled and bandaged; caused by the effect of a spark that had flown into it from the flint of his fowling piece, when firing it at the Chace. Those persons who have formed their ideas of Bull Feasts, from the entertaining descriptions of the Countess d'Aulnoi, which she has enlivened by amorous, as well as by tragical Adventures; and which were written at Madrid, under the reign of Charles the Second, last Prince of the Austrian line, in 1679 and 1680;

would have esteemed the diversion tame, as it was exhibited at Lisbon, before Joseph the First. Yet was it not altogether divested of something that reminded me of the Tournaments and Exercises of Chivalry, with which our imaginations are so warmly impressed in youth. The Portugueze Bull Feasts were celebrated in a large wooden Amphitheatre, capable of commodiously containing many thousand persons; surrounded with Benches below, to a considerable height, which were surmounted by tiers of Boxes. The *Arena* was very ample and spacious. When the Champion, who was about to engage the Bulls, gaily dressed, mounted on a spirited Horse, a Spear in his hand, appeared upon the Ground, and saluted the Corporation of Lisbon, as was the custom, the effect of the Spectacle is not easy to describe in adequate terms. From sixteen to twenty Bulls were regularly sacrificed, every Sunday; and though circular pieces of leather were fastened on their Horns, in order to prevent their ripping up or mortally wounding the Combatants, yet I have witnessed many very severe and several nearly fatal Accidents. Prodigious dexterity, vigour, and address, were displayed by some of the Horsemen: particularly by a

Castilian, who generally made his appearance, and whom I have often seen drive his spear, at the first thrust, direct into the Bull's Heart, when the Animal was running furiously at him. The Amphitheatre then rang with Applauses.

It frequently happened that the Bulls wanted spirit or inclination for the contest. In those cases, the Spectacle became rather a Butchery, than a Combat, or an Amusement: but, some of them would not have disgraced a Roman Amphitheatre, if, (as I have been assured was customary, a Century earlier,) their Horns, instead of being blunted or covered, had been filed and sharpened to a point. Several of the men who fought on foot, exhibited extraordinary agility and coolness in eluding the rage of the incensed Animal; but it must at the same time be remembered, that they were commonly six or seven combined, all armed with long Spears. I have seen Women engage the Bull, ride up, and wound him. Two in particular, who were *Dancerinas*, or Posture-girls; one, a Venetian, the other, a Spaniard, habited as Men, and sitting astride, possessed great firmness, and excited general admiration. Sometimes the

Bulls were furnished by the Court. I have beheld twenty killed in the course of three hours: eight of which were given by the King, as many more by Don Pedro his Brother, two by the Duke de Cadaval, and two, (however singular it may seem,) by the Patriarch of Lisbon. After having witnessed several of these Exhibitions, I confess that I became disgusted with them. The most interesting part of the Spectacle consisted in the assemblage of Spectators, particularly Ladies, who filled the Boxes. Even the seats in the Pit, were generally crowded with Females. The Queen, and her three Daughters, never failed to attend in the Royal Box; though they were considered to be there Incognito. However barbarous the Diversion must be regarded, it always reminded me of Milton's description of the Entertainments,

> "Where throngs of Knights and Barons bold,
> In weeds of peace, high triumphs hold;
> With store of Ladies, whose bright Eyes
> Rain influence, and judge the Prize."

As soon as the Bull Feast ended, which was commonly about six o'clock, the King, Queen, and Royal Family immediately repaired to the Italian Opera, which was situ-

ate at a very inconsiderable distance, in the same quarter of Lisbon. Such was the invariable Usage or Etiquette, every Sunday. Yet, there, as at the Bull Feast, though seated in the front of the Theatre, they were supposed to preserve their Incognito. Joseph's Dress on these occasions, was always a full-trimmed suit of Silk, or of Cloth; either quite plain, or embroidered with white Silk; the sumptuary laws of Portugal prohibiting Embroidery of gold or silver. He wore a flowing tye-wig, as we see George the Second represented in all his portraits: and the Portugueze Order of *Christ*, across his Breast. The Queen and Princesses were covered with Diamonds; in particular, the Princess of Brazil: but the Queen alone wore Rouge, from the use of which her daughters abstained. During the course of the performance, His Majesty never failed to go round to his private Box, close to the Stage, in order to view the *Ballets*, after each of which he returned to the Royal Family. On these little excursions, which he always seemed to enjoy, and during which he generally made the best use of his time, with his Opera Glass, in contemplating the female part of the audience who filled the Side-Boxes, several No-

blemen accompanied him. The Count de Prado alone possessed the privilege of being seated, when attending the Sovereign; a mark of distinguished regard and predilection. To him Joseph appeared to communicate all his confidential discourse, while the other individuals in attendance, remained standing behind him. Even the Duke de Cadaval, though the sole person of that high rank in the kingdom of Portugal; there being no other since the extinction of the Dukedom of Aveiro; yet was never permitted to sit down, in company with the King. After the Count de Prado, the two Counts of Cantineida, and of Arcos, both sons of the Marquis de Marialva, whose name always brought Gil Blas before my imagination; enjoyed, in 1772, the highest place in Joseph's personal favor. The former, I mean the Count de Cantineida, was the only Nobleman in the kingdom, allowed by a special grace of the Crown, to drive in a Coach and six, with which Equipage the King himself had presented him.

The memorable Earthquake of the first of November, 1755, had impressed on almost every part of Lisbon, the most awful traces

of its existence and ravages, at the time when I visited that Capital. Many edifices still remained exactly in the condition that they were left by it; presenting such scenes of devastation and destruction, as would then have been vainly sought for elsewhere in any Part of Europe. Among them, the ancient Palace of the Dukes of Braganza, which was built on a commanding Eminence, in the Centre of the Metropolis; and the Cathedral of Lisbon, stood conspicuous. Both these majestic Structures hourly threatened to crush the Tenant, or the Devotee, who ventured to enter them. Yet the former pile was inhabited by various families or individuals, who, pressed by Necessity, sought shelter under the tottering roof; and Superstition or Devotion had consecrated Chapels in the latter, amidst the ruins of Altars and Domes, where Masses were daily celebrated. I was peculiarly led to visit the Cathedral, by the hope of finding the Tomb of Camöens, the celebrated Portugueze Poet, whose body, as I had been assured, was there interred. But, I could discover no proofs of any such Interment, though I made every inquiry; and I have reason to believe, after all the researches in my power, that as he unquestionably expired

in a public Hospital, of a disease which, from its contagious nature, resembled the Plague, he was thrown into a common Grave, with a number of other dead Bodies. It is certain that no Monument was ever erected to his Memory.

A striking, and a melancholy Conformity exists, between the Destiny of the two most illustrious men of Genius, whom Spain and Portugal have produced in modern Ages. I mean, Cervantès, and Camöens: a Conformity which reflects no honor on those Countries, nor on the Sovereigns and Ministers who thus abandoned them to the rigors of Adversity. Both served on the Expeditions undertaken against the Mahometans, in the capacity of private Soldiers; and both were wounded. Camöens lost an Eye, before the town of Ceuta in Morocco; and Cervantès lost his left hand, at the celebrated naval Battle of Lepanto, gained by Don John of Austria in 1571, over the Turks. Each of them underwent captivity, shipwreck, and all the calamities of adverse fortune. Returning to their native Country, both were admired, and deserted. John the Third and Sebastian, Kings of Portugal, seem to have done as little to

ameliorate the Condition of Camöens, as Philip the Second and Third, the Sovereigns of Spain, did for Cervantès. Each of them attained to an advanced age, amidst the pressure of diseases, penury, and privations. Camöens breathed his last at Lisbon, in 1579, at about sixty-two years of age, in an Hospital; reproaching his countrymen, as is asserted, for their cruel neglect. Cervantès, extenuated by the progress of a Dropsy, which was rendered more severe by want, preserved his constitutional gaiety of disposition, down to the last moments of his existence; expired at the age of sixty-nine, it may be almost said, with the pen in his hand; and seemed to triumph over dissolution, by the elasticity and energy of his mind. He died at Madrid, in 1616; a year memorable in the Annals of Genius, as it likewise deprived the world of Shakespear! The author of the "Lusiad," and the writer of "Don Quixote," were both thrown into the ground, without even the decencies of an ordinary Funeral; nor can the spot where either of their remains are deposited, be even ascertained at the present time. It is impossible, to consider these facts, without emotions of mingled concern and indignation.

Yet, Dante, Tasso, and Galileo, among the Italians; Spenser, Otway, and Chatterton, among us, appear to have experienced scarcely a milder Fate.

If I could not discover the place of Camöens's Interment, I at least found out the Grave and Tombstone of the Author of "Tom Jones." Fielding, who terminated his life, as is well known, at Lisbon, in 1754, of a complication of disorders, at little more than forty-seven years of age, lies buried in the Cemetery appropriated to the English Factory. I visited his Grave, which was already nearly concealed by weeds and nettles. Though he did not suffer the extremity of distress, under which Camöens and Cervantès terminated their lives; yet his Extravagance, a quality so commonly characteristic of men distinguished by talents, embittered the evening of his days. Fielding, Richardson, and Le Sage, seem to have attained the highest eminence in that seductive species of writing, unknown to Antiquity, which we denominate *Novels*. Crebillon, Marivaux, and Smollett, only occupy the second place. Voltaire and Rousseau, however beautiful may be their Compositions in this Line, are

rather satirical or philosophical Moralists, than Writers of Novels. "Don Quixote" is a Work *sui Generis*, and not amenable to ordinary rules. "Gil Blas" seems to stand alone, and will probably be read with avidity in every Age, and every Country. Though the Scene lies in Spain, and the Characters are Spaniards, the manners are universal; and true to nature equally in Madrid, in Paris, or in London. Richardson and Fielding are more national, and cannot be read with the same delight on the Banks of the Seine, or of the Tyber, as on those of the Thames; though the former Writer transports us to Bologna, in his *Sir Charles Grandison*. Fielding never attempts to carry us out of England, and his Actors are all Aborigines. Foreigners neither can taste his works, nor will he ever attain to the Fame of Richardson, beyond the limits of his own Country. *Clementina* and *Clarissa* will penetrate, where *Sophia Western* and *Parson Adams*, never can be known or appreciated. *Joseph Andrews* and *Amelia* may be considered, in point of composition, to Fielding, what *Pamela* is to Richardson.

The late Alderman Cadell, who was one of the most intelligent, honourable, and superior

men of his profession; told me that his predecessor, *Millar*, the Bookseller, bought Fielding's *Amelia* of the Author; giving him for the Copy-right, eight hundred Pounds; a great sum at that time. After making the purchase, Millar shewed the Manuscript to Sir Andrew Mitchell, who subsequently filled the post of British Minister at Berlin; requesting to have his opinion of the work. Sir Andrew observed to him, that it bore the indelible marks of Fielding's Genius, and was a fine performance; but, nevertheless, far beneath "Tom Jones;" finally advising him to get rid of it as soon as he could. *Millar* did not neglect the counsel, though he was too able a man, to divulge the opinion delivered by his friend. On the contrary, at the first sale which he made to *the Trade*, he said, "Gentlemen, I have several works to "put up, for which I shall be glad if you "will bid: but, as to *Amelia*, every Copy "is already bespoke." This Manœuvre had its effect. All the Booksellers were anxious to get their names put down for copies of it, and the Edition, though very large, was immediately sold.

All the most interesting particulars of the

Earthquake of 1755, have been recounted to me by many of those persons who shared in, and survived the horrors of that calamitous Day, on which near forty thousand persons were believed to have perished. They agreed, that if it had taken place in the middle of the night, when the fires were in general extinguished, and when the darkness would have prevented the greater part of the inhabitants from quitting their Houses before day-break; not a fourth part of the lives would have been lost, nor destruction have followed. Prodigious numbers were swept off from the Quays, by the sudden rise of the Tagus; and the Conflagration which succeeded the Earthquake, spread even greater devastation than did that convulsion of nature. The first shock, which came on about forty minutes after nine in the morning, seemed to be horizontal in its direction or movement: but the second shock was perpendicular or vertical; throwing up the pavement of the Streets, to the height of forty and fifty feet into the air. Near an hour intervened between the two Concussions. The King, Queen, and Royal Family, by good fortune, were not at the Palace in Lisbon, but, at Belem, which stands near two Miles lower down, on the same side

of the river. As the Apartments which they inhabited, were all built on the ground, His Majesty leaped out of the window of his Chamber, into the Garden, on first perceiving the shock; while the three Princesses, his Daughters, who were either not yet risen, or not dressed, followed him, wrapped in the bed-clothes.

Lisbon has, in all Ages, been subject to the awful visitation and ravages of Earthquakes. History commemorates several, during the lapse of the last six Centuries, which have successively laid that Capital in ruins, and buried or ingulphed a large part of the population. The most destructive Earthquake known in modern Times, previous to the year 1755, happened in February, 1522, soon after the decease of Emanuel, in the first year of the reign of his son, John the Third. The Concussions of the Earth then lasted during eight days; but do not appear to have produced a Conflagration as ruinous or extensive, as that which took place under Joseph; though more than fifteen hundred Houses, besides Churches, Palaces, and public Edifices, of every kind, were destroyed. Thirty thousand persons perished in Lisbon alone; while

Santarem, Almerin, and many other places, were swallowed up, together with their inhabitants. John the Third, his Queen, and the royal family, were compelled to encamp in the fields, under Tents, just as Joseph did in November, 1755. Great as these Convulsions of Nature were, they may nevertheless be esteemed slight, both in their extent and in their effects, if compared with those which desolated Calabria, in more recent periods, as late as the year 1783.

It is evident that the Earthquake of 1755 ran in a kind of vein, principally ravaging a circle or space of about four to five miles; which was reduced to a state of desolation, by the fire that followed it. The "Alfama," or ancient Moorish City, situate higher up the river, as well as the Suburb of Belem, extending lower down the Tagus; though both may be said to form a part of Lisbon, nearly as Wapping and Westminster constitute portions of London; yet received, comparatively, little injury. The principal Edifices, and even the Houses in both, remained, if not unshaken, yet undemolished. In 1772, rather more than half the space originally laid waste by the Earthquake and

fire, had been already rebuilt. Some of the new Streets might even vie in regularity and magnificence, with those of any Capital in Europe; forming an astonishing contrast with the filth, antiquity, and barbarism, characteristic of the Eastern extremity, or "Alfama."

The Family of Braganza has not produced, even down to the present time, any Sovereign endowed with Talents such as distinguished the two Kings, John the Second and Emanuel, who reigned over the Portugueze in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries. John the Fourth himself, Founder of the Braganza line, though he effected the recovery of their national independence, seemed to be in no degree qualified by Nature, for the performance of so perilous a task. Gustavus Vasa, who expelled the Tyrant Christian the Second, from Sweden; Henry the Fourth, who crushed "the League" in France; William the First, and William the Third, Princes of Orange, who successively liberated the Dutch; the former, from the yoke of Spain, and the latter, from the arms of Louis the XIVth;—all these were superior Men, endowed with Energies such as Providence confers on Heroes. But, the Duke of Braganza was an

ordinary individual, whose abilities were of the most moderate description: even his personal courage was never proved in the Field. It was the heroic spirit of his Consort, which supplying these defects, impelled him to seize the Crown, which the weakness and incapacity of the Spanish Government under Philip the Fourth, might be said to tender him. She was, herself, by birth a Spaniard, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia: her name, Louisa de Guzman. After the decease of the King her husband in 1656, she continued to act as Regent. John the Fourth left two sons, the eldest of whom, Alphonso the Sixth, was only thirteen years of age. Labouring from his infancy under incurable maladies, or debilities of body and of mind, he appears to have been altogether unfit to exercise the duties or functions of Sovereign Power. While his Mother held the reins of State, Alphonso's incapacity, and acts of violence or of imbecility, were prevented from exciting any national commotions of a serious nature: but, after the retreat and decease of that illustrious Princess in 1666, his deposition speedily followed. It was merited by his excesses, and utter inaptitude for Government. His own wife, a Princess of the

House of Nemours, descended from the Dukes of Savoy, to whom he had been recently married, but, with whom he had never been able to consummate his nuptials; combining with Don Pedro, his younger Brother, a Prince of prudence, energy, and ability; arrested and deposed Alphonso. In performing this Revolutionary act, they were only the agents and instruments of the Nation, who unanimously demanded, sanctioned, and maintained it.

Don Pedro, thus called to the supreme Authority by the voice of the Portugueze, at twenty years of age, in 1668, did not however assume the title of King. Like the present Prince Regent of the same Country, he contented himself with that Denomination; but he married Mary of Nemours, his Brother's wife, as Henry the Eighth of England had espoused Catherine of Arragon. Till the death of Alphonso, which took place seventeen years later, in 1683, Pedro only exercised the Regency. Alphonso was first sent to the Azores, or Western Islands, situate in the midst of the Atlantic Ocean; where he resided for some years, at Terceira, in an honorable restraint: but it was

afterwards judged expedient to conduct him back to Portugal, and to confine him in one of the royal Palaces, at Cintra; a village not remote from Lisbon, situate towards the mouth of the Tagus, in a Country abounding with natural beauties of every kind, which render it one of the most delicious and enchanting spots in Europe. At a more recent period, Cintra has attained historical Celebrity, from the Convention there concluded, or rather at Torres Vedras, with the French, in 1808. In the Palace at the former place, I visited the Apartment in which Alphonso was imprisoned, and where he ended his days. Though become somewhat ruinous in 1772, it was tolerably spacious, being about twenty feet square, and proportionably lofty. He passed eleven years as a captive, in that chamber. Towards the latter part of his life, his understanding, naturally very weak, became wholly alienated. He grew furious to such a degree, that it was found necessary to confine him by an iron rail, which surrounded his Bed, and allowed him only a space of about fourteen to sixteen feet, for exercise. The Bricks, of which the floor was composed, were worn away in this track, by the constant action of his feet.

His death, however, as far as we can assert, or are warranted to conjecture, was not accelerated by any act of Treachery or Violence. It is an extraordinary circumstance, that Alphonso terminated his unfortunate life on the 12th of December, 1683; and that his former wife, Mary of Nemours, who was married to his younger Brother Don Pedro, died on the 17th of the same month and year, leaving no issue by that Prince.

Pedro the Second, who continued to reign down to the commencement of the last Century, in 1706; was unquestionably the most able of the Sovereigns that have governed Portugal, from 1640 down to the present time. John the Fifth, his son and successor, seems to have been a man of moderate intellectual endowments: fond of show, but destitute of taste; and during the latter Years of his Life, when the Powers of his Mind had been enfeebled in Consequence of an Apoplectic Stroke,—enslaved by Bigotry. He expended forty-five Millions of Crusadoes, or nearly four Millions Sterling, in the erection of a Palace at Maffra, about five leagues north of Cintra, and not far removed from the Shore of the Atlantic. It formed a

monument of royal prodigality, blended with Superstition. Who can believe, that in the last Century, any Prince would construct a residence, in imitation or emulation of the *Escurial* of Philip the Second of Spain? John did not, indeed, like Philip, build the Palace of Maffra, in the form of a Gridiron; but he united in one Edifice, precisely as that King had done, a Palace, a Church, and a Convent. The Church occupied the centre of the Building; contiguous to it being placed the Cloisters; together with the Cells, or apartments of the Monks. Three hundred Franciscan Friars, a Monastic Order distinguished for the disgusting filth of their dress and appearance, were there stationed. They had even a Hospital in the central part of the Edifice, for the diseased and infirm members of the Fraternity. One of the first acts of Joseph's reign, was to dislodge these religious nuisances; and when I visited Maffra, they had been replaced by secular priests, diminished in number. The Palace, dismantled, forsaken, and forming altogether an appendage to the Convent, extended in two wings on either side, and behind the Church; but, without Gardens or pleasure grounds of any kind. Such was

Maffra, the Versailles of Portugal; erected, like that Palace, in a situation little favoured by nature! John the Fifth expended more beneficially the treasures of the State, in constructing the Aqueduct of Alcantra, scarcely a mile out of Lisbon, which supplies the Capital in a great Degree, with water. In solidity and grandeur, it is a work worthy of ancient Rome; crossing a deep valley or Ravine, from one mountain to another, on Arches; the central Arch of which Range is three hundred feet in height, and ninety in breadth. The Earthquake of 1755, spared this monument of national utility, which received little injury from the shock; and the construction of which reconciled me in some measure, to the Sovereign by whom it was raised.

The reign of Joseph may be more properly denominated the Administration of the Condé de Œyras, created afterwards Marquis de Pombal, than it can be characterized by any other description. The name of this Minister was Sebastian Joseph Carvalho. His Birth, noble, but not illustrious, would never have opened him a way to power, tho' aided by extraordinary talents, if Court Favour

had not sustained and propelled them. Maria Anna of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Leopold the First, and Queen of John the Fifth, recommended him to her son Joseph; who, on his accession to the Throne in 1750, named Carvalho, Secretary for Foreign Affairs. His own abilities atchieved the rest. On him, Joseph seemed to have devolved the exclusive and absolute Government of the State; nor was he unworthy of that selection. At the time that I saw him, he had attained his seventy-third year; but age appeared neither to have diminished the vigor, freshness, nor activity of his faculties. In his person he was very tall and slender; his face long, pale, meagre, and full of intelligence. He was so unpopular, and so many attempts had been made to assassinate him, that he never went out without Guards. Even in the Streets of Lisbon, his Carriage was always accompanied or surrounded by a detachment of Cavalry, with their swords drawn for his protection. He was, indeed, not less odious to the Nobility and Clergy, than to the People; perhaps, even more so; one of the great objects of his policy, during more than twenty years, having been to reduce the Aristocratic and Ecclesiastical Pri-

vileges of every kind, to a strict dependance on the Crown and Government.

In 1772, the State Prisons were crouded with unfortunate victims. The Tower of Belem, the Fort of the Bougie, situate at the mouth of the Tagus, and the Castle of St. Julien, placed at the northern entrance of that river, were all full of prisoners; among whom, a great proportion had been Jesuits, arrested either in 1758, or in 1763, by Orders of the first Minister. The subterranean Casemates of the Castle of St. Julien contained above a hundred individuals, who could be clearly discerned by persons walking on the Ramparts of the Fortress, through the iron gratings which admitted some light to those gloomy abodes. I have, myself, beheld many of them, at the depth of fifty or sixty feet below me, pacing to and fro; most of whom, being Jesuits, were habited in the Dress of the Order. They excited great Commiseration. The famous Gabriel Malagrida, an Italian Jesuit, who was accused of having, as Confessor to the Marchioness of Tavora, known and encouraged her to make the attempt upon Joseph's life; after being long imprisoned in that Fortress, was

strangled, and his Body subsequently reduced to Ashes at the stake, in 1761. He appears to have been rather a Visionary, and an imbecile Fanatic, than a man of dangerous parts. His public Execution, when near seventy-five years of age, must be considered as a cruel and odious act, which reflects disgrace on Joseph, and on his Minister. Malagrida's name is become proverbial among us, to express duplicity; and has been applied, perhaps unjustly, to one of our greatest modern Statesmen, by his political Opponents. Many other persons of all ranks, either known, or believed to have been, implicated in the Duke d'Aveiro's Conspiracy, remained in 1772 shut up in the various State Prisons of Portugal. Most, or all of these unhappy sufferers who survived, have, I believe, been since liberated in 1777, on the Accession of the present Queen.

In extenuation, if not in justification of the first Minister, and of Joseph, it must however be admitted that the national character of the Portugueze, at once bigotted, sanguinary, and vindictive, demanded a severe Government. They were neither to be

reformed, enlightened, nor coerced, by gentle and palliative remedies. At the decease of John the Fifth, the Streets of Lisbon, even in the most frequented Quarters, exhibited perpetual scenes of violence, and of murder, during the night. Dead bodies, stabbed, and covered with wounds, were left exposed in the Squares and public places. But, before 1772, the Police, introduced and rigorously enforced by the Marquis de Pombal, had almost extinguished these enormities; and had rendered the Capital nearly as secure as London. During my residence there, of many weeks, such was the vigilance of the Patrole, that only one Assassination was committed; and I have returned home, alone, on foot, at the latest hours, without danger or apprehension. Nor were the cares of the First Minister, limited to the mere protection of the Metropolis. Its re-edification, salubrity, and improvement in every sense, occupied his capacious mind. Lisbon might truly be said to rise from its ashes, as ancient Rome did under Augustus, renewed and beautified. The education of the young Nobility formed likewise, a distinguished object of his regard. A College, founded solely for their benefit, at an immense expense, was already

nearly completed. I visited it, as I did the manufactures of silk, of lace, of ivory, and many others, carrying on under his Auspices. All these bespoke a great and elevated understanding, intent on ameliorating the order of things, and animated by very salutary or enlarged views. But, the greater number of the Marquis de Pombal's institutions, edifices, and fabricks, being incomplete, demanded time or funds for their entire accomplishment. The detestation in which he was held, impeded their progress: nor was it doubted, that as soon as the present Queen, then Princess of Brazil, should succeed to the throne; her Superstition, or her Prejudices, would overturn all that Joseph and his Minister had done, to introduce improvements or reforms into Portugal. The event justified this prediction.

Joseph's reign, which had been marked by Earthquakes, Conspiracies, and War, was regarded by the Portugueze Nation, not without some apparent reason, as a most calamitous period. Yet if we compare the misfortunes of that time, with those which have succeeded, when the Sovereign, the Royal Family, and the principal Nobility,

have been compelled to abandon their native Country, in order to seek an Asylum in South America; while the Capital and the Provinces have been occupied, over-run, and plundered, by a revolutionary Enemy of the most rapacious description;—how comparatively tolerable were the evils endured under Joseph, when placed near those to which Portugal has been subjected under his Daughter! They may be said to have equalled, if they did not exceed, between 1807 and 1810, the degradation and subversion which followed the death of Sebastian, in the sixteenth Century, when Philip the Second rendered himself master of the kingdom. Having mentioned Sebastian, I shall say a few words on the History of that unfortunate Prince. It is well known that he perished or disappeared, in the famous Battle of Arzila, on the Coast of Barbary, fought on the 4th of August, 1578. I have seen, in the royal Palace at Cintra, a little open Court or Balcony, adjoining one of the rooms of State, in which was constructed a stone Chai or seat, coated with a sort of coarse Porcelain; a Bench of the same materials extending on each side. In that Chair, while his Ministers sate round him, Sebastian, as

constant Tradition asserts, held the memorable Council, in which the Enterprize against Morocco was resolved on, contrary to the advice and opinions of his more prudent Counsellors. That he was no more seen after the day of the Battle of Arzila, by the Portugueze, is certain; but it is not absolutely ascertained beyond all doubt, that he perished there. His Body was never found, or at least, was never identified; and I have conversed with very judicious men at Lisbon, who inclined to believe that the individual who appeared at Venice in 1598, asserting himself to be Sebastian, was really that Prince.

Joseph had one Sister, named Barbara, who was married, at seventeen years of age, to Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, youngest of the sons of Philip the Fifth, King of Spain, by his first Queen, and who afterwards succeeded him in the Spanish Throne. This Princess, who seems to have been entirely under the dominion of Superstition and of Music; before she quitted Lisbon, in order to become the wife of Ferdinand, in 1729, having repaired to the Church of the "Madrè de Dios," or Mother of God, situate on the

banks of the Tagus, in the Suburbs; there made a solemn offering to the Virgin, of the rich Dress, laces, and valuable jewels, which she had worn at the ceremony of her Espousals. I was induced to visit the Church, for the purpose of viewing this magnificent sacrifice or renunciation of female ornament. The image was habited from head to foot, in the finest lace; the Stomacher, Necklace, and Ear-rings, being altogether composed of Brilliants. Lady Wortley Montagu remarks, in one of her Letters, written from some part of Germany; I believe, from Cologne; that in her time, as early as 1717, or 1718, the knavery of the Priests had already removed, in most, or in many of the Catholic Churches, the precious stones which Devotees had presented to the Saints; substituting paste, or other imitations in their place. This assertion may have been well founded, relative to Germany; but was not true in Portugal, at a much later period. I viewed these Diamonds, by permission of the priests, very closely, through the medium of a glass case, in which the Virgin herself was inclosed; and I have not the slightest doubt that they were the identical jewels, presented by the Princess on the above-mentioned occasion.

At the feet of his Mother, secured within the same case, lay a waxen figure of the Infant Jesus, wrapt in similar attire, and reposing in a Cradle of solid silver. How long these costly articles of Dress may have remained unremoved in the Church of the " Madrè de Dios," since I saw them, I cannot pretend to say: but we may presume that the Prince Regent, when he embarked for Rio Janeiro, did not leave them behind, for the Duchess of Abrantés, or the revolutionary rapacity of the French Generals; who would no more have spared them, than the Elder Dionysius respected the golden Beard of Esculapius, or the Mantle of Jupiter.

The Princess Barbara, who became Queen of Spain in 1746, constituted the supreme felicity of Ferdinand the Sixth, her husband; with whom she lived twenty-nine years, in a state of such conjugal union as is rarely to be found in human life, and still more rarely on the Throne. They nevertheless remained without issue. Like his Queen, Ferdinand nourished a decided passion, or rather rage, for Music; and it is well known that the celebrated Farinelli enjoyed under his reign, as he had previously done under that

of Philip the Fifth, an almost unbounded Ascendant over both the King and Queen. Such was Farinelli's prodigious influence, that he may be said to have shared the political power of the state with Ensenada, the first Minister of Ferdinand; a Prince who, though he reigned in our own Times, is hardly known or remembered beyond the limits of Spain. His talents were very confined, but his intentions were upright. Notwithstanding the obligations of the "Family Compact," he refused, on the Commencement of the War between Great-Britain and France in 1756, to join the latter power; or to sacrifice, as his Successor Charles the Third did in 1761, the interests of his People, to the ties of Consanguinity existing between him and Louis the Fifteenth. Till his Decease, which took place in 1759, Ferdinand maintained a strict Neutrality. His Death was unquestionably produced by grief for the loss of his Queen, who had been carried off in the preceding year. From that time, Ferdinand became a prey to the most inveterate Melancholy, which not only enfeebled, but, in some measure alienated his mind. Abandoning himself to despair, he declined all society; refused to change his linen, or to take any remedies,

during some weeks before he expired; and ultimately died the victim of conjugal Affection. In consequence of this event, his half-Brother, Charles, son of Philip the Fifth by his second wife, the *Parmesana* as she was denominated; who then reigned at Naples, ascended the Throne of Spain.

I passed a great part of the years 1775 and 1776, in France, not long after the decease of Louis the Fifteenth; a Sovereign whose character and actions always appeared to me to be depreciated and undervalued by the French, nearly in the same proportion that they have elevated those of Louis the Fourteenth above their just Standard. Like his Predecessor, he succeeded to the Crown, while in childhood; but, he had not the same advantages as Louis the Fourteenth enjoyed, whose Mother, Anne of Austria, watched with maternal solicitude over his preservation. Louis the Fifteenth, who at five Years of Age, survived both his parents, was left, during the Regency of Philip, Duke of Orleans, principally to the care of Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, who obtained over his pupil, an early, and almost an unbounded ascendant. The Regency lasted above eight years; and during

no period of time since the Abdication of James the Second in 1689, have France and England been so closely united by political ties. George the First and the Regent Duke, both, dreaded a Pretender: one, in the son of James; the other, in Philip the Fifth, King of Spain. Impelled by this apprehension, the two Princes equally made the policy and interests of their respective Countries, subordinate to their personal objects of Acquisition or Ambition. Philip, Duke of Orleans, was undoubtedly one of the most immoral and profligate men whom we have beheld in modern Ages. The Orgies of the "Palais Royal," probably exceeded in depravity, as well as in enormity, every thing of the same kind ever acted, even in France. The incestuous Fables of Antiquity, and the unnatural Amours of Cinyras and Myrrha, which we read with Horror in Ovid; the revolting Stories related of Alexander the Sixth and his Daughter Lucretia Borgia;—were believed to have been realized in the Persons of the Duchess de Berri, and the Abbess de Chelles, with their own Father. But, notwithstanding the Disgust excited by such Scenes of infamous Turpitude, we must acknowledge that the Regent likewise dis-

played some of the greatest endowments and talents, fitted both for the Cabinet and for the Field. His Descendant, who performed so detestable a part in the late French Revolution, only resembled him in his vices. He inherited neither the distinguished personal courage, nor the ardor for knowledge, nor the military skill, nor the aptitude for public Business, nor the elevated mind of the Regent; who, if he had not been restrained by some considerations of goodness, or some emotions of affection, might easily have acted by Louis the Fifteenth, as we suppose that Richard, Duke of Gloucester, did by Edward the Fifth; or, as we know that the late Duke of Orleans acted by Louis the Sixteenth, and his Queen. To the Regent, whose life was terminated before the End of the Year 1723, in the arms of the Duchess de Valori, abbreviated by his excesses, succeeded the short and feeble Ministry of the Duke of Bourbon, comprizing scarcely three years; but, which Period of Time produced one event peculiarly interesting to the young King, and to France; I mean, his Marriage.

There is no instance in the last, or present

Century, of any female attaining so great an elevation, as that of Mademoiselle de Leczinska to the Throne of France: for, we cannot justly reckon the second marriage of the Czar Peter, with Catherine, the Livonian Peasant, as an exception. Muscovy could scarcely then be considered as forming a portion of the European System, nor were its Sovereigns altogether subjected to our usages. That the Daughter of an expatriated Polish Nobleman or Palatine, whom Charles the Twelfth of Sweden had nominally forced upon the Poles, as their King, during a few years; but, who was in fact only a needy, exiled Adventurer, driven by necessity to take shelter in an obscure provincial town of Alsace, and destitute of Territories, or almost of support;—that a Princess, if such she might indeed be properly denominated, who could hardly be thought a suitable match for one of the petty Sovereigns on the Banks of the Elbe, or the Rhine, should have been selected for the Consort of a King of France;—may assuredly be considered as one of the most singular Caprices of Fortune. Its singularity becomes augmented, when we reflect that the young Monarch was already not only betrothed to the daughter of Philip

the Fifth, his Uncle, King of Spain; but, that the Princess destined to share his Throne and Bed, had long resided in France, the nuptials being only delayed till the two parties should attain a proper age. Yet, in defiance of this impediment, did the Duke of Bourbon venture to send back Philip's Daughter to Madrid; and I met her at Lisbon, near half a Century afterwards, become Queen of Portugal; transported from the Banks of the Seine, to those of the Tagus: while a native of Poland, brought up in obscurity, and hardly accounted among the female Candidates for an European Crown, supplied her place. The motive assigned for so extraordinary a proceeding on the part of the Duke of Bourbon, was his apprehension that the young King, whose delicate Constitution seemed scarcely to promise his attaining to manhood, should die without issue.

I have been assured by persons conversant in the secret History of the early part of Louis the Fifteenth's reign, that when the Duke of Bourbon determined on dissolving the unconsummated Marriage between the young King and Philip's Daughter, he found himself under the greatest embarrassment,

whom to substitute in her room. He had a Sister, Mademoiselle de Sens, born in 1705, whose age and personal accomplishments rendered her a fit Bride for Louis. She then resided at the Abbey of Fontevraud in Anjou, under the protection of the Abbess; and it was natural for the Duke to desire to raise her to the Throne. But, he was himself enslaved to the celebrated Marchioness de Prie, his Mistress, who wished to have the merit of naming the future Queen; in whose Household, and about whose person, she aspired to occupy a distinguished situation. On the other hand, they both equally dreaded giving a wife to their Sovereign, whose Charms, Talents, or Ambition, might impel her to assume an empire over his mind. Louis, then only entering on his sixteenth year, brought up in great seclusion, scarcely initiated in public Business; and though not destitute of talents, yet indolent, of very reserved habits, modest, and diffident of himself; would, not improbably, like his uncle Philip the Fifth, be governed by a Queen of energy or spirit. Before the choice fell therefore on the Duke of Bourbon's sister, it behoved the Marchioness to ascertain whether, if selected for so great an elevation, she would probably manifest

ductility of character, gratitude, and attachment towards the person who principally raised her to that eminence. In order to obtain satisfaction on a point so important, Madame de Prie determined to procure an interview with Mademoiselle de Sens, to whom she was unknown by person, though not by reputation. Assuming therefore a fictitious name, she repaired to Fontevraud, and having been presented to her, found means to turn the conversation on the Marchioness de Prie. Unconscious that the stranger to whom she addressed her discourse, was the Marchioness herself, the Princess gave full scope to her antipathy towards a woman, whom she considered as exercising a pernicious influence over her brother's mind. This disclosure of her sentiments, at once stopped the further prosecution of Madame de Prie's plan for placing her on the French Throne, and compelled her to turn her views to another quarter.

The Duke of Bourbon, not discouraged by the obstacle which difference of religion imposed, next embraced the extraordinary measure of demanding for his master, the hand of an English Princess; and he named as the

object of his selection, the eldest Granddaughter of George the First, Anne, who afterwards married William the Fourth, Prince of Orange. This event took place in 1725. However strong might be the objection arising from her profession of the Protestant faith, which she must necessarily have renounced, in order to ascend the Throne of France, yet the offer was alluring; and Henrietta, sister of Charles the Second, had married Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis the Fourteenth, after Charles's Restoration. But, George the First, though gratified by the proposition of seeing one of his female descendants wear the French Crown, yet was too wise to accept it; well knowing that such an Alliance, however splendid in itself, or whatever political advantages it might seem to present, would irritate and disgust all the adherents of the Succession in the House of Hanover. Thus foiled in two attempts to dispose of Louis the Fifteenth's hand, and firmly resolved on effecting his marriage without Delay, Madame de Prie cast her eyes on Maria Leczinska, the daughter of Stanislaus. She was then living with her father, at Weissembourg in Alsace; a town situate not far from the Rhine, on the frontier of Germany,

though in the dominions of France; where the titular King of Poland resided in as much obscurity, as Charles the Second lived in the preceding Century at Cologne, during the Protectorate of Cromwell. So little expectation did he entertain of matching his Daughter with a crowned head, that he had already lent a favourable ear to the proposals of a private Nobleman, a subject of France, the Count d'Estrees, who offered her Marriage. Stanislaus accepted the Offer, but desired to delay its accomplishment, till he could procure, if possible, the honors of a Duchess, at the Court of Versailles, for Mademoiselle de Leczinska.

With that view, he actually made applications to obtain a Brevet of Duke for the Count d'Estrees, his destined son-in-law, though without success; Fortune reserving for her the first Diadem in Europe. Her principal recommendation consisted in her want of personal attractions, the humility of her condition, and the obligation to Gratitude which she must naturally feel for the authors of so wonderful a change in her Fortune. In fact, Nature had neither bestowed on her Beauty, Elegance of manners, nor intellectual

endowments of any kind. Even youth she could scarcely be said comparatively to possess, as she was already twenty-three years of age, while her destined husband was only sixteen. We know not which to admire most, the singularity of such a choice, or the passive Apathy displayed by Louis, while his Minister and Madame de Prie thus disposed of his person. Maria Leczinska brought him nothing, as a portion, on the day of her nuptials, except modesty, virtue, and goodness of heart. Yet the young King, during eleven or twelve years after his marriage, exhibited a pattern of conjugal fidelity, which stands strongly contrasted with Louis the Fourteenth's dissolute amours, at the same period of life; though Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip the Fourth, could boast of much superior personal Charms to the Polish Princess. The Duchess de la Valiere, Madame de Montespan, and Madame de Fontanges, disputed for the possession of Louis, the Fourteenth's youth. It was not 'till Louis the Fifteenth had passed his thirtieth year, that after becoming successively enamoured of the Duchess de Chateau-roux and her two Sisters, he sunk first into the arms of the Marchioness de Pompadour,

and in his old Age resigned himself to the disgraceful Chains of the Countess du Barry.

The Duke de Bourbon's and Madame de Prie's period of power, proved nevertheless of short duration. He was banished in 1726, to Chantilly, and at that point of time commences Cardinal Fleury's Administration. It lasted nearly as long as Richlieu's Ministry had done; namely, about seventeen years; and though Fleury was far inferior in strength of character, resources, and energy, to his great predecessor, yet may France justly feel for him equal gratitude. Pacific, economical, unostentatious, and mild, he seemed made to heal the wounds inflicted on their Country, by the Ambition of Louis the Fourteenth, and the Excesses of the Regent. If Richlieu, as we are assured from contemporary authority, ventured to raise his eyes to Anne of Austria, and to make her propositions of a libertine nature; it is equally a fact, however incredible it may appear, that Fleury, then above seventy years of age, carried his presumption still farther with respect to Maria Leczinska. That Princess, conscious nevertheless of the ascendant which the Cardinal had obtained over her

Husband, possessed too much prudence to communicate to him, in the first instance, the subject of her complaint. She wisely preferred making a Confidant of her father. To Stanislaus she therefore revealed the temerity of the aged Minister, and besought him to give her his advice for her conduct, particularly on the Propriety of her acquainting Louis with the circumstance. Stanislaus exhorted her, in reply, to bury the secret in her own bosom; observing at the same time, that Sovereign Princesses are placed on such an eminence, as almost to render it impossible for any disrespectful propositions to be made them, unless they encourage to a certain degree, such advances. The Queen was discreet enough to adopt this judicious and paternal counsel. If I had not received the Anecdote here related, from a person, whose intimacy with the individuals composing the Court of France at that time, joined to his rank and high character, left no doubt of its authenticity, I should not venture to recount the fact.

To Louis the Fifteenth, France stands indebted for the acquisition of Lorrain, a Territory of inestimable value; perhaps surpas-

sing in real importance, any augmentation of the French Dominions made by arms, within the three last Centuries. Henry the Second had conquered Metz, Toul, and Verdun, from the German Empire; besides re-annexing Calais, so long held by the English Princes. The Counties of Bugey and Bresse, covering the Borders on the side of Savoy, were gained by Henry the Fourth. His son, Louis the Thirteenth, or more properly to speak, the Cardinal de Richlieu, added Rousillon and Cerdagne, situate at one extremity of the Kingdom, towards Catalonia; while in another Quarter, he reduced Artois and Alsace to the French Obedience. Lastly, Louis the Fourteenth, in the course of his long, ambitious, and sanguinary Career, exceeding in duration seventy years, not only enlarged or strengthened his frontier along the Rhine; but augmented his Territories by the addition of Franche Comté, and of a vast portion of Flanders. Yet may we justly doubt, whether any of these acquisitions conferred such strength and security, as the possession of Lorrain. When we reflect on the beauty and extent of that fine Province, stretching into the midst of France; contiguous on the East to Germany, while on the

West, its limits approached Paris itself;—we must own that the French seem ungrateful to the memory of a Prince, who by his Arms and Negotiations succeeded in retaining such a tract of Country. It affixed the seal to every preceding effort made by their Kings or Ministers, for the security, greatness, and protection of France; leaving unaccomplished no object of wise Ambition. Nor can we too severely censure the inert, or parsimonious and narrow policy of Walpole, in permitting Cardinal Fleury to illustrate his Administration by such an act. France did not, indeed, instantly take possession in her own name, of the Duchies of Lorrain and Bar. Fortune, after raising Maria Leczinska to the Throne of France, conferred on her father, in recompence for his ideal Polish Crown, those fertile Provinces; the enjoyment and revenues of which, were secured to him for his life. Such a substitution was in fact exchanging the armour of Diomed, for that of Glaucus; a barren Sceptre, for one of Gold.

Stanislaus, when this event took place in 1736, was already nearly sixty, and he remained during thirty years, Duke of Lorrain. His

Administration, mild, beneficent, and liberal, rendered him beloved by his new subjects. He embellished Nancy, the Capital; but he held his Court and residence principally at Luneville, where he expired in consequence of a singular accident, having been burnt to death. Charles, King of Navarre, surnamed the Bad, perished nearly in the same manner, about four Centuries earlier, at Pampeluna. The late Lady Mary Churchill, Sir Robert Walpole's daughter, who then resided with her husband at Luneville, has more than once recounted to me all the particulars of Stanislaus's end. Mr. Churchill and Lady Mary, who lived in habits of intimacy with him, dined at his Villa of Bon Secours, a short distance from Luneville, on the day preceding the Catastrophe which terminated his life. She assured me, that though extremely bent with age and infirmities, being then near eighty-nine years old, he retained both his faculties and his good humour. Naturally gallant, he had a nominal Mistress, the Marchioness de Boufflers, who occupied a part of the Palace of Luneville, and to whom he was much attached; though he manifested neither jealousy nor dissatisfaction at her preference of a younger Rival. His own

Chancellor had contrived to insinuate himself into Madame de Boufflers' favour; a fact of which the King was not ignorant. Taking leave of her, one evening, when retiring to his Apartment, after embracing her, "*Mon Chancelier*," added he, "*vous dira le reste;*"—a jocose allusion to the words with which, as is well known, the French Sovereigns, when holding a *Bed of Justice*, always finish their Harangues. Stanislaus, during the last years of his life, withdrew to rest every night, at nine o'Clock, and his departure constituted the signal for commencing Faro. All the persons of both sexes, composing his Court and Household, then sat down to that infatuating Game, which was continued without intermission, to a late hour. But, a circumstance seemingly incredible is, that the rage for it became such, as to attract by degrees to the Table, all the Domestics of the Palace, down to the very Turnspits or Scullions; who crowding round, staked their *Ecus* on the Cards, over the heads of the company. Such a fact sufficiently proves the relaxation of manners which prevailed in the Court of Lorrain, under Stanislaus.

His Death, as Lady Mary Churchill related

it to me, took place in February, 1766, in the following manner. The old King, who, like the Poles and Germans, was much addicted to smoaking Tobacco, usually finished several pipes, every day. Being alone, in an undress, while endeavouring to knock out the ashes from his pipe, he set fire to his Gown; and his *Valet de Chambre*, who alone exercised the privilege of entering his Apartment, had unfortunately just gone into the Town of Luneville. His cries were not immediately heard; but when they reached the Officer stationed on guard in the outward room, he flew to the King's assistance; and having contrived to throw him down on the floor, the flames were speedily extinguished. He might even have survived and recovered the accident, if it had not been accompanied with a singular circumstance. Stanislaus, who during the last years of his life,

> ——cum Numina nobis
> Mors instans majora facit,——

had become devout; as a Penance for his Transgressions, constantly wore under his Shirt, next to his flesh, a "*Reliquaire*," or Girdle, made of Silver, having points on the inside, from space to space. These points

becoming heated, and being pressed into his Body, while in the act of extinguishing the fire, caused a number of wounds or sores; the discharge from which, at his advanced Age, proved too severe for his enfeebled Constitution. Conscious that his end approached, and only a short time before it took place, he expressed a warm desire to see Mr. Churchill and Lady Mary. They having immediately waited on him, the King received them with great complacency, and with perfect self-possession; took leave of them most cheerfully; remarked the singularity of his fortune throughout life; and added, alluding to the strange manner of his Death, "*Il ne manquoit qu'une pareille Mort, pour un Avanturier comme moi.*" He soon afterwards expired; retaining his senses and understanding almost to the last moments of his existence.

If Louis the Fifteenth, by the Peace of 1736, acquired Lorrain for France, he covered himself and his Country with military Glory, during the War that commenced in 1741, on the Death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth. Fleury was no more; he and Walpole having finished their political Careers, nearly about the same time. History

can present, in no period of the World, an instance of a first Minister commencing his Administration, like Fleury, at seventy-three years of age, and retaining his power till he was ninety. Such a fact must, indeed, be considered as an exception to the general laws of nature, moral as well as physical. Cardinal Ximenes in Spain, who approached the nearest to him, died at eighty-one; and I believe, the Count de Maurepas, under Louis the Sixteenth, almost attained to a similar Age. In 1744, the year after Fleury's decease, Louis was seized, at Metz, with a fever, which nearly proved fatal. If he had expired at that time, as was expected to happen every Moment, during several successive Days, his memory would have been embalmed in the hearts of his subjects, and of mankind. Never were more ardent, or more universal Vows offered up to Heaven by the Roman People, for the recovery of Germanicus, or for the Preservation of Titus, than were made by the French Nation, for his restoration! They were unfortunately heard, and we are forced to exclaim with Juvenal,

"Provida Pompeio dederat Campania Febres
Optandas: sed multæ Urbes, et publica Vota
Vicerunt."——

Though Louis, like Pompey, survived these testimonies of popular favour, yet, during the whole course of that War, down to its termination in 1748, he continued to deserve, and to retain, the affections of the Nation. Four brilliant and triumphant Campaigns, in one of which he was personally present, rendered him Master of all the Austrian Netherlands. The military Trophies of Marlborough, erected forty years earlier on the same plains, were lost at Fontenoy, at Raucoux, and at Lafeldt. Greater by his Moderation, than even by his Conquests, Louis gave Peace to Europe at Aix-la-Chapelle, when Holland lay open to his attack; and when Mr. Pelham, who was then at the head of the Councils of England, possessed neither pecuniary nor military resources for maintaining the Contest. Louis the Fourteenth may undoubtedly have inspired more terror at certain periods of his reign; but never excited more respect, than did his Successor at the Conclusion of the great War, which took place on the accession of Maria Theresa.

It forms a curious subject of reflection, that the Armies of France, during this splendid portion of Louis the Fifteenth's reign,

when he thus over-ran the Low Countries, were commanded by Foreigners. To Condé, Turenne, and Luxembourg, had succeeded Catinat, Vendome, Boufflers, and Villars: but these last Generals left no successors. In 1734, Villars, at near four-score, remained the sole survivor of those illustrious Commanders, who, from Rocroi down to Denain, from 1643 to 1712, had carried victory over so many Countries of Europe. An Englishman, the Duke of Berwick, natural Son of James the Second by Arabella Churchill, Sister of the great Duke of Marlborough, was placed at the head of the French forces on the Rhine, in 1734: while a German and a Dane subjected Flanders to Louis the Fifteenth, between 1743 and 1748. Marshal Saxe, the former of these Generals, attained a military reputation hardly exceeded by any individual in modern Times. Lowendahl, the other, was immortalized by the Capture of Bergen-op-Zoom, then regarded as the most impregnable fortress on the Continent. Both survived the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, only a few years. I have been in the Apartment of the Palace of Chambord, near Blois, where Marshal Saxe expired in November, 1750; extenuated by pleasures which had

enervated his Herculean Frame, and produced his premature end, at fifty-four years of age. The natural son of Augustus the Second, King of Poland, and Elector of Saxony, by the beautiful Countess of Konigsmark, he inherited from his father, an extraordinary degree of bodily Strength; but, like Milo in Antiquity,

"Viribus ille
Confisus periit, admirandisque Lacertis."

At Chambord, where he maintained a magnificent Establishment during the two last Years of his Life, he constantly entertained a company of Comedians, as a Sovereign Prince. Mademoiselle Chantilly, an Actress and a Dancer in high reputation at Paris, having, from her personal Beauty, no less than from her theatrical Merit, attracted the Marshal's attention; had, some years earlier, accompanied him on his Campaigns in the Netherlands, as his Mistress. While he was engaged in the Siege of Maestricht, Favart, a man who had found means to render himself Master of her Affections, carried her off to Paris. After the Termination of the War, Marshal Saxe caused proposals to be made her, for repairing to Chambord,

to perform on his Theatre. But she, who was married to Favart, knowing the Marshal's designs, rejected all his offers. In this Dilemma, determined again to gain possession of her, he applied to Monsieur de Berruyer, then *Lieutenant de Police*, requesting him to compel her to visit Chambord. Berruyer, desirous of obliging Marshal Saxe, made use of every Argument, and enforced them by very ample pecuniary offers. Finding, however, all his exertions fruitless, he sent her a *Lettre de Cachet*, ordering her immediately to Prison, or to Chambord. We must own that this atrocious abuse of power, which reminds us of Appius Claudius and Virginia, in the Consular Ages of Rome; excites indignation against a Minister capable of thus prostituting his official Functions, in order to gratify the depraved and licentious Appetites of an exhausted Voluptuary. Thus pressed between imprisonment and the sacrifice of her person, she preferred the latter expedient; as many other Women might have done under her Circumstances, without perhaps incurring either any deep degree of Culpability, or exciting any strong emotions of moral Reprobation. Pity, indeed, rather than Condemnation, arises in

the mind of every liberal Man, on such a recital. It is difficult to relate the sequel of the story, without involuntarily wounding Decorum: yet may the Moral that it contains, almost apologize for such a deviation, or in some degree even demand it. Madame Favart having been reluctantly conducted to the Marshal's Bed, afterwards expressed herself with some contempt respecting him. Piqued at the insinuation, he had recourse to those Expedients, which *Pope*, one of the most correct of modern Poets, who exclaims,

> "Curst be the Verse, how soft soe'er it flow,
> That tends to make one Honest Man my Foe;
> Give Virtue Scandal, Innocence a Fear,
> Or from the soft-eyed Virgin steal a Tear;"

yet has not hesitated to enumerate in his Poem of "January and May." The auxiliary proved too powerful for the principal, and produced his Death within a short time. He expired nearly in the same manner as the Regent Duke of Orleans had done, about twenty-five years earlier; a Prince, to whom, both in his virtues, his endowments of mind, and his defects or vices, Marshal Saxe exhibited some Analogy.

Louis the Fifteenth not only occupied the most distinguished place among the European Sovereigns and Powers, during the period of nearly eight years, which intervened between the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the commencement of the War of 1756; but, for a considerable time subsequent to that rupture, every success obtained was on the side of France. Beyond the Atlantic, in the Mediterranean, in Germany, as well as on the French Coasts and Shores, her Arms maintained their ascendancy. Mezerai, or Voltaire, might have expatiated with exultation and pleasure, on the events of Minorca, of Ticonderago, of Braddock's Defeat in Carolina, of Closter-seven, of St. Cas, and of Rochfort; as, on the other hand, assuredly neither Hume nor Smollet could have derived from the narration of those unfortunate or disgraceful Transactions, any subject of Triumph. That Louis, no less than his People, sunk under the energies of the first Mr. Pitt, between 1759 and 1762, must be admitted: but, all the atchievements of that great Minister, in both Hemispheres, on the land and on the water, from the Philippines to Cuba, and from Cape Breton to Senegal, were sacrificed at the peace of Fontainbleau. We seemed to have humbled the two Branches

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of the House of Bourbon, only to re-construct their fallen power: restoring all that we ought in wisdom to have retained: and retaining or acquiring all that in policy we should have surrendered to France and Spain. Witness Canada and Florida, which we preserved! Witness the Havanna, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and so many other Islands or Settlements which we ceded; not to include in the list, Manilla, a capture unknown to the British Ministry who signed the Treaty, and of which the ransom has never been paid, down to the present moment! Even the popularity of George the Third, sustained by the most irreproachable and exemplary display of private virtues, could not stand the shock of such a Peace; which covered him with nearly as much Obloquy, as that of Utrecht had inflicted on Queen Anne.

France, from 1763 to 1770, repaired her losses; and while her Councils were guided by the vigorous, as well as enterprizing Mind of Choiseul, Louis the Fifteenth, however vanquished he might have been in the preceding contest, re-appeared with at least as much Dignity on the Theatre of Europe, as Louis the Fourteenth had done after the War of the Succession. Choiseul, secure on the

side of Flanders and of Germany, by the Alliance subsisting with the House of Austria since 1756, extended succours to the Polish Insurgents, against Catherine the Second; laid the foundations of the Swedish Revolution, which was effected by Gustavus the Third in 1772; and reduced to the Obedience of his Master, the Island of Corsica, nearly about the time when that Country gave Birth to a Man, whose relentless and insatiable Ambition or Vengeance, have equally laid waste the Territory of France, and polluted by his Crimes, or converted into a Desert, the most flourishing Kingdoms of the Continent. The universal abhorrence excited by his Atrocities, renders it unnecessary to name a Monster, whose very existence, and still more, whose favoured place of retreat, an Island situate on the delicious shore of Tuscany, midway between Leghorn and Toulon, surrounded by the Splendor of a Prince, seem to reproach the justice, no less than the policy, of the European Powers.*

* The Events which have taken Place since the Autumn of 1814, when these Remarks were made on the Selection of the Isle of Elba for Bonaparte's Residence, have too well proved their Solidity.

Louis the Fifteenth, like his Predecessor, survived his only Son; justifying the Roman Poet's remark on the evils that accompany and characterize longevity, when he says,—

> " Hæc data Pœna diu viventibus, ut renovata
> Semper clade Domus, multis in luctibus, inque
> Perpetuo Mœrore, et nigra veste senescant."

The Dauphin Louis died at Fontainbleau, towards the end of 1765, at the age of about thirty-six. Whether we consider his Death abstractedly, with reference to his Character and mental qualities; or whether we try it by the calamitous reign of his son, which may be said, without a Metaphor, to have brought France to the Block; we must be compelled to regard the Dauphin's premature End, as one of the most unfortunate events which could have taken place for the French Monarchy, and for the House of Bourbon. It was produced, as I have been assured by persons who had frequent access to him, and who enjoyed a distinguished place in his confidence; from the effect of Medicines which he took, in order to repel or to disperse an eruption that appeared near his Mouth. He was supposed to have

caught the Disorder from his wife the Dauphiness, a Princess of Saxony, daughter of Augustus the Third, King of Poland, who had a violent scorbutic humour in her Blood. Malignity proceeded so far, as even to accuse the King his Father of having caused the Dauphin's death, by administering to him slow poison; a circumstance principally founded on the state of extenuation and languor to which he was reduced, during the long malady that brought him to the Grave; but, for which atrocious imputation, not the slightest foundation existed in truth.

Louis the Fifteenth, though naturally indolent, as well as afterwards dissolute; and though he became, like Tiberius, profligate towards the close of his life; manifested no cruelty, nor systematic atrocity of character. He neither resembled Louis the Eleventh, nor Bonaparte. His Son possessed firmness of mind, and a solid understanding, cultivated by polite letters. For the society of Men distinguished by Talents of any kind, the Dauphin displayed as strong a partiality, as the King betrayed a Disinclination, throughout his whole reign. Devout, and in some degree tinctured with Bigotry, he

nevertheless sought occasions of conversing with individuals, known to have embraced ideas adverse to the Catholic Faith, as well as subversive of revealed Religion. With *David Hume*, then Secretary to the English Embassy at Paris, and at the summit of his literary reputation; or as the "Heroic Epistle" says, "drunk with Gallic Wine, and "Gallic Praise;" the Dauphin, not a great while before his decease, held a long conversation, principally turning on points connected with philosophical Disquisition. When *Hume* was presented to him, "I know," said he, "that you hold very free opinions "on matters connected with Revelation; "but my principles are fixed, and therefore "speak out to me; for otherwise I should "only be conversing with a man in a Mask." He was the third Dauphin in hereditary descent, who had attained to manhood without ascending the French Throne, within the short space of fifty-four years. His Death was followed, at no long interval of time, by that of the Dauphiness his widow, and the Queen his mother; leaving Louis the Fifteenth at nearly sixty, surrounded by his Daughters, and his Grandchildren.

Unquestionably, the four last years of his reign were passed in a manner worthy of Sardanapalus; oblivious of his public Duties, insensible to national Glory, and lost to every sentiment of private Virtue, or even of Decorum. From the instant that, dismissing Choiseul from his Councils, and rejecting the favorable opportunity offered him by the dispute which arose between England and Spain, relative to the Falkland Islands, for recovering the Honor, as well as the Territories, lost by France during the preceding War; he abandoned himself to pleasures no longer suited to his age;—from that moment, he became an object of Contempt and Opprobrium to his own Subjects. Unfortunately for his Fame, he has been principally tried and estimated by this inglorious portion of his life. Yet, even while the Dukes of Aiguillon and of Richlieu directed public Affairs, while the Great Seal of France was entrusted to Maupeou, while the Finances were abandoned to the Abbé Terray, and while a Woman of the most libertine description, Madame du Barry, presided over his looser Hours; he at least exerted some proofs of vigor in his treatment of the Parliaments of his Kingdom, whom he controled and

banished: unlike his yielding Successor, who, suffered himself to be overwhelmed under the progressive effects of popular Innovation.

When we compare the concluding years of Louis the Fourteenth's reign, from 1712, to 1715, with the termination of his great Grandson's life, from 1770 to 1774; we shall see that the Court was alike, in both instances, completely under female control. It would indeed be as unjust to place Madame du Barry in competition with Madame de Maintenon; as to elevate Thais or Campaspé, to a level with Aspasia, or with Livia. Yet did the Palace and Court of the former Prince, exhibit as degrading a scene of mingled Hypocrisy, Bigotry, and Superstition; as Versailles displayed a spectacle of Debauch and licentious Pleasure, under the latter Sovereign. If it were permitted to cite as authority for this assertion, the "*Pucelle*" of Voltaire; a Poem no less captivating from its wit, than dangerous from its spirit and tendency; but, the historical Portraits scattered throughout which production, are sketched with admirable ability, by a master hand; we might there behold the ignominious figure which "the Phœnix of

the Bourbons" presented in the evening of his life, surrounded by Devotees, Priests, and Monks,

"Hercule en Froc, et Priape en Soutane."

Louis the Fifteenth, during his last years, excites nevertheless more disgust than his Predecessor, because it is unqualified by any sentiment of pity, or of respect. His Death, which took place under these circumstances, was hailed by the French, as the Æra of their liberation from a yoke equally disgraceful and severe: while the new Reign awakened in a Nation characterized by its superficial or sanguine frame of mind, the most extravagant visions of future felicity. We may however safely assume that Louis the Fifteenth, who had refused to join Charles the Third of Spain in 1770, when every circumstance invited him to a rupture with England; and who was known to have taken an unalterable determination of terminating his life in peace;—we may be assured that such a Prince, at sixty-eight or seventy, would not have sent La Fayette and Rochambeau across the Atlantic, there to imbibe the principles of Rebellion and Re-

publicanism, with which they returned to inoculate France, and to subvert the Throne. Louis the Sixteenth, only four years after his Accession, in 1778, embraced, though against his own judgment, this pernicious and improvident measure, from which, in an eminent degree, flowed the destruction of his House. So true is it, that—

> " Evertere Domos totas, optantibus ipsis,
> Dî faciles."

We cannot reflect without some surprise, that Louis the Fifteenth manifested more attention during his last illness, to the well being and support of Madame du Barry, his Mistress, after his decease; than his Predecessor displayed for Madame de Maintenon, to whom he had been united near thirty years, by the legitimate ties of Marriage. Scarron's Widow possessed nothing as her own individual property, on the first of September, 1715, when Louis the Fourteenth breathed his last, except the Estate of Maintenon, in the Vicinity of Paris, which she had purchased; and a Pension from the Crown, of two thousand Louis d'Ors a year: while the former, besides the immense pecuniary

gratifications which she had received from her Royal Lover during the period of her favor, was presented by him with the beautiful Chateau and Estate of Lusienne, situate near Marly. Yet Louis the Fourteenth, before he expired, contented himself with only recommending his future widow, to the protection of the Duke of Orleans. His Successor, on the contrary, at an early period of his disorder, after expressing the utmost anxiety respecting his Mistress, delivered into the Duke d'Aiguillon's hands, confidentially for her use in the event of his own Decease, a Port-Folio containing in Notes, the sum of three Millions of Livres, or about one hundred and twenty thousand Pounds Sterling. The Duke, with the true Spirit of a Courtier, carried this Deposit to the new King.

At sixty-four, Louis the Fifteenth died of the small-pox, at Versailles; as his Grandfather, the Dauphin, only Son of Louis the Fourteenth, was carried off at the Palace of Meudon, by the same Malady, in 1711. While any reasonable expectations of his recovery were entertained, Madame du Barry continued her attendance about his person; every idea of the nature of his Disease, being

studiously concealed from him: nor was he permitted to regard himself in a looking-Glass, lest he should discover the change effected in his countenance, by the Pustules which covered his face. The Duke de Richlieu even kept guard at the Door of his Bedchamber, to prevent the intrusion of any Priest or Ecclesiastic who might procure admission, and by warning him of his danger, awaken his apprehensions of Eternity. But, no sooner was his alarming situation understood, and the apparent improbability of his surviving the attack of so malignant a Distemper, became disseminated abroad; than Madame Louisa of France, the King's youngest daughter, who had taken the Veil as a Carmelite Nun, quitting the Convent of which she was Prioress at St. Denis, repaired to Versailles. With irresistible importunity she demanded admittance to her Father, whom she admonished of his perilous state, and impending Dissolution: he was already sinking under the ravages of the Disease, which left no hope of his surmounting its violence. Madame du Barry had been sent away some Days before, to Lusienne. The King expired in a narrow white Bed, placed between two windows of his Apartment, which

were constantly kept open on account of the heat of the Weather, though the Season of the year was by no means advanced, it being only the 10th day of May, 1774. These particulars have all been related to me, not long after they took place, by a Gentleman, one of his Pages, who attended him throughout the whole course of his Disorder.

It is obvious, after a Consideration of these Facts, that the successor of Louis the Fifteenth must have ascended the Throne under the most favourable Auspices. To the majesty of the first European Crown, he added the brilliancy of opening Life, not having yet completed his twentieth year. But, though young, Louis possessed neither the Graces, the activity, nor the elasticity of mind, usually characteristic of Youth. Heavy, inert, inclined to Corpulency, and destitute of all aptitude for any exercises of the body, except Hunting; he seemed, like James the First of England, unfit for appearing in the Field. His manners were shy; a natural result of his neglected Education; which made Madame du Barry commonly call him, during his Grandfather's life, "*Le gros Garçon, mal élevé.*" Yet never did any

Prince manifest more rectitude of intention, greater probity, or a warmer desire to advance the felicity of his people. Nor was his Understanding by any means inadequate to fulfilling those beneficent designs. He even endeavoured, at an early period of his reign, to repair the want of preceding Instruction, by intense private application. For Geography, he displayed an uncommon passion; and it is well known, that none of his Ministers equalled him in that branch of Knowledge. Before 1778, when the French Cabinet embraced the injudicious determination of aiding the Americans, by sending out D'Estaign with a Fleet to their support; the King had rendered himself so perfect a master of the Topography of the Trans-atlantic Continent, that from the River St. Laurence, to the Southern extremity of Florida, not a head-land, a Bay, a River, or almost an Inlet, were unknown to him. Warmly attached to the Queen his wife, and indisposed to Connexions of Gallantry, his nuptial fidelity could admit of no dispute; and in all the relations of domestic life, he might be esteemed not only blameless, but meritorious. George the Third could hardly lay claim to higher moral esteem and approbation, in his private Character.

Impressed with deep sentiments of filial piety, and of respect for the memory, as well as for the precepts or advice, of his Father the Dauphin; he selected his Ministers in compliance with that Prince's written instructions, which he had carefully preserved, and religiously obeyed. Those instructions impelled him to place the Count de Maurepas at the head of the new Administration, though that Nobleman had then attained a very advanced period of life. He was indeed as old as the Cardinal de Fleury, when he assumed the management of Affairs, having attained his seventy-third year, in 1774; and having passed the preceding twenty-five years in exile, at Bourges, the obscure Capital of the central and secluded Province of Berri. It may however be justly questioned, whether in this choice, Louis the Sixteenth was fortunate. Maurepas, though a Man of superior talents, who preserved in age, all the freshness of his intellect; yet plunged his Country into the Alliance with America, which proved eventually, at no great distance of time, the leading source of all the Revolutionary Calamities that have desolated France. In his selection of Vergennes for the foreign Department, the King apparently manifested more

discernment. I was at Stockholm, in June, 1774, when the Courier, who brought the intelligence of Louis the Fifteenth's Death, delivered to Monsieur de Vergennes, then the French Embassador at the Court of Sweden, letters recalling him to Paris, in order to form a Member of the Cabinet. Happily for themselves, neither Maurepas nor Vergennes survived to witness the Commencement of the Revolution.

If a combination of almost all those qualities or endowments, which in a private station, conciliate esteem and excite respect, could have secured to Louis the Sixteenth a tranquil reign, he might justly have pretended to that felicity. But, unfortunately, he wanted the bolder and more affirmative features of the mind, which confirm dominion, repress or extinguish innovation, retain the various classes of subjects in their respective Orbits, inspire becoming apprehension, and preserve the Throne from insult or attack. These defects had not indeed become apparent to the Nation at large, as early as 1776; but they were not the less obvious to such Individuals as had access to his Person and Court. Perhaps, had he

succeeded in more tranquil Times, or if he had been the immediate successor of Louis the Fourteenth; under whom, although the Monarchy was convulsed, and had been almost overturned by foreign Enemies towards the Conclusion of that Reign, yet the Monarchical principle and power remained firmly rooted in public opinion; he might have maintained himself in his elevation. But, even before the commencement of the American War, Voltaire, Rousseau, and their Disciples, had undermined both the foundations of the Throne and of the Altar, by inculcating philosophical Principles; which, however fascinating in appearance, were calculated in their results, to propel the inferior ranks upon the upper Orders of Society. A spirit of disquisition, of discontent, of complaint, and of reform, which pervaded not only the mass of the French Population, but, which had infected even the Army, the Navy, and however strange it may seem, the Church itself; menaced the most alarming Consequences. Henry the Fourth and Sully would have anticipated and suppressed it in the Birth. Louis the Thirteenth and Richlieu would have combated and vanquished it in the Field. Louis the Fourteenth and Louvois

would have either dispersed, or have overawed and intimidated it, by Measures of Vigor. Even the Regent Duke, Fleury, or Choiseul, would not have supinely allowed it to mature its destructive powers, till it burst into a Conflagration.

If ever France stood in need of a strong, and even a severe Ruler, it was at the death of Louis the Fifteenth; when the person of the Prince, and the Throne itself, were alike, although from different causes, fallen into universal Contempt. A Sovereign of energy, who had possessed military talents, and who instead of breaking the Household Troops, disarming the royal Authority, and then imprudently convoking the States-General; would have mounted on horseback, placed a strong Garrison in the Bastile, arrested the first instigators to Sedition, sent the Duke of Orleans to the Castle of Vincennes, and put himself at the head of his Army in the last resort, against his rebellious Subjects;—such a King might have defied the Revolution. But, Louis the Sixteenth laboured under a double inaptitude, moral and physical He was the only Monarch since Philip of Valois, if not the single instance that occurs

since Hugh Capet, the Founder of the third Dynasty, who never had, on any occasion, appeared in person among his soldiers. Louis the Fifteenth, and his Son the Dauphin, though neither of them were distinguished by martial ardor, yet assisted in the field, made a nominal Campaign in the Netherlands; and were stationed by Marshal Saxe in such a manner, at the Battle of Fontenoy, as at least to be spectators of, if not participators in, the Victory gained on that memorable Day. Their ill-fated Descendant could never be propelled into such exertions, and he even betrayed a dislike towards shewing himself at the peaceful Ceremony of a Review.

His personal Courage itself, whatever flattery may assert, or candour may suggest, was problematical. That he displayed presence of mind, Calmness, and contempt of Death, when surrounded by a furious populace, in October, 1789, at Versailles, and in June, 1792, at the Tuilleries, cannot be disputed. But, on the Scaffold, in January, 1793, for the performance of which last act he must nevertheless have been prepared, by all the aids of Reflection, and all the supports

of Religion; he did not comport himself with the serenity and self-possession that characterized Charles the First, and Mary, Queen of Scots, when laying down their Heads on the Block. It must however be admitted on the other hand, that the Guillotine, which was only an atrocious revolutionary Engine, invented, not so much to abbreviate the sufferings of the condemned individual, as to facilitate the despatch of a number of victims with certainty, in a shorter space of time; bereaved Death of all its grace and dignity. I have likewise seen and read very strong attestations to the firmness, displayed by the King of France in his last Moments. On the 26th of January, 1793, the day on which the official account of his Execution arrived in London; being alone with the Duke of Dorset, who was then Lord Steward, at St. James's Palace, he received a note, which he immediately shewed me, and which I copied on the spot. It contained these words:—

" Paris, 21st January, 12 o'Clock.

" The unfortunate Louis is no more. He suffered Death this Morning, at ten o'Clock, with the most heroic Courage."

" To the Duke of Dorset."

The note had no signature, but the Duke told me, that he knew both the hand-writing and the writer. Yet I have been assured that Louis attempted to resist or impede the Executioners; who, impatient for obvious Reasons, to finish the performance, used a degree of violence, threw him down forcibly on the plank, in which act his face was torn, and finally thrust him under the Guillotine. The Hope and Expectation of a Rescue, which he unquestionably nourished down to the last Moment, might, I am well aware, explain the King's motive for protracting the Time, without impeaching his Courage; and might throw an Air of Irresolution over his Deportment. But, his Queen and his Sister displayed more Decision. Marie Antoinette, and Madame Elizabeth, each, exhibited in turn, one, the Heroism of an elevated mind, superior to Death; the other, the calm resignation of a Saint and a Martyr, under the same Circumstances. Even the Duke of Orleans himself, covered as he was with Crimes and Turpitudes, yet derived from Despair a species of affirmative Courage, hurried to the place of Execution, ascended the Scaffold with Rapidity, and rushed upon his fate.

In the Summer of 1776, when I quitted France, Marie Antoinette may be said to have reached the summit of her Beauty, and of her popularity. Her favor with the Nation at large, declined from the period of her Brother the Emperor Joseph the Second's visit to Paris, in 1777; after which interview between them, her enemies, with equal falsity and malignity, accused her of sacrificing both the treasures and the interests of the French Monarchy, to her Austrian connexions. Her personal charms, which Burke has overrated, consisted more in her elevated manner, lofty demeanour, and Graces of deportment, all which announced a Queen, than in her features or Countenance, which wanted softness and regularity. She had besides weak, or rather, inflamed Eyes; but, her Complexion, which was dazzling, aided by youth, and all the Decorations of Dress, in which Ornaments she displayed great Taste, imposed on the beholder. In the national estimation, her greatest defect at this period of life, consisted in her Sterility; she having been married full six years, without giving any apparent prospect of issue. But, Anne of Austria had remained nearly two and twenty years under the same reproach, be-

fore she brought into the world Louis the Fourteenth. The Count de Provence was likewise destitute of any Children, though as early as 1771 he had espoused a Daughter of the King of Sardinia; while the Count d'Artois, youngest of the three Brothers, married to another Princess of Savoy, was already become a father. His son, born in 1775, had been created Duke d'Angouleme. Both the King and the Count de Provence were then generally regarded, in different ways, as equally inapt for the purposes of Marriage. It had nevertheless been ascertained, that Louis the Sixteenth laboured under no impediment for perpetuating his race, except a slight defect in his physical Organization, easily susceptible of relief by a surgical Operation; but, to undergo which, he for a long time manifested great repugnance. The importance of the case, and the pressing instances which were made to him, having at length however surmounted his scruples, he submitted to it; and the Queen lay in of a Daughter in December, 1778, whose unmerited sufferings, filial Piety, and heroic virtues, have justly endeared her to all Europe. But, Marie Antoinette did not till several years later, produce a Dauphin.

Of the three Royal Brothers, the Count d'Artois had been cast by Nature, in the most graceful Mould. All the Dignity of Louis the Fourteenth, had exclusively descended to him. His elder Brother, the Count de Provence, who resembled the King in his person, was less known to the Nation, in 1776, than either of the others. Moderate in his character, and of retired habits; possessing a strong mind, and a highly cultivated understanding, but, destitute of brilliant or of dangerous talents, he approved himself on all occasions, the most submissive of subjects. Both the younger Princes resided constantly at Versailles, in a part of the Royal Palace; accompanied the King, whenever he repaired to Compiégne or to Fontainbleau; commonly attended him at Mass, as well as to the Chace; and never absented themselves, even on an excursion to Paris, without his permission. Philip, Duke de Chartres, too well known to us by his vindictive and criminal political intrigues, which at a more recent period have conduced in so great a degree, to the subversion of the House of Bourbon; was already fallen, at the Time of which I speak, under the public condemnation or contempt. He had then been married several years, to the

sole Daughter and Heiress of the Duke de Penthiévre, last male of the illegitimate Descendants of Louis the Fourteenth; and the popular voice accused him of having plunged the Prince de Lamballe, his Brother-in-law, the Duke de Penthiévre's only Son, into the Debaucheries which terminated his life in the flower of his age. That young Prince espoused, at a very early period, one of the Princesses of Carignan, collaterally descended from the House of Savoy; whose tragical end in 1792, when she was massacred at the Prison of *La Force* in Paris, forms a revolting feature of the great Act of Blood, denominated "The French Revolution."

As the Prince de Lamballe left no issue, the Duke de Chartres was asserted to have accelerated, or rather to have produced his Death, from the sordid, as well as detestable motive, of inheriting, in right of his Consort, the vast Estates of Penthiévre. However destitute of proof, and perhaps even of just foundation, may have been this imputation; yet the character and notorious profligacy of the Duke, obtained for it universal Belief. Affecting to emulate the Regent Duke of Orleans, his great Grandfather's Example,

whose Portrait was always suspended close to his Bed; he only imitated that Prince in the licentious depravity of his Manners, and the abandoned nature of his Amours. The Regent, whether in Italy, where he was wounded in 1706, fighting desperately in the Trenches before Turin; in Spain, where he commanded the French Armies with distinguished lustre; or at home, while conducting the helm of Affairs, during the Minority of Louis the Fifteenth; whatever vices he displayed, redeemed them in some measure by his valour, loyalty, and capacity. His degenerate Descendant, incurred the abhorrence of all Europe, overturned the Throne of France, perished by the Guillotine, and may be esteemed the most atrocious, as well as flagitious individual who has arisen in modern Ages, for the calamity of Mankind, with the single exception of Bonaparte.

Returning to England, in the Summer of 1776, I went down soon afterwards, on a visit to Lord Nugent, at Gosfield in Essex; a Seat which has since, in the revolutionary events of the present Times, afforded a temporary Asylum to the august Representative of the Capetian Line, when expelled from a Coun-

try over which his Ancestors had reigned, in uninterrupted male Succession, for above eight hundred years! When I visited Gosfield, among the Guests who attracted most attention, might justly be reckoned the late Lord Temple, then far advanced in life, and very infirm. In his person he was tall and large, though not inclined to corpulency. A Disorder, the seat of which lay in his ribs, bending him almost double, compelled him, in walking, to make use of a sort of Crutch: but his Mind seemed exempt from any decay. His Conversation was animated, brilliant, and full of entertainment. Notwithstanding the nick name of "Squire Gawkey," which he had obtained in the satirical or party productions of those Times, and which, we may presume, was not given him without good reason; he had nevertheless the air and appearance of a man of high Condition, when he appeared with the Insignia and Decorations of the *Garter*, seated at Table. It is well known that George the Second, who, though he generally yielded to Ministerial violence or importunity, yet manifested often great reluctance and even ill humor, in his manner of compliance on these occasions, strongly disliked Lord Temple. Being how-

ever compelled, in consequence of political arrangements very repugnant to his feelings, to invest that Nobleman with the Order of the *Garter*, the King took so little pains to conceal his aversion, both to the individual, and to the act; that instead of placing the Ribband decorously over the Shoulder of the new Knight, His Majesty, averting his Head, and muttering indistinctly, some expressions of dissatisfaction, threw it across him, and turned his Back at the same instant, in the rudest manner.

George the Third, on such occasions, possessed or exerted more restraint over his passions, than did his Grandfather. Yet even *He* did not always execute the commands of his Minister, where they were disagreeable or revolting to him, without displaying some reluctance. I have been assured from high contemporary Authority, that at the Ceremony of investing the present Marquis Camden with the Order of the *Garter*, after his Return from Ireland, where he had been Lord Lieutenant; His Majesty, who felt not a little unwilling to confer it on him, betrayed a considerable degree of ill humor in his countenance and manner. However, as he

knew that it must be performed, Mr. Pitt having pertinaciously insisted on it; the King took the Ribband in his hand, and turning to an Individual present, before the New Knight approached, asked of him, if he knew Lord Camden's Christian Name. The Person thus addressed, after inquiring, informed him that it was John Jeffreys. "What! what!" replied the King; "John Jeffreys! the first "Knight of the *Garter*, I believe, that ever "was called John Jeffreys." The Aversion of George the Second towards Lord Temple, originated partly in personal, but, more from political motives or feelings. His present Majesty's disinclination to confer the *Garter* on Lord Camden, probably arose merely from considering his Descent, though most honorable and respectable, as not sufficiently illustrious. But, the great talents and qualities of the first Earl, had diffused a lustre over the name of *Pratt*. In the Eye of Reason and of true Philosophy, such a Father conferred more Dignity on his Issue, than if they had derived their origin from Nell Gwynn, or from Mademoiselle de la Querouaille, or from Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland, by a Prince like Charles

the Second. We may exclaim with *Pope* on the Occasion,

" What, tho' thy ancient, but ignoble Blood,
Has crept thro' Scoundrels ever since the Flood!"

Yet might the Sovereign, when conferring the *Garter*, justly consider the Pretensions of a Duke of St. Albans, as higher than those of Earl Camden; although the latter was the Heir and Representative of a Man, who united in his legal and public Character, some of the most shining Qualities that can elevate or adorn human Nature. To these endowments of the Father, the Son originally owed the Dignity of the Peerage, which devolved on him. To Mr. Pitt's friendship he was subsequently indebted for the distinction of the *Garter*.

Lord Nugent was created an Irish *Earl* during the time that I was at Gosfield, having antecedently been raised to the title of *Viscount* Clare. He formed a striking Contrast to Lord Temple, in his Manners and Address. Of an athletic frame, and a vigorous Constitution, though very far advanced in years, he was exempt from infirmity; possessing a

Stentorian voice, with great animal spirits, and vast powers of Conversation. He was indeed a man of very considerable natural abilities, though not of a very cultivated mind. His talents seemed more adapted to active, than to speculative life; to the Drawing Room, or the House of Commons, than to the Closet. Having sat in many Parliaments, he spoke fluently, as well as with energy and force; was accounted a good Debater, and possessed a species of Eloquence, altogether unembarrassed by any false modesty or timidity. In the progress of a long life, he had raised himself from a private Gentleman, of an ancient family in Ireland, and a considerable patrimonial fortune, to an Irish Earldom; which Dignity, together with his name, he procured to devolve on the late Marquis of Buckingham, then Mr. Grenville, who had married his only daughter. They were both likewise at Gosfield, during the time of which I speak; and Lord Nugent having gone up to town, for the purpose of kissing the King's Hand, upon his new Creation, returned from thence on the following day, as we were seated at Table, after Dinner. The object of his visit to St. James's, was well known by every one present; but he immediately announced

it, as soon as he had taken his place, by filling out a glass of Wine, and toasting his Daughter's health, as *Lady Mary* Grenville.

Lord Nugent, when young, had occupied a distinguished place in the favor of Frederic, Prince of Wales; and was more than once destined to have filled an Office in some of those imaginary Administrations, commemorated by Dodington, which were perpetually fabricated at Leicester House, during the long interval of near fourteen years that elapsed between the accession of George the Second, and His Royal Highness's decease in 1751. The Prince died considerably in his debt; nor was the Sum so due, ever liquidated, unless we consider the Offices and Dignities conferred on Lord Nugent by George the Third, at different periods of his reign, as having been in the nature of a retribution for loans made to his father. In return for these marks of royal favor, he presented Verses to the Queen, accompanying a piece of Irish Stuff, which Her Majesty graciously accepted. Both the Poetry, and the Manufacture, were satirically said to be *Irish Stuff*. They began, if I recollect right,

"Could poor Ierné gifts afford,
Worthy the Mistress of her Lord,
Of sculptur'd Gold, a costly frame,
Just emblem of her worth should flame."

But Lord Nugent's Muse will never rank him with *Prior*, nor even with Lyttelton and Chesterfield. He was a better Courtier, than a Poet; and he had always been distinguished by the other Sex. *Glover*, when speaking of him, says, "Nugent, a jovial and voluptuous Irishman, who had left Popery, for the Protestant religion, money, and widows." His first Wife, Lady Amelia Plunket, daughter of the Earl of Fingal, brought him only one Son, Colonel Nugent, who died, many years before his father. Mrs. Knight, Sister and Heiress of the celebrated Craggs, Secretary of State under George the First, buried in Westminster Abbey; (and who is immortalized by Pope's Epitaph on him, more perhaps than by his talents, or his actions;) was Lord Nugent's second Wife. She brought him neither felicity nor issue; but she brought him the House and Estate at Gosfield, one of the finest Domains in Essex. To the Countess Dowager of Berkeley, he gave his hand a third time; though not under fortunate Auspices, nor in a happy Hour. The late Mar-

chioness of Buckingham was the only issue of this match, recognized by Lord Nugent. But, his devotion to the Sex, which remained proof to all trials, animated him even to the close of life. Lord Temple and He, both, composed Verses, after this time, addressed to the same Object. I believe it was in the month of August, 1776, that these aged Peers presented some Couplets of their respective compositions, to the late Duchess of Gordon, then in the Meridian of her Charms; when Lord Temple having entertained Her and the Duke at Stow, lighted up the Grotto for her reception. Lord Nugent, to a perfect knowledge of the World, joined a coarse and often licentious, but natural, strong, and ready Wit, which no place, nor company, prevented him from indulging; and the effect of which was augmented by an Irish Accent that never forsook him. It is well known, that when a *Bill* was introduced into the House of Commons, for better watching the Metropolis; in order to contribute towards effecting which object, one of the Clauses went to propose, that Watchmen should be *compelled* to sleep during the day-time; Lord Nugent, with admirable humor, got up, and desired that "he might

be personally included in the provisions of the *Bill*, being frequently so tormented with the Gout, as to be *unable* to sleep either by day, or by night."

While I am on this subject, I cannot resist relating a frolick, which rendered Lord Nugent, or rather Mr. Nugent, he being then a Commoner, not a little distinguished, towards the end of George the Second's reign. George, Earl of Bristol, eldest of the three Sons of the famous Lord Hervey, whom Pope has, very unjustly, transmitted to Posterity, as "Lord Fanny," and as "Sporus;" like his father, inclined to a degree of effeminacy in his person, manners, and dress. Probably, these characteristics of deportment, while they exposed him to some animadversion or ridicule, led to a supposition that they were connected with want of spirit; and that he would not promptly resent insult. Certain it is that Mr. Nugent, then a man of consideration, fortune, and fashion, living in the highest company of the Metropolis; being one Evening at Lord Temple's House in Pall-Mall, where a splendid Assembly of both Sexes was collected; laid a singular Bet with Lord Temple, that he would spit in the Earl of Bristol's Hat. The wager was accepted, and Mr. Nu-

gent instantly set about its accomplishment. For this purpose, as he passed Lord Bristol, who stood in the door-way of one of the Apartments, very richly dressed, holding his Hat under his Arm, with the inside uppermost; Mr. Nugent, turning round as if to spit, and affecting not to perceive Lord Bristol, performed that act in his Hat.

Pretending the utmost concern and distress at the unintentional rudeness that he had committed, Mr. Nugent made a thousand Apologies to the Earl for his Indecorum, and entreated to be allowed to wipe off the affront with his pocket Handkerchief: but, Lord Bristol calmly taking out his own, used it for that purpose; besought Mr. Nugent not to be discomposed; assured him that he was not discomposed himself; wiped the inside of his Hat; and then replacing it as before, under his Arm, asked Mr. Nugent whether he had any farther occasion for it in the same way? Having so done, the Earl, without changing a muscle of his Countenance, or manifesting any irritation, quitted the place where he stood; sat down to play with the party he usually made at Cards, finished his two or three Rubbers, and returned home. Mr. Nugent, after triumphantly winning his Bet,

considered the matter as terminated; but in this supposition he counted without his host. Early on the following Morning, before he was risen, he received a Note, similar in its nature and contents to that which Gil Blas tells us he delivered to his Master, Don Mathias de Sylva; but, with the summons contained in which, Mr. Nugent did not manifest the same careless promptitude to comply, as the Spanish Grandee exhibited, in the Novel of Le Sage. The Note acquainted him, that Lord Bristol expected and demanded Satisfaction for the insult of the preceding night, without delay; naming time, as well as place. An instant answer was required.

Mr. Nugent now perceived that he had involved himself in a very serious affair of Honor, where he had only meant to gratify a wanton moment of frolick. However personally brave, he felt that the Exertion of his Courage, in order to cover or justify a premeditated insult, which no Sophistry could warrant or excuse, would only aggravate his offence. Under this impression, having determined therefore to make reparation, he wrote to Lord Bristol, offering every possible Apology for the act committed; which, he admitted, would be inexcusable, if it had

been meant as an Affront. But, as the best extenuation of so gross a seeming violation of all Decorum, he added, that it did not arise from the most remote intention of insulting the Earl, the whole Matter having originated in a Bet. He concluded by professing his readiness to ask pardon in the most ample manner; requesting that the business might not produce any further consequences. To this Application Lord Bristol replied, that though he was disposed readily to admit, and to accept, the proffered Reparation; yet, as the Affront had been committed in public Company, so must the exacted Apology be made; and he named the Club-room at White's, as the place where he would receive it from Mr. Nugent. "Not, however, by any means, Lord Bristol added, from him only; for, as he now understood that the Act itself owed its rise to a wager, it became clear that there must be another person implicated in the Transaction. He insisted therefore on knowing the name of that individual, from whom, as a participator in the Frolick, he should equally exact an Apology; and declaring that on no other conditions would he relinquish his right to demand personal Satisfaction. In consequence of so peremptory a Requisition, Mr.

Nugent owned that Lord Temple was the person to whom he had alluded; and both the Gentlemen were finally reduced to comply with the terms, by asking pardon in the Club-room at White's. Lord Bristol then declared himself satisfied, and the Affair at an end.

The late Lord Sackville told me, that when young, he was well acquainted with Lord Mark Kerr; a Nobleman whose person being, like Lord Bristol's, cast by Nature in a very delicate Mould, sometimes subjected him among strangers, to insults, from a supposition that a man of so feminine a figure, would not be prone to resent an Affront. In this calculation they were however egregiously deceived, he being a person of decided Courage. Shortly after the Battle of Dettingen, during the Summer of the year 1743, the Earl of Stair, then commanding the British Forces in Germany, under George the Second, entertained at his Table several French Officers, who had been taken prisoners in that Engagement. A numerous Company sat down to Dinner, in the Tent of the Commander-in-chief, among whom was Lord Mark; who being Son to the Marquis

of Lothian, and nearly related to Lord Stair, acted as one of his Aides du Camp. Lord Sackville was present on the occasion. A difference of opinion having arisen during the repast, on some point which was maintained by one of the French Officers, with great pertinacity; Lord Mark Kerr, in a very gentle tone of voice, ventured to set him right on the matter of fact. But, the Frenchman, inconscious of his Quality, and perhaps thinking that a frame so delicate, did not enclose a high Spirit; contradicted him in the most gross terms, such as are neither used nor submitted to among Gentlemen. The circumstance took place so near to Lord Stair, as unavoidably to attract his attention. No notice whatever was taken of it at the time, and after Dinner the company adjourned to another Tent, where Coffee was served. Lord Mark coming in about a quarter of an Hour later than the others, Lord Stair no sooner observed him, than calling him aside, "Nephew," said he, "I think it is impossible for you to pass "by the affront that you received from the "French Officer at my Table. You must "demand Satisfaction, however much I re-"gret the necessity for it." "Oh, My

"Lord," answered Lord Mark, with his characteristic Gentleness of Manner, "you "need not be under any uneasiness on that "subject. We have already fought. I ran "him through the Body. He died on the "spot, and they are at this moment about "to bury him. I knew too well what I "owed to myself, and I was too well con-"vinced of your Lordship's way of think-"ing, to lose a moment in calling the Offi-"cer to account."

I passed the ensuing Winter, of 1776-7, in London; a period which is now so distant, and the Manners, as well as the inhabitants of the Metropolis, have undergone since that Time, so total a Change, that they no longer preserve almost any similarity. The sinister events of the American War, had already begun to shed a degree of political gloom over the Capital and the Kingdom; but, this Cloud, dark as it was, bore no comparison with the terror and alarm that pervaded the firmest Minds in 1792, and 1793, after the first Explosion of the French Revolution, the Deposition of Louis the Sixteenth, and the commencement of the Continental War in Flanders. In 1777, we in fact only contended

for Empire and Dominion. No fears of subversion, extinction, and subjugation to foreign violence, or to revolutionary arts, interrupted the general tranquillity of Society. It was subjected, indeed, to other Fetters, from which we have since emancipated ourselves; those of Dress, Etiquette, and Form. The lapse of two Centuries could scarcely have produced a greater alteration in these particulars, than have been made by about forty years. That Costume, which is now confined to the Levee, or the Drawing-room, was then worn by persons of Condition, with few exceptions, every where, and every day. Mr. Fox and his friends, who might be said to dictate to the Town, affecting a style of neglect about their persons, and manifesting a contempt of all the usages hitherto established, first threw a sort of discredit on Dress. From the House of Commons, and the Clubs in St. James's Street, the Contagion spread through the private Assemblies of London. But, though gradually undermined, and insensibly perishing of an Atrophy, Dress never totally fell, till the Æra of Jacobinism and of Equality, in 1793, and 1794. It was then that Pantaloons, cropped Hair, and Shoe-strings, as well as the total abolition of Buckles

and Ruffles, together with the disuse of Hair-powder, characterized the men: while ladies, having cut off those Tresses, which had done so much execution; and one *Lock* of which purloined, gave rise to the finest Model of mock-heroic Poetry, which our own, or any other language can boast; exhibited Heads rounded "*à la Victime, et à la Guillotine,*" as if ready for the stroke of the Axe. A Drapery, more suited to the Climate of Greece or of Italy, than to the temperature of an Island situate in the fifty-first Degree of Latitude; classic, elegant, luxurious, and picturesque, but, ill calculated to protect against damp, cold, and fogs; superseded the ancient female attire of Great Britain; finally levelling or obliterating almost all external distinction between the highest and the lowest of the Sex, in this Country. Perhaps, with all its incumbrances, penalties, and inconveniences, it will be found necessary, at some not very distant period, to revive, in a certain degree, the empire of Dress.

At the time of which I speak, the "*Gens de Lettres,*" or "Blue Stockings," as they were commonly denominated, formed a very numerous, powerful, compact Phalanx, in the

midst of London. Into this Society, the two Publications which I had recently given to the World; one, on the Northern Kingdoms of Europe; the other, on the History of France under the Race of Valois; however destitute of merit they might be, yet facilitated and procured my admission. Mrs. Montague was then the Madame *du Deffand* of the English Capital; and her House constituted the central point of union, for all those persons who already were known, or who emulated to become known, by their talents and productions. Her supremacy, unlike that of Madame *du Deffand,* was indeed, established on more solid foundations than those of intellect; and rested on more tangible materials, than any with which Shakespear himself could furnish her. Though she had not as yet begun to construct the splendid Mansion, in which she afterwards resided, near Portman Square, she lived in a very elegant house in Hill Street. Impressed probably, from the suggestions of her own knowledge of the World, with a deep conviction of that great Truth laid down by Moliere, which no Man of Letters ever disputed; that "*Le vrai Amphyttrion est celui chez qui l'on dine;*" Mrs.

Montague was accustomed to open her House to a large Company of both Sexes, whom she frequently entertained at Dinner. A service of plate, and a table plentifully covered, disposed her guests to admire the splendor of her Fortune, not less than the lustre of her Talents. She had found the same results flowing from the same causes, during the visit that she made to Paris, after the Peace of 1763; where she displayed to the astonished *Literati* of that Metropolis, the extent of her pecuniary, as well as of her mental resources. As this topic formed one of the subjects most gratifying to her, she was easily induced to launch out on it, with much apparent Complacency. The Eulogiums lavished on her Repasts, and the astonishment expressed at the magnitude of her Income, which appeared prodigiously augmented by being transformed from Pounds Sterling, into French Livres; seemed to have afforded her as much Gratification, as the Panegyrics bestowed upon the "Essay on the Genius and Writings of "Shakespear."

Mrs. Montague, in 1776, verged towards her sixtieth year; but her person, which was

thin, spare, and in good preservation, gave her an appearance of less antiquity. From the infirmities often attendant on advanced life, she seemed to be almost wholly exempt. All the lines of her Countenance bespoke intelligence, and her Eyes were accommodated to her cast of features, which had in them something satirical and severe, rather than amiable or inviting. She possessed great natural cheerfulness, and a flow of animal spirits; loved to talk, and talked well on almost every subject; led the Conversation, and was qualified to preside in her Circle, whatever subject of discourse was started: but her manner was more dictatorial and sententious, than conciliating or diffident. There was nothing feminine about her; and though her opinions were usually just, as well as delivered in language suited to give them force, yet the organ which conveyed them, was not soft or harmonious. Destitute of taste in disposing the ornaments of her Dress, she nevertheless studied or affected those aids, more than would seem to have become a woman professing a philosophic Mind, intent on higher pursuits than the Toilet. Even when approaching to fourscore, this female weakness still accompanied her; nor could

she relinquish her Diamond Necklace and Bows, which, like Sir William Draper's "blushing Ribband," commemorated by "Junius," formed, of Evenings, the perpetual ornament of her emaciated person. I used to think that these glittering appendages of Opulence, sometimes helped to dazzle the Disputants, whom her arguments might not always convince, or her literary reputation intimidate. That reputation had not as yet received the rude attack made on it by Dr. Johnson at a subsequent period, when he appears to have treated with much irreverence, her "Essay on Shakespear," if we may believe his Biographer, Boswell. Notwithstanding the defects and weaknesses that I have enumerated, she possessed a masculine understanding, enlightened, cultivated, and expanded by the acquaintance of Men, as well as of Books. Many of the most illustrious persons in rank, no less than in ability, under the reigns of George the Second and Third, had been her correspondents, friends, companions, and admirers. Pulteney, Earl of Bath, whose portrait hung over the Chimney piece in her Drawing room; and George, the first Lord Lyttelton, so eminent for his Genius, were among the number. She was

constantly surrounded by all that was distinguished for attainments or talents, male or female, English or foreign; and it would be almost ungrateful in me not to acknowledge the gratification derived from the conversation and intercourse of such a society.

Though Mrs. Montague occupied the first place among the "*beaux Esprits*" at this period, she was not without female competitors for so eminent a distinction. Mrs. Vesey might indeed be said to hold the second rank: but, unlike Mademoiselle *de l'Espinasse* at Paris, who under the Auspices of d'Alembert, raised a separate literary Standard from Madame *du Deffand;* Mrs. Vesey only aspired to follow at a humble distance the brilliant Track of Mrs. Montague. The former rather seemed desirous to assemble persons of celebrity and talents, under her roof, or at her table, than assumed or pretended to form one of the Number, herself. Though not lodged with the same magnificence as Mrs. Montague, yet she entertained with less form, as well as less ostentation. Mrs. Vesey's repasts were at once more select, and more delicate. Farther advanced in life than Mrs. Montague, she possessed

no personal advantages of manner, and studied no ornaments of Dress. Simplicity, accompanied by a sort of oblivious inattention to things passing under her very sight, characterized her. In absence of mind, indeed, she might almost be said to equal the Duke de Brancas, Chamberlain to Anne of Austria, relative to whose continual violation of common rules, Madame de Sevigné has consigned to us so many amusing Anecdotes. With Mrs. Vesey this forgetfulness extended to such a point, that she sometimes hardly remembered her own name. It will scarcely be credited, that she could declaim against second marriages, to a Lady of Quality who had been twice married, and though Mr. Vesey was her own second Husband. When at last reminded of the circumstance, she only exclaimed, "Bless me, my dear, I had "quite forgotten it!" There was, indeed, some decay of mind in such want of recollection. Her sister-in-law, who lived in the same House with her, and who formed, physically as well as morally, a perfect contrast to Mrs. Vesey, superintended all domestic arrangements. From their opposite figures, qualities, and endowments, the one was called "Body," the other "Mind."

In these two Houses might then be seen many or most of the persons of both Sexes, eminent for literary Attainments, or Celebrity of any kind. Mrs. Thrale, still better known by the name of Mrs. Piozzi, was to be met with frequently in this Society, followed or attended by Mr. Thrale, and by Dr. Johnson. Of the former, it is unnecessary to say any thing; and relative to the last, after the laboured, minute portraits which have been drawn of him under every attitude, what is it possible to say new?—I will freely confess that his rugged exterior and garb, his uncouth gestures, his convolutions and distortions, when added to the rude or dogmatical manner in which he delivered his opinions and decisions on every point;—rendered him so disagreeable in company, and so oppressive in conversation, that all the superiority of his talents could not make full amends, in my estimation, for these defects. In his anger, or even in the warmth of argument, where he met with opposition, he often respected neither age, rank, nor sex; and the usages of polished life imposed a very inadequate restraint on his expressions, or his feelings. What are we to think of a man, who, by the testimony

of his own Biographer, denominated Lord Russel and Algernon Sidney, "Rascals;" qualified Pennant by the Epithet of "a Dog," because in his political Opinions he was a *Whig;* gave to Fielding, the appellations of "a Blockhead, and a barren Rascal;" and in speaking of King William the Third, invariably termed him "a Scoundrel?" If not irascible, he was certainly dictatorial, coarse, and sometimes almost impracticable. Those whom he could not always vanquish by the force of his intellect, by the depth and range of his arguments, and by the compass of his gigantic faculties, he silenced by rudeness; and I have, myself, more than once, stood in the predicament which I here describe. Yet, no sooner was he withdrawn, and with him had disappeared these personal imperfections, than the sublime attainments of his Mind left their full effect on the Audience: for, such the whole Assembly might be in some measure esteemed, while he was present. His beautiful Compositions, both prose and poetical, the unquestionable benevolence and philanthropy of his character, his laborious and useful, as well as voluminous and toilsome productions, when added to his literary fame and pre-eminence;—all these

combined qualities so overbore or subdued, the few who ventured to contend with him, that submission or silence formed the only protection, and the ordinary refuge, to which they had recourse.

We never can enough regret, that a Man who possessed such poetic talents as are displayed in his two Imitations of Juvenal; "London," and the "Vanity of Human Wishes;" should have neglected or avoided that Branch of Composition, in which he might have attained to such comprehensive eminence. If Pope's Imitations of Horace, have more suavity, delicacy, and taste, than Johnson's productions can boast; the latter breathe a spirit of sublime and severe Morality, mingled with a philosophic grandeur of thought, which is equally captivating, as it is impressive and instructive. How admirable is his picture of *Charles the Twelfth*, as opposed to that of *Hannibal!* How fine is the comparison drawn between *Wolsey* and *Sejanus!* What can exceed the judgment shewn in selecting *Charles the Seventh*, the Bavarian Emperor of 1741, as opposed to the *Xerxes* of the Roman Satirist! The English language offers, perhaps, nothing

more chaste, correct, and yet harmonious, than these Verses, which are free from any pedantry, or affectation of learning. The fact however is, that Johnson did not dare to yield to the seductions of the Muse, or to abandon himself to the Inspiration of Poetry. He was compelled to restrain his efforts, and to limit them to the more temperate walk of Prose, however capable he felt himself to be of emulating Addison, or Gray, or Pope. It is well known, that he was constitutionally subject to a melancholy, morbid humor, which, advancing with his years, approached on certain occasions, to something like alienation of Mind. Well aware of this infirmity, he was apprehensive of its effects. Topham Beauclerk, who lived in great intimacy with him, often expressed to him the astonishment and regret, naturally excited by his apparent neglect of such Poetic Powers as Nature had conferred on him. Johnson heard him in silence, or made little reply to these remonstrances. But, on Mr. Beauclerk's making the same remark to Mr. Thrale, that Gentleman immediately answered, that "the "real reason why Johnson did not apply "his faculties to Poetry, was, that he dared "not trust himself in such a pursuit, his

" Mind not being equal to the species of
" Inspiration which Verse demands; though
" in the walk of prose Composition, whether
" moral, philological, or biographical, he
" could continue his labors, without appre-
" hension of any injurious Consequences."

If, nevertheless, after rendering due homage to his paramount abilities, which no testimony of mine can affect, I might venture to criticise so eminent a person, as having been deficient in any particular branch of Information and polite knowledge, I should say that his deficiency lay in History. Boswell has very aptly compared his understanding to an intellectual Mill, into which subjects were thrown, in order to be ground to Atoms, or pulverized. And Mrs. Piozzi somewhere remarks, in better language than I can do it by memory, that " his mind re-
" sembled a royal pleasure Garden, within
" whose ample dimensions every thing sub-
" servient to dignity, beauty, or utility, was
" to be found, from the stately Cedar, down
" to the lowliest plant or herb." That this assertion, if loosely and generally taken, is perfectly just, no person can dispute, who knew him. That he was even thoroughly

conversant in the modern History of Europe, for the last two or three Centuries, is incontestable; and still less will it be denied, that he intimately knew all the classic periods of Greek and Roman Story, most of which he had studied or perused in the original Writers. But, these attainments he shared with many of his Contemporaries. In the History of Europe during the middle Ages, by which I mean, from the Destruction of the Roman Empire in the West, in the year 476, through the ten Centuries that nearly elapsed before the revival of letters, I always thought him very imperfectly versed; if not, on some portions, uninformed and ignorant. To have compared his knowledge, on these subjects, with the information which Gibbon, or which Robertson possessed, would have been an insult to truth. But, as far as I could ever presume to form an opinion, he was much below either Burke, or Fox, in all general historical information.

Even as a Biographer, which constitutes a minor species of History, Johnson, however masterly, profound, and acute, in all that relates to Criticism, to discrimination, and to dissection of literary merit; has always ap-

peared to me to have wanted many essential qualities, or to have evinced great inaccuracy and neglect. I do not mean to speak of his prejudices and political partialities, which hardly allow him to do justice to Milton, or to Addison, because the one was in his Principles a violent Republican, and the other was a Whig; just as he calls our great Hampden, "the Zealot of Rebellion:" Prejudices so deeply rooted in his Mind, as to induce him to maintain the moral Superiority of Charles the Second, over His late Majesty King George the Second.—I allude to errors that could only have arisen from an ignorance of facts, with which he might and ought to have been acquainted. What shall we say, when we find him telling us, that Stepney, the Poet, "was invited into public life by the Duke "of Dorset?" The event in question, must have taken place about 1683, towards the end of Charles the Second's reign. But, the Creation of the Dukedom of Dorset, only originated under George the First, in 1720. In like manner he informs us, that Prior published about 1706, "a volume of Poems, "with the encomiastic Character of his de- "ceased patron, the *Duke* of Dorset." No doubt he means to speak of Charles, *Earl*

of Dorset, who died nearly at that time. His mistakes, or his omissions and defect of information, in narrating the life of that distinguished Nobleman, are much more gross. Johnson makes him succeed to James Cranfield, *second* Earl of Middlesex, in 1674, his uncle; who was already dead, many years antecedent. It was the *third* Earl of Middlesex, *Lionel*, to whose estates and title the Earl of Dorset succeeded, or was raised by Charles the Second. On all the interesting particulars of his marriages, his private life, and his decease, relative to which objects Curiosity must be so naturally and warmly excited, the Biographer is either silent or misinformed. I may be told, that these inaccuracies, chiefly chronological, are of little moment. So is it, whether the great Duke of Marlborough died in 1722, or in 1723. But, he who undertakes to compose an account of Churchill's life, is bound to know, and accurately to relate, all the leading facts that attended, or distinguished it. Johnson, we may be assured, would have been, himself, the first to detect and to expose such errors in another Writer.

Mrs. Thrale always appeared to me, to pos-

sess at least as much Information, a Mind as cultivated, and more Brilliancy of Intellect, than Mrs. Montague; but she did not descend among men from such an eminence, and she talked much more, as well as more unguardedly, on every subject. She was the Provider and the Conductress of Johnson, who lived almost constantly under her roof, or more properly under that of Mr. Thrale, both in Town, and at Streatham. He did not however spare her, more than other women, in his Attacks, if she courted or provoked his Animadversion. As little did he appear to respect or to manage Garrick, who frequently made one of the Assembly. His presence always diffused a gaiety over the room; but he seemed to shrink from too near a contact with Johnson, whose superiority of mind, added to the roughness and closeness of his hugs, reduced Garrick to act on the defensive. Mrs. Carter, so well known by her Erudition, the Madame *Dacier* of England; from her religious cast of character, and gravity of deportment, no less than from her intellectual Acquirements, was more formed to impose some check on the asperity or eccentricities of Johnson. Dr. Burney, and his Daughter, the author of "Evelina" and "Cecilia,"

though both were generally present; I always thought, rather avoided, than solicited, notice. Horace Walpole, whenever he appeared there, enriched and illuminated the Conversation, by Anecdotes, personal and historical; many of which were rendered more curious or interesting, from his having, himself, witnessed their existence, or received them from his father, Sir Robert Walpole. Sir Joshua Reynolds, precluded by his Deafness from mixing in, or contributing to general conversation; his Trumpet held up to his ear, was gratified by the attention of those who addressed to him their discourse; a notice which the resources of his mind enabled him to repay with interest.

Mrs. Chapone, under one of the most repulsive exteriors that any woman ever possessed, concealed very superior attainments, and extensive knowledge. Burke, though occupied in the toils of parliamentary discussion, and of ministerial attack, which left him little leisure to bestow on literary men or subjects; yet sometimes unbent his Faculties among persons, adapted by nature to unfold the powers of delighting and instructing, with which Genius and Study had

enriched him. His presence was, however, more coveted, than enjoyed. Dr. Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, accompanied by his daughter, Miss Shipley, afterwards married to Sir William Jones, might be frequently seen there. The Abbé Raynal, who passed that Winter in London, was readily admitted, and eagerly courted. It must be confessed that the variety of his Information, and the Facility, as well as Readiness, with which he communicated the stores of his exuberant Memory, would have rendered him a valuable accession to any Circle; but, his Loquacity generally fatigued even those, whom it delighted and improved. The present Lord Erskine, who, thirty years later, attained to the Great Seal, had not yet commenced his career of Jurisprudence. But, the versatility of his Talents, the energy of his Character, and the vivacity of his Conversation, sufficiently manifested, even at that time, the effect which such a union of Qualities might produce, when powerfully urged and impelled towards one object. Happily for himself, he did not want the strongest impulse, arising from domestic pledges and embarrassments, well calculated to call out every faculty of the mind. It is curious to reflect,

that if he had been born one step higher; if, instead of being the younger Son of a Scotch *Earl*, his father had been a *Marquis*, he never could have been called to the Bar. His endowments, however great, assuredly would not, in any other Profession, have raised him to the Peerage, to fortune, and to fame. His Celebrity, indeed, if we may believe Mr. Fox's Biographer, had not extended across the Straits of Dover, even in 1802, when the Corsican First Consul appears not to have known his name.

Mrs. Boscawen, though inferior in literary Reputation to Mrs. Montague, and perhaps possessed of less general information, yet conciliated more good-will. She had an historical turn of mind; and in the course of a long life passed among the upper Circles of Society, she had collected and retained a number of curious or interesting Anecdotes of her own Times. Mr. Pepys, now Sir William Pepys, to whose acquaintance and partiality I was not a little indebted, for facilitating my entrance into this Assembly of distinguished Persons, is the last individual whom I shall enumerate. To a mind adorned with classic images, and conversant with classic authors,

he united great colloquial powers. The friend of the first Lord Lyttelton, of Sir James Macdonald, and of Topham Beauclerk, he was in principle a staunch *Whig;* and as Johnson might be justly esteemed a violent, as well as a bigotted *Tory*, much political sparring occasionally took place between them, in the progress of which, many sparks of historical or philosophical fire, were elicited on both sides.

Though literary reputation, or acknowledged Talents and Celebrity of some kind, seemed to constitute the primary title to a place in those Conversations or Societies, from which every species of Play was altogether excluded; yet Rank and Beauty were to be found there, and contributed to render them interesting in the highest Degree. The late Duchess Dowager of Portland, Granddaughter of the Lord Treasurer Oxford, herself a woman of distinguished taste in various branches of Art or *Virtu*, was a frequent visitant. It was impossible to look on her, without reflecting that while still in early Childhood, she had formed the object of Swift's poetic attention, and been the subject of Prior's expiring Muse. I have seen

the Duchess of Devonshire, then in the first bloom of youth, hanging on the sentences that fell from Johnson's lips, and contending for the nearest place to his chair. All the Cynic Moroseness of the Philosopher and the Moralist, seemed to dissolve under so flattering an approach; to the gratification and distinction resulting from which, he was nothing less than insensible. We may see in Boswell, how tractable, gentle, and accommodating he became while at Inverary, seated between the Duke and Duchess of Argyle.

It is natural to ask, whether the literary Society of London, at the period of which I am speaking, could enter into any competition for extent of talents, and superiority of attainments, with the Society of Paris, that met at the Apartments of Madame *du Deffand*, and of Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse*, under the reigns of Louis the Fifteenth and Sixteenth. In other words, whether the persons who formed the Assemblies in the English Capital, can support a comparison for Ability and for Fame, with those who were accustomed to meet in the French Metropolis. If I may presume to give an opinion on this question, I should have no hesitation in saying,

that neither in the period of its duration, nor in the number, merit, or intellectual eminence of the principal members, can the English Society be held up on any parity, scarcely, indeed, in any Comparison, with that of France. The latter Assemblies may be said to have lasted near half a Century, from 1725, or 1730, down to 1775, or 1780; either in the Houses of Madame *du Deffand*, or of Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse*, or in both. The "Blue Stocking" Assemblies at Mrs. Montague's and Mrs. Vesey's, remained in their brilliant State, only for about fifteen years, from 1770, to 1785. Before the last of those periods, Mrs. Vesey had yielded to the progress of time, and of infirmity; while Mrs. Thrale, then become Mrs. Piozzi, had removed from the Banks of the Thames, to those of the Arno.

Mrs. Montague, indeed, survived; and her Dinners, as well as her Assemblies, were perpetuated to a very late period of her life; but the charm and the impulse that propelled them, had disappeared. They were principally supported by, and they fell with, the giant talents of Johnson, who formed the *Nucleus*, round which all the subordinate

Members revolved. It became impossible, after his Decease in 1784, to supply his place. Burke, as I have already observed, had more powerful avocations, and aspired to other honors and emoluments, than those which mere literary Distinction could bestow on him. Hume, and Adam Smith, Men of superior endowments, who might have contributed to support such a Society, had retired to Scotland, or were already dead. Robertson, Lord Kaimes, and Lord Monboddo, resided at Edinburgh; only visiting London occasionally, on Business, or for Recreation. Gibbon, I believe, never emulated to be a Member of these Assemblies, and never attended them. He, too, like Burke, looked more to Politics, than to Letters, for his substantial recompense; being at once a Member of the House of Commons, and a Lord of the Board of Trade. Perhaps, indeed, the freedom of Hume's, and of Gibbon's printed Opinions on subjects connected with Religion, might have rendered their admission difficult, or their society distasteful, to the principal persons who composed these parties; where nothing like a relaxation on points so serious, found protection or support. Johnson, who, as we know, felt so

great a repugnance to every species of Scepticism on matters of religious Belief, that when composing his Dictionary, he would not cite *Hobbes*, the celebrated Philosopher, as an authority for any word or expression used by that Writer, merely because he held *Hobbes*'s principles in aversion;—Johnson, who blamed *Tyers*, for only doing justice to *Hume*, upon parts of his character wholly unconnected with his writings; and who said, that "he should just as soon have thought of praising a mad Dog;"—*he* would hardly have remained in the same room with Hume and Gibbon; though when taken once by a sort of surprise, he did not refuse to dine in company with Wilkes; of whom nevertheless Boswell supposes him to say, judging from Johnson's known Prejudices, that "he would as soon dine with Jack Ketch, as with Jack Wilkes." It is however to be recollected that Wilkes had designated the Doctor, in a Note subjoined to one of his printed Letters, by the Name of "*Pensioner Johnson.*"

The case was widely different in Paris, where no political pursuits distracted Men of Letters; and where Infidelity, or even Ma-

terialism, far from exciting alienation, would rather have conduced to recommend to notice, the persons professing such tenets. Among the Constellation of eminent Men and Women, who met at Madame *du Deffand*'s, and at Mademoiselle *l'Espinasse*'s, the greater number were indeed avowedly "*des Esprits forts*;" in other words, Free Thinkers, who not content with being so, themselves, endeavoured to make Proselytes by their writings. It is evident therefore, that the Circle in London was, from various causes, necessarily much more contracted than in France; where every person distinguished by talents, with few exceptions, commonly resided altogether in the Capital. For, Voltaire was virtually banished beyond the French Confines, by the Government; and lived in the territory of Geneva, more by constraint, than by choice or inclination. Rousseau was a Genevese by Birth, who only visited Paris from time to time; sometimes indeed resident in its Vicinity, but often a Wanderer, proscribed and fugitive. After stating these facts, which may explain the causes of the superiority of the literary Society, or Assemblies of Paris, over those of London; it would be idle to contest that they altogether

eclipsed ours, in almost every point of Genius, Science, and intellectual attainment. Who in fact, met at Mrs. Montague's, or at Mrs. Vesey's, that can compete with the names of Maupertuis, Helvetius, Montesquiou, Fontenelle, Voltaire, Madame du Chatelet, the Marquis d'Argens, Mademoiselle de Launay, the President Henault, D'Alembert, Diderot, Condamine, the Duchess de Choiseul, Marmontel, Raynal, the Duke de Nivernois, Marivaux, the Abbé Barthelemi, Turgot, Condorcet, and so many other illustrious persons of both Sexes, who composed the Literati of the French Metropolis? We can scarcely be said to have any thing to oppose to such a cloud of eminent persons, except the single name of Johnson.

There seems, indeed, to be something in the National Character of the French; at least there was so previous to the temporary Extinction of the ancient Monarchy, and the reign of Jacobinism, or military Despotism; more congenial to these mixed Assemblies of persons of literary Endowments, than is found among us. From the middle of the seventeenth Century, as long ago as the Regency of Anne of Austria, we find that such meet-

ings existed at Paris, and enjoyed a great degree of Celebrity. The Hotel de Rambouillet, situate in the Vicinity of the Louvre, constituted, as early as 1650, the point of reunion for all the individuals of both Sexes, distinguished in the Career of Letters. Catherine de Vivonne, (the Madame du Deffand of that period,) Marchioness of Rambouillet, presided at them: an eminence for which she was qualified, by the elegance of her Taste, and the superiority of her Mind. In her House, which became a sort of Academy, the productions of the Time were appreciated, and passed in Review. Dying in 1665, she was succeeded by Henrietta de Coligny, Countess de la Suze; who, though with inferior reputation, continued to assemble the Wits and "Beaux Esprits" at her Hotel. Her high Birth, her extraordinary Beauty, and her poetic Talents, attracted to her Circle, every person eminent in the Metropolis. It was on Her, that the four classic lines were composed:

"Quæ Dea sublimi vehitur per Inania Curru?
An Juno, an Pallas, an Venus ipsa venit?
Si Genus inspicias, Juno: si scripta, Minerva:
Si spectes Oculos, Mater Amoris erit."

Subsequent to her Decease in 1673, these

Conversations seem to have languished for nearly fifty years, till they were revived and re-animated by the Duchess du Maine, a Princess of the royal Blood, grand-daughter of the great Condé, married to the Duke du Maine, natural son of Louis the Fourteenth. After her release from the Castle of Dijon, to which Fortress she had been committed Prisoner by the Regent Duke of Orleans in 1717, for her participation in the Conspiracy of Prince Cellamare; about the year 1722, she began to assemble persons of literary Celebrity under her roof, in whose society she passed the greater part of her leisure. These Meetings, which were principally held, not in the Capital, but at the Palace of Seaux, about four leagues South of Paris, continued to exist down to the Duchess du Maine's Decease, in 1753; and were attended by many of the persons of both Sexes, who afterwards formed the Circles at Madame du Deffand's, and at Mademoiselle l'Espinasse's Apartments. During the same period of Time, Madame de Tencin, Sister to the Cardinal of that name, one of the most captivating Women in France, the *Aspasia* of that Country, received at her Hotel, the "Gens de Lettres;" and may be said to have rivalled the Duchess du Maine, as the Protectress

of Taste and polite Knowledge. Madame de Tencin was Mother of d'Alembert, who owed his Birth to illicit Love.

No Meetings of a similar nature or description, appear to have existed in London, between the Restoration of Charles the Second in 1660, and the conclusion of the seventeenth Century, except the Society that met at the House of the famous Hortensia Mancini, Duchess de Mazarin, Niece to the Cardinal of that Name: who, from 1667, to the period of her Death in 1699, was accustomed to receive at her Apartments, the *Literati* of both sexes. St. Evrémond, an Exile, a Foreigner, and a Fugitive, like herself, constituted the principal support, and the ornament of these parties; where the Chevalier de Grammont, so well known by the Memoirs published under his name, was likewise to be found. It is curious to remark, that the first "Blue Stocking" Assemblies, and I believe, the only Meetings deserving that name, which have ever been held in London, down to those of which we have been speaking; were set on foot by natives of France, expatriated and resident here. For, neither the letters, nor the writings of Addison, Gay,

Steele, Swift, or Pope, indicate that any such Meetings existed from 1700, down to the beginning of the present Reign. Lady Wortley Montagu, Lady Hervey, the Duchess of Queensberry, and various other females distinguished by their talents, no less than by their high rank, adorned that period of time; but they do not appear to have emulated the line which Mrs. Montague so successfully undertook, though they occasionally received in their Drawing-rooms, the Wits and Poets of the reigns of Queen Anne, of George the First, and George the Second. Foreigners have indeed with reason reproached the English, as too much attracted by the love of Play, to Clubs composed exclusively of Men, to be capable of relishing a mixed Society, where researches of Taste and Literature constitute the basis and the central point of union.

I quitted England in the Summer of 1777, and made some stay at the Hague, where I was presented by our Ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, to the Prince of Orange; with whom I afterwards had the honor to sup at "the Palace in the Wood," as well as to meet him in private Society. This Prince has be-

come so well known to us, since his precipitate retreat from Holland in the Winter of 1795, by his long residence in England, that it is unnecessary to enter into any minute details relative to his character and qualities. Even at the period to which I allude, he neither inspired public respect, nor excited private regard. His person, destitute of dignity, corresponded with his manners, which were shy, awkward, and altogether unfitted to his high situation as Stadtholder. If he displayed no glaring vices, he either did not, or could not, conceal many weaknesses, calculated to injure him in the estimation of mankind. A constitutional Somnolency, which increased with the progress of age, was too frequently accompanied by excesses still more injurious, or fatal to his reputation; I mean those of the Table, particularly of Wine. I have seen him at the Hague, of an Evening, in a large Company, at Sir Joseph Yorke's, in the situation that I here describe. In vigor, ability, or resources of mind, such as might enable him successfully to struggle, like William the Third, with difficult or tumultuous Times, he was utterly deficient. If William the Fifth had possessed the Energies of that great Prince, we should neither

have been engaged in War with Holland, as happened towards the close of 1780; nor would the Stadtholderate have been overturned in 1795, and the Seven Provinces, which successfully resisted all the power of Philip the Second, have ultimately sunk into an enslaved Province of the Corsican Ruler of France.

The two Brothers, John and Cornelius de Witt, became in every Sense as formidable Opponents to William the Third, in 1672, as Van Berkel and Neufville proved to his Successor, in the last Century: but, William the Fifth allowed the French Faction at Amsterdam, acting under the direction of Vergennes, to consolidate their strength, to conclude a Treaty with the American Insurgents, and to precipitate a rupture between the Dutch Commonwealth and England. His magnanimous Predecessor, though he had scarcely then attained to manhood, opposed and surmounted all the efforts of the Republican Party, sustained by Louis the Fourteenth, with a view to subject Holland to French Ambition. Van Berkel merited the Fate which unjustly befell the two de Witts, and only escaped Punishment by the

inert and incapable Conduct of the Stadtholder, who permitted the fairest opportunity to pass, for calling him to a public Account, as a violator of the laws of Nations, a disturber of the public Peace, and an enemy to his own Country. Relative to William the Fifth's personal Courage, no opinion can be formed, as it was never tried; but he possessed neither the activity, nor any of the endowments fitted for the conduct of Armies. It must however be admitted that his Understanding was cultivated, his Memory very retentive, his Conversation, when unembarrassed, entertaining and even instructive, abounding with historical Information that displayed extensive acquaintance with polite letters; and that he joined to a fine Taste in the Arts, particularly in Painting, a generous protection of their Professors. In a period of repose, he might have been tolerated; but the Stadtholderate, at every time since its commencement in the person of William the First, and the original revolt of the Low Countries from Philip the Second, has demanded the greatest Energies in the individual who was placed at the head of the Dutch Commonwealth.

Nature, which rarely confers great or eminent qualities of Mind in hereditary Descent, seemed to have departed from that rule, in the House of Nassau-Orange; where she produced five Princes in succession, all of whom were conspicuous in a greater or a less degree, for courage, capacity, and the talents that insure or confirm political power. The five Roman Emperors, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines, who succeeded each other in Antiquity, were altogether unallied by ties of Consanguinity. Adoption alone, cemented by matrimonial Alliances, constituted the Connexion existing between them: and Commodus, whom we suppose to have been the Son of Marcus Aurelius, the last of those five Cæsars, was only distinguished by his crimes, or by his incapacity. William the First, and his two Sons, though by different Wives, Prince Maurice, and Frederic-Henry, who may be said to have successively occupied the Office of Stadtholder, or Captain-General of the United Provinces, during fourscore years, from 1567 to 1647, without interruption; were three of the most illustrious Men whom we have seen in modern Ages. Even William the Second, though his end

was premature, and in some measure unfortunate, he having died in the Flower of Youth; yet manifested no less strength of Character and vigor of Mind, than his three Predecessors. The whole existence of William the Third, from his twentieth Year down to the Time of his Dissolution, formed a perpetual display of fortitude, endurance, toil, and military, as well as civil Exertion. With him expired in 1702, the great line of Nassau-*Orange*. In 1747, the Dignity and Functions of Stadtholder, which had been suspended for five and forty years, were revived in the person of William the Fourth, Head of the Branch of Nassau-*Dietz*, collaterally related to the preceding race. However little favoured he might be by Nature in his bodily formation, which was very defective, resembling our popular Idea of Richard the Third; and however moderately endowed with intellectual powers was William the Fourth, who married the Princess Anne, daughter of George the Second; he at least maintained during the few years that he survived his elevation, an external dignity of Deportment, and an irreproachable moral Conduct. But, in the hands of William the Fifth his Son, may be said in every sense to

have become eclipsed, that great Office of Stadtholder, in itself only less than royal; and under able management, perhaps even more formidable than the kingly Dignity!

The reception of the late Prince of Orange by George the Third, when he sought refuge in this Country, from the French Invasion, early in 1795; was no less affectionate, hospitable, and cordial, than the Treatment which James the Second experienced in 1689, from Louis the Fourteenth. If James, justly expelled by his English subjects for Tyranny, political and religious, was lodged at the Castle of St. Germain, and treated with Royal Honors, by the French Monarch; William was equally placed in the Palace at Hampton Court. The Princes of the Royal Family, and the Nation at large, vied in demonstrations of respect, compassion, and attention towards him. The Princess of Orange, a Woman of a far more elevated, correct, and manly Character than her Husband, experienced as generous, and as kind a welcome, from the King and Queen of Great Britain, as Mary of Modena, the Consort of James, received in France. Of a stature exceeding the height of ordinary Wo-

men, she extremely resembled in her figure, the late King of Prussia, Frederic-William the Second, her Brother, who was cast by Nature in the same Colossal Mould. Fortune, which had persecuted her in Holland, did not prove more favourable to her in England. Her second son, Prince Frederic of Orange, a young man who excited the liveliest expectations, and gave promise of many virtues, had entered into the Austrian Service, after his father's expulsion from Holland. By his Mother he was regarded with peculiar predilection, as formed to support the Honor of the Houses of Nassau and of Brandenburgh, from both which he equally descended. Exemplary in the discharge of all his military duties, to this principle his premature Death was to be attributed, which took place at Venice, in January, 1799; occasioned by a malignant distemper or fever, caught in consequence of visiting the sick Soldiers, confined in the Hospitals of that City.

His Britannic Majesty first read the account of it at the Queen's House, in one of the French Newspapers, on Thursday night, the 31st of January, 1799. Shocked at the

intelligence, and not being quite sure of its authenticity, he put the Newspaper in his pocket; and taking the Queen aside, communicated it to her with much concern. As the probabilities were greatly in favor of its truth, or rather, as no doubt could reasonably be entertained on the point, they agreed not to delay announcing it to the Prince and Princess of Orange; who might otherwise receive so melancholy a notification, through the channel of the English diurnal Publications, or even from common fame. This determination they executed on the following Day, at the Queen's House, where they detained the Prince and Princess for two or three Weeks, till the violence of the emotions occasioned by the loss of their Son, had subsided. Some faint hopes, indeed, were entertained during eight or ten Days after the arrival of the intelligence, that it might prove either premature or untrue. It was, however, soon fully confirmed. All mankind agreed that Prince Frederic eminently possessed Talents, Honor, and Courage. His unfortunate Father, after arriving in this Country under a dark political Cloud, and after residing here many years, without acquiring the public esteem, or redeeming his public character,

finally and precipitately quitted England under a still darker Cloud; only to bury himself in the obscurity of Germany, there to expire, forgotten, and almost unknown. Such has been the Destiny, in our Time, of the Representative of that August House, which, in the sixteenth Century, while it conducted the Armies of Holland, opposed and humbled Spain; and which, in the seventeenth Century, affixed limits to the Ambition of France, under Louis the Fourteenth! A Corsican Adventurer has since enslaved, plundered, and conscribed during many years, the Country, over whose Councils, Barnevelt, the two de Witts, and Heinsius, once presided; for which Van Tromp and Ruyter fought, conquered, and fell; and where the spirit of Freedom seemed to have animated every individual, when the Duke of Alva overran, and desolated those Provinces. It is in making these reflections on the modern Dutch, and contrasting their Conduct with the Heroism of their Ancestors, that we involuntarily exclaim with *Goldsmith*,

"Gods! how unlike their Belgic Sires of old!"

At the time when I visited the Hague, in July, 1777, Prince Louis, one of the Brothers of the then reigning Duke of Brunswic

Wolfenbuttel, and Commander-in-chief of the Dutch Forces, enjoyed a much higher place in the public Consideration, than did the Stadtholder. I have rarely seen in the course of my life, a man of more enormous bodily Dimensions. William, Duke of Cumberland, son of George the Second, whose Corpulency was extreme, fell nevertheless far short of him in bulk. But, this prodigious mass of flesh, which it was natural to suppose, would enervate or enfeeble the powers of his Mind, seemed neither to have rendered him indolent or inactive. The strength of his Character, and the solidity of his Talents, while they supplied in some measure the defects of the Prince of Orange, animated and impelled the vast machine that he inhabited. Prince Louis manifested no Somnolency when in Company; nor was he ever betrayed at Table, into excesses injurious to his reputation. On the Parade, and in his military Capacity, he displayed equal animation and professional knowledge. Attached to the interests of the House of Orange, and to those of Great Britain, he became naturally obnoxious to the French Faction in Holland; which powerful Party finally effected his removal from the post that he held in the service of the Re-

public, and compelled him to retire out of the Dutch Dominions, a few years later than the period of which I am speaking. He died, I believe, in 1788. His Dismission and Departure prepared the way for the Overthrow of the Stadtholderate, notwithstanding the temporary Triumph of the late Duke of Brunswic, and the Capture of Amsterdam, effected in the Summer of 1787, by the Prussian Forces.

His Brother, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, who commanded the allied Army with so much reputation, during the "Seven Years War," from 1757 down to 1763; and who occupied at that Time so distinguished a rank in the History of Europe; proved himself unquestionably an able General, and a good Tactician; but he was by no means endowed with superior Talents of any kind. In order to have secured the degree of Fame that he had acquired in the Field, it may be asserted that he ought not to have survived his last Campaign; precisely as Juvenal says of Marius, that he should have breathed his last, immediately after his Victory over the Cimbri,

"Cum de Teutonico vellet descendere Curru."

For, Prince Ferdinand soon afterwards abandoned himself to the doctrines and reveries of the *Illuminés;* an Association of Men, who, it is well known, obtained such an ascendant about that time, in Germany. They reduced his Mind to a degree of imbecility which could only excite Compassion. It will hardly be believed that before the year 1773, he was so subjugated by them, as frequently to pass many Hours of the Night in Churchyards, engaged in evoking, and attempting to raise Apparitions. They practised successfully on his credulity, making him conceive that he beheld Spectres, or aerial Forms. These occupations, which afforded sufficient proofs of intellectual decline, having impelled the great Frederic, whose sound understanding despised the *Illuminés*, to dismiss Prince Ferdinand from his situation in the Prussian Service; or, as Thiebault asserts, in his "Souvenirs de vingt Ans," (which perhaps is more probable,) the King having liberated from Arrest an Officer whom the Prince had confined; he resigned. Which ever was the Fact, he then retired to Magdeburgh, of the Chapter of which secularized Archbishoprick, he was Dean, or Chief.

In that City he principally resided till the Time of his Decease, divested of any military Command, living in a sort of retreat; but, keeping a good Table, and receiving at Dinner, Strangers of Condition who visited Magdeburgh. His income, a considerable part of which consisted in a Pension from the Crown of Great Britain, enabled him to maintain an establishment becoming his rank. An intimate friend of mine, now, I regret, no more; who was about that time, Minister of England at the Court of Dresden, Mr. Osborn, being well acquainted with Prince Ferdinand, used frequently to dine with him. The Prince, who treated him with great regard, wishing to make a Proselyte of him, one day proposed that they should go together to a certain Church-yard, on that same night; promising him that a Ghost would infallibly appear to them. Mr. Osborn agreed to accept the proposal, and to accompany His Serene Highness to the scene of these supernatural exhibitions, provided that he would order six Grenadiers, their pieces loaded with Ball Cartridge, to attend them; and would enjoin the Grenadiers to fire upon whatever object might assume the appearance of a Ghost. But, the Prince by

no means relished the idea, and the party therefore did not take place. Of the accuracy of this Anecdote I can have no doubt, as it was related to me by Mr. Osborn himself, whose honor and veracity were indisputable. Prince Ferdinand continued till the period of his Death, in July, 1792, to be a Dupe and a Convert of the *Illuminés*.

Sir Joseph Yorke, afterwards created Lord Dover, maintained a distinguished rank among the Members of the Corps Diplomatique, in 1777, at the Hague. His Table, splendid and hospitable, was open to Strangers of every Country. Educated under Horace, Lord Walpole, and under the first Lord Hampden, his manners and address had in them something formal and ceremonious; but, the vigilance and ability which he displayed during above five-and-twenty years that he was Embassador of England to the States-General, more than compensated for these defects of external Deportment. Never, perhaps, at any period of modern Time, except by Sir William Temple, under Charles the Second, were the Interests of Great Britain so zealously, yet temperately sustained, as by him; for whom the Stadt-

holder felt and expressed a sort of filial regard. In 1777, the English Sovereign and Nation still continued to preserve an Ascendancy in the Dutch Councils; till the augmenting Misfortunes, and accumulated Disgraces of the American War, which finally enabled France to obtain a predominating influence, compelled Lord North to recall Sir Joseph Yorke from the Hague.

With another of His Majesty's foreign Ministers, Mr. Wroughton, who became afterwards Sir Thomas Wroughton, I passed a considerable part of the Summer of 1778, in the Court and Capital of Poland. Warsaw, destined to become in more recent periods, the Theatre of Carnage and Revolution, then enjoyed a delusive Calm; while Austria, Saxony, and Prussia, were involved in war relative to the Bavarian Succession. Wroughton, at the Time of which I speak, was about forty-six. He had been very handsome in his youth; and though grown somewhat corpulent, still preserved many of the Graces, and much of the Activity, of that period of life. His Education, if it had not given him a very cultivated Mind, had completely fitted him for the world; and a residence of more

than twenty years at the two Courts of Poland and Russia, in a public Character, rendered his Conversation, upon all points connected with the History of the North of Europe, no less entertaining, than informing. From him I learned a number of curious facts respecting the two Russian Empresses, Elizabeth and Catherine; which, though they assuredly would have been transmitted to Posterity by *Brantome*, cannot, without violating Decorum, be commemorated in the present Age.

Sir Thomas Wroughton was sent, at three or four-and-twenty, to Petersburgh, where he subsequently became British Consul, during the reign of the former of those Princesses. No man was better acquainted with her Character, as well as with the political Intrigues which distinguished the concluding years of Elizabeth's life. He assured me that she died a victim to her own excesses, and almost with a saucer of Cherry-brandy at her lips; it having been found impossible, by any injunctions of her Physicians, to prevent the female attendants about her person and Bed, from indulging her in this pernicious gratification. The last Princess of the Stuart line

who reigned in this Country, has been accused of a similar passion, if we may believe the Secret History of that Time, or trust to the Couplet which was affixed to the Pedestal of her Statue in front of St. Paul's, by the satirical Wits of 1714. The Empress Elizabeth's Amours were such as the Messalinas and Faustinas of Antiquity, are asserted to have carried on in the Capital of the Roman world, without delicacy, shame, or restraint. Suetonius might have found it difficult to relate, and Juvenal, as impossible to exaggerate, the particulars of Elizabeth's Gallantries.

Of Catherine, Sir Thomas Wroughton always spoke with admiration and respect, though with freedom. To her notice he was indeed greatly indebted for his elevation in life; she having been instrumental in procuring him the appointment of Consul to Petersburgh. As he was in the flower of his age at that time, and of an imposing figure, he attracted her attention, and was honored by her with such distinguishing marks of predilection, as to draw upon him the resentment of the Grand Duke, her Husband; who, when he ascended the Throne, early in 1762, by the name of Peter the Third,

obtained during his short reign, Wroughton's removal from Russia. He was then sent, by orders from his own Court, to Dresden, as Minister to Augustus the Third, Elector of Saxony, in his capacity of King of Poland; and he accompanied or followed that Monarch from Saxony to Warsaw, in the last visit that Augustus made to his Polish Dominions. As Wroughton had become an object of Peter's unconcealed dislike or jealousy; and as Catherine had distinguished him by personal attentions of the most flattering nature; it was not an improbable supposition, that she might have carried to the utmost extent, her preference of him. But he always assured me, even in Moments of the greatest confidence and unreserve, that he had never violated for an instant, the limits of the most profound respect towards her; nor had ever received from her, encouragement for such Presumption on his part. "Count Poniatowski," said he, "was her "Lover. I was only her humble Friend "and Servant."

He told me, that the first time he ever heard the name of Orloff mentioned, or ever saw the Officer who afterwards became, as

Prince Orloff, the avowed Favourite of Catherine in every sense, was on the following occasion. Crossing the Court of the Winter Palace at Petersburgh, some time during the year 1760, the Grand Duchess, who leaned on his arm, pointed out to him a young Man in the Uniform of the Russian Guards, then in the act of saluting her with his Spontoon; and added, "*Vous voyez ce beau jeune "Homme. Le connoissez-vous?*" Wroughton replying in the negative, "*Il s'appelle Orloff,*" said Catherine; "*Croiriez-vous qu'il a eu la "Hardiesse de me faire l'Amour?*" "*Il est "bien hardi, Madame,*" answered he, smiling. The Conversation proceeded no further; but it remained deeply imprinted upon Wroughton's recollection, who from that Moment silently anticipated the future favor of Orloff. Sir Thomas Wroughton always spoke to me of Catherine's Participation or Acquiescence in the Death of Peter the Third, as involuntary, reluctant, and the Result of an insurmountable Necessity. He even considered her knowledge of the Destruction of the unfortunate Emperor Ivan, who was stabbed by his own Guards at Schlusselbourg, in 1764, with a view to prevent his being liberated by Mirowitsch, as exceedingly pro-

blematical. But he believed, in common with all Poland, that Catherine had found means to entrap, and to transfer to Petersburgh, the Princess Tarrakanoff, a Daughter of the Empress Elizabeth; where, as was asserted, she had perished in prison, by the waters of the River Neva entering the room in which she was confined. There can be no Doubt that Alexis Orloff, so well known in the Annals of Catherine's Reign, who then commanded the Russian Fleet in the Mediterranean; became on that occasion, the instrument of her vengeance, or rather of her apprehensions, by enticing on board his Ship, in the Port of Leghorn, the unhappy Female in question. This Accusation, sustained by many strong facts, and apparent proofs, narrated at great length, has since been submitted to the Tribunal of Europe, in "*La Vie de Catherine Seconde*," by Castera, published in 1797, soon after the Empress's Decease. Sir John Dick, who at the time of the supposed Princess's seizure by Alexis Orloff, was British Consul at Leghorn; is named in the Work to which I allude, as having been an Accomplice in the act of ensnaring, and carrying her off to the Russian Admiral's Ship. His Wife is likewise

charged with a participation in so foul a conspiracy.

I lived during several years, in habits of familiar acquaintance with Sir John Dick, who retained, at fourscore, all the activity of middle life, together with the perfect possession of his Memory and Faculties. He was an agreeable, entertaining, and well bred Man, who had seen much of the World. Dining in a large Company, at Mr. Thomas Hope's, in Berkeley Square, on Sunday, the 10th of February, 1799, I sat by Sir John Dick; and well knowing his intimacy with Alexis Orloff, I inquired of him, where the Count then was; "He is," answered Sir John Dick, "at present at Leipsic, from "which place he wrote to me, only three "Weeks ago. The Emperor Paul com-"manded him to travel, after having made "him and Prince Baratinskoi, both of whom "assisted in the termination of Peter the "Third's life, assist likewise at the funeral "ceremonies of that Prince. They held the "Pall, and actually mounted guard over the "Body, in the Church of the Citadel of "Petersburgh; remaining the whole night, "with the Corpse. Alexis went through

" this function with perfect Composure." Encouraged by the frankness of this reply, I ventured to ask him, if he had read the Narrative of the Princess Tarrakanoff's Seizure, related in " *La Vie de Catherine Se-* " *conde?*" " I have certainly perused it," said he, " and not without some concern, as " I am there accused by name, no less than " my Wife, of having been a party to the act " of transporting by violence, a young, un- " suspecting, and innocent Princess, on " board the Russian Fleet. I will relate to " you, as a man of veracity, all the part that " I took, and all I know, relative to the " pretended Princess in question; who is " there asserted to have been a Daughter of " Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, by Alexis " Razoumoffsky.

" During the time that the Russian Squa- " dron lay in the harbour of Leghorn, in " 1771, Alexis Orloff, who was the Admiral, " resided frequently, if not principally, at " Pisa, where he hired a splendid House. " One morning, about eleven o'clock, a Cos- " sack, who was in his Service, and who " acted as his Courier, arrived at my door; " charged with a Message, to inform me that

" his master, with some Company, in three
" Carriages, meant to dine with me on that
" Day. I accordingly ordered a Dinner to
" be prepared for his reception. When he
" arrived, he brought with him a Lady,
" whom he introduced to my Wife and to
" myself: but he never named her, only
" calling her, " *Questa Dama.*" She was by
" no means handsome, though genteel in her
" figure; apparently, thirty years of Age;
" and had the air of a person who had suf-
" fered in her health. There seemed some-
" thing mysterious about her, which excited
" my Curiosity, but which I could not pene-
" trate. Considering her with attention, it
" struck me forcibly that I had seen her be-
" fore, and in England. Being determined,
" if possible, to satisfy myself on this point,
" as we stood leaning against the Chimney
" piece in my Drawing-room, before Dinner,
" I said to her, " I believe, Ma'am, you
" speak English." " I speak only one little,"
" answered she. We sat down to Dinner,
" and after the repast, Alexis Orloff pro-
" posed to my Wife, and to another Lady
" who was there present, to accompany him
" and the female stranger, on board his Ship.
" They both declining it, Orloff took her

" with him in the Evening. The Boom, or " Chain, was then stretched across the Har- " bour: but a Boat came from the Russian " Admiral's Ship, into which he put the " Lady, and accompanied her, himself, safe " on board.

" On the ensuing Morning, when Orloff " came on shore, he proceeded to my House. " His Eyes were violently inflamed, and his " whole Countenance betrayed much agita- " tion. Without explaining to me the cause " or the reason of this Disorder, he owned " that he had passed a very unpleasant " Night; and he requested me to let him " have some of the most amusing Books in " my Library, in order to divert the Lady who " was on board his Ship. I never saw her " again: but, I know that soon afterwards, " she was sent by Alexis, in a Frigate, to " Cronstadt; where, without being ever land- " ed, she was transferred up the Neva, to " the Fortress of Schlusselbourg, at the " mouth of the lake Ladoga. Catherine " there confined her, in the very room that " Peter the Third had caused to be con- " structed, with intent to shut up herself in " it. The Lady unquestionably died in that

" Prison, of Chagrin; but she was not drown-
" ed by the water of the Neva coming into
" her Apartment, as is asserted in " *La Vie*
" *de Catherine Seconde.*"

" Having stated to you," continued Sir John Dick, " these Circumstances, I will now
" inform you, who, and of what description,
" was the lady in question. Far from being,
" as is pretended, a Daughter of Elizabeth,
" Empress of Russia, her father was a Baker
" of Nuremberg in Franconia. If, on this
" point, my Testimony should appear to you
" doubtful or suspicious, the present Mar-
" grave of Anspach, who is in this Country,
" and who knew her well, is ready to testify
" the same fact. She was a Woman of plea-
" sure, during a short time, both in Paris,
" and here in London; at which last men-
" tioned City, she had picked up a few
" Words of English. Prince Nicholas Rad-
" zivil, who was driven out of Poland by
" the Russians, having met with her, made
" her his Mistress, and carried her with him
" into Italy. In order to revenge himself on
" Catherine, who had expelled him from his
" native Country, and confiscated his im-
" mense Estates in Lithuania, he resolved

" on calling her the Princess Tarrakanoff,
" pretending that she was Elizabeth's Daugh-
" ter. Such she was in fact considered to
" be by many who saw her; and the report
" acquiring strength, soon reached Peters-
" burgh. Catherine, naturally alarmed at
" the existence of a Female Pretender, who
" might lay claim to the very Throne of Rus-
" sia; and being informed that Prince Rad-
" zivil asserted her right to the Empire, as
" a legitimate Daughter of Elizabeth by
" Razoumoffsky, to whom she had been
" secretly married; thought that not a Mo-
" ment was to be lost, in securing the person
" of so dangerous a rival. She issued private
" Orders therefore to Alexis Orloff, enjoining
" him to gain possession of the pretended
" Princess, at all events, and by every pos-
" sible means, either of money, or of violence.
" To so great a height did the Empress's
" Apprehensions rise, that Orloff avowed to
" me, he had received the positive commands
" of her Majesty, to pursue her even to
" Ragusa, if necessary; where it was un-
" derstood she had retired; to demand her
" from the Government of that small Repub-
" lic; and if they should refuse to give her
" up, to bombard the City, and to lay it in

" Ashes. But, Alexis found means to en-
" trap, or to entice her, without either dis-
" turbance or hostility. He treated her as
" his Mistress, while he resided at Pisa, and
" while she lay on board his Ship at Leg-
" horn. These are all the Particulars that I
" know relative to her, and all the share that
" I had in her Detention, or her Misfortunes."

It is probable that this recital, however natural and plausible it may appear, or however true it may be in point of fact, will nevertheless by no means carry conviction to every mind. I confess, that it neither produced that Sentiment in me, at the time when Sir John Dick related it; nor, on the fullest consideration, am I thoroughly persuaded that the Person in question, was not the Daughter of Elizabeth. It seems to be universally admitted, and I have always been so assured, that the Empress did privately espouse Razoumoffsky; that she had by him, between the years 1740 and 1745, various children; one of whom was brought up, and called the Princess or Countess Tarrakanoff. Prince Radzivil might, as is asserted in " *La Vie de Catherine Seconde*," have contrived means to carry her off; and

after accompanying her to Rome, might there have quitted or deserted her. It is unquestionable, even by Sir John Dick's Account, that Catherine dreaded her; and that Orloff, by her Orders, decoyed, ensnared, and made himself master of the person of this unfortunate Female. But, that in order to effect his base and barbarous Purpose, Orloff actually married her, or pretended so to do; that she passed *several Days* under Sir John Dick's roof, in amusement and dissipation; that "the Consul, his Wife, and the Wife of "Rear Admiral Greig, took their seats by "her in the Barge, which conveyed her on "board the Russian Squadron;" finally, that a British Consul would dishonor himself, his Sovereign, and his Nation, by openly facilitating so perfidious an Act;—all these Assertions of Castera, and many others relative to her treatment on board Orloff's Ship, appear to me wholly undeserving of credit. They are, indeed, completely disproved by Sir John Dick's Narrative to me, unless we suppose him utterly devoid of Truth and Honor. On the other hand, that he should have remained silent under such a Charge, made in the face of all Europe, without attempting to repel, or to disprove it, in as public a man-

ner, as it was brought forward; seems almost like a negative admission of its Veracity. His denial of the Accusation, given in private Conversation to me, could not redeem his Character to the World at large. Sir John, we may likewise remember, lay under personal Obligations to Catherine the Second, who had conferred on him one of the Russian Orders of Knighthood; and from his Connexion with whom, while Orloff lay at Leghorn with her Fleet, he had derived great pecuniary Advantages. The manner in which Alexis treated him, by bringing to his House a Stranger, without previously soliciting Permission; whom he never announced to Sir John, or to his Wife, by name; and with whom he lived as his Mistress;—these Facts seem to imply great subservience on the part of the British Consul; and will probably induce us to pause, before we give implicit belief to his Assertions. I leave, however, the decision on this point, to every man's own Opinion.

But, was the Lady in question, the Daughter of Elizabeth, or not? It seems to me impossible, for want of Evidence, to reply satisfactorily to the question. I confess however,

that I think it more probable She should have been, as Sir John Dick asserted, a German Woman, whom Prince Radzivil had instructed, or induced, to assume the Name and Title of Princess Tarrakanoff. It is even very difficult altogether to condemn the Empress Catherine, for endeavouring to get possession of her person. For, had She passed over to Ragusa, and from thence into the Ottoman Dominions, she would have been, when once in the hands of the Turks, with whom Russia was at war, a most dangerous Competitor to the Throne. We must recollect, that Catherine herself had attained the Imperial Dignity by a Revolution, and the consequent Destruction of her Husband, without any right of Descent. To *Her*, an Impostress was nearly as formidable, as a rightful Pretender to the Crown. The History of the false Demetrius, in the Beginning of the seventeenth Century, so famous in the Muscovite Annals, might justly inspire her with apprehension. Similar Scenes might be renewed under her own Reign, in the interior of that vast Empire. Pugatcheff had long been considered, by a great part of the Russian People, as the Emperor Peter the Third. These Considerations must, at least in a political point of view,

justify Catherine for taking measures to prevent the Lady in question, from being made an instrument in the hands of vindictive or ambitious individuals, to accomplish their projects of Vengeance against herself. In the eyes of Morality and of Humanity, the whole Reign and Administration of that Empress, however brilliant and imposing it may appear through the medium of Voltaire's, or of the Prince de Ligne's Writings, cannot bear a close Examination, or support a severe Scrutiny.

The first Grand Duchess of Russia, Wilhelmina, Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, who, on her Marriage with the Grand Duke Paul, assumed the Name of Natalia Alexiewna; perished, like the pretended Princess Tarrakanoff, in the Prime of Life, and under Circumstances that excited at the Time, much Commiseration. I have seen the Grand Duchess in question, at the Drawing-room at the Palace of Peterhoff, in 1774, soon after her Marriage. She had been chosen in preference to two of her Sisters, who accompanied her on the Journey from Germany to Russia. Those Princesses must have been very deficient in personal Attractions, if Paul's

Selection resulted from her superiority in that respect, above her Sisters. I have rarely beheld a young person less favored by Nature. She had a scorbutic Humor in her face, nor did her Countenance indicate either intelligence or dignity; but she was said to be amiable and pleasing in her Manners. To the great Joy of Catherine, as well as of the Empire at large, which anxiously expected the Birth of an Heir, she became pregnant in 1775. That she died about two Years subsequent to her Marriage, during the Confinement incident to her Accouchement, is certain; but, the precise Nature of her Death is not well ascertained, and produced various Reports, some of which were injurious to the Empress's Reputation. I have, myself, heard them, while I resided at Vienna, from Persons of the highest Distinction, particularly from two Princes of Hesse Philipstahl, within three or four Years after the Grand Duchess's Decease: but, I believe that they were not entitled to Credit. It was likewise generally asserted that the Princess in question had formed a strong Attachment for one of the handsomest, as well as most accomplished young Noblemen about the Court of Petersburgh, with whom

she had entered into a Correspondence of a delicate Description. The Circumstance becoming known to Paul, occasioned Him no ordinary Uneasiness. A Fact which seemed to give Probability to the Story, is that the Nobleman himself to whom I allude, was then resident at Vienna; to which City he had been sent, as common Fame affirmed, by Catherine, on the complaints of her Son, immediately after the Death of the unfortunate Princess in question. I knew him very familiarly, while at Vienna. He since filled the post of Envoy from the Empress of Russia, at an Italian Court; where he was believed to have carried his Temerity, and his Success, even higher than he had done at Petersburgh. Few Men whom I have ever seen or known, were more formed by Nature to be beloved by Women. His Figure was advantageous; his Manners, though lofty, yet were gay and captivating, whenever he desired to conciliate good-will; and his Countenance, which somewhat resembled that of a Calmuck, had in it nevertheless, an air of great Distinction, Spirit, and Intelligence. He had served in the Russian Fleet, under Alexis Orloff; was present at the memorable Victory of Tschismé, on the coast of Natolia, in 1770, where

the Turkish Squadron in that Bay was destroyed; and had acquired, under Admirals Elphinstone and Greig, not only a knowledge of naval Tactics, but of the English language likewise, which he spoke with admirable ease and fluency. The secret History of the Imperial Family of Russia, from the Reign of Peter the First inclusive, down to the present Time, has already furnished, and will, as it gradually becomes known, continue to afford, Matter of the most curious, as well as interesting Nature. When we reflect that three Emperors, Peter, Ivan, and Paul, have successively perished by violent Means, within little more than half a Century; and when we consider that this stupendous Empire, embracing so vast a Portion of the Globe, has been governed almost exclusively by Women, from the Year 1725, down to 1796, including a Space of more than seventy Years;—lastly, when we recollect that of the four Females who have successively swayed the Sceptre of Peter the Great, two, namely, Catherine the First and Second, were Germans or Livonians, unconnected except by Marriage, with the ancient Czars or Sovereigns of Muscovy;—when we contemplate these Facts, we cannot be sur-

prized if this Asiatic Empire, newly assimilated to our European Monarchies and States, should present Scenes altogether unlike the Manners of London, Paris, or Vienna.

After the Death of the Grand Duchess, Catherine was at least determined to lose no time in providing for her Son a second Wife. For this purpose, she applied, almost immediately subsequent to the Decease of the unfortunate Natalia Alexiewna, to the great Frederic, King of Prussia, requesting him to select for Paul, a German Princess, to supply the vacancy occasioned in the imperial Family. She even sketched out with her own Hand, the prominent qualities of person and of mind, which she considered as principally requisite in the object of his Choice. This delicate Commission Frederic executed with great Ability; and, having fully ascertained the ground, he recommended the Princess Sophia of Wirtemberg to the Empress, for her future Daughter-in-law. It was perhaps impossible to have made a more judicious Selection for such a dangerous Eminence, which frequently conducted to a Convent, to Siberia, or to a Grave. She was not quite seventeen years of Age; and she

possessed, besides the Graces of youth, personal Attractions, well calculated to retain the Grand Duke's Affections. Her Understanding, solid, and her Deportment, blameless, secured universal Esteem; while, at the same time, she neither displayed such Talents, energy of Character, or Ambition, as could render her an object of Catherine's Apprehension. Paul, accompanied by Marshal Romanzoff, whose Victories over the Turks have rendered him so justly celebrated, was sent by Catherine, in 1776, to Berlin; where Frederic, after contributing to procure him a Wife, entertained him at Potzdam, in the most splendid manner.

At one of these Entertainments, given, if I recollect right, in the new Palace near *Sans Souci;* in the midst of the Dinner, a large piece of the Ceiling fell down on the Table, involving the room and the Company in dust, confusion, and astonishment: not unlike the Accident which Fundanius relates as happening at Nasidienus's Supper. The King, with admirable presence of mind, instantly throwing his Arms round Paul, who sat next him, held the Grand Duke closely embraced, without suffering him to stir, till the Cause,

as well as the Consequences of the Disaster, were ascertained. When it was discovered to have arisen only from a defect in the plaister of the Ceiling, and to have been altogether casual, a Courier was immediately dispatched to Petersburgh, stating the particulars to Catherine; assuring her at the same time, that her Son was in perfect safety. We cannot help admiring the quickness of Frederic's perception, which, ignorant as he was from what cause so unusual and alarming an Event originated, led him, without a Moment's delay, to participate the Danger and the Misfortune, if such existed, with the Grand Duke. In fact, they must have perished together, if they perished at all. The malignity of Mankind would unquestionably have suspected or attributed Treachery of some kind, had any fatal Accident, in which the King was not enveloped, befallen his Guest. Frederic, by his promptitude, obviated the possibility of misrepresentation, either at Petersburgh, or in any other of the Courts of Europe.

During the first ten or fifteen years of the Reign of Catherine the Second, it was commonly believed; and in Poland, where Men

ventured to state their Opinions in Conversation, with more freedom than they dared to do in Russia, I have heard it often maintained in private Society; that the Grand Duke Paul would, sooner or later, disappear, as Peter the Third did in 1762, and as the unfortunate Emperor Ivan did in 1764. If Catherine had dreaded her Son, such an Event might have been not impossible: but she knew him, and did not fear him. The strongest mark of her superiority to all apprehension from his machinations, or efforts to ascend the Russian Throne before his time, was the permission which she gave him to travel over Germany, France, and Italy. Peter the First never extended such a Degree of Emancipation to his Son, the Czarowitz Alexis. Paul was accompanied on his Tour, by the Grand Duchess, for whom he then manifested the utmost fondness; though the testimonies which he gave her of his affection, were not always regulated by delicacy or propriety. Sir William Hamilton told me, that when Paul arrived at Naples in 1782, he had the honor to accompany the Grand Duke and Duchess, on their Excursions round that City; in Order to view Portici, Pompeii, and the other

principal objects of Curiosity visited by Travellers. "The first time," said Sir William, "that I was with them in a Coach, we had "not proceeded far, when Paul, as if unconscious that I was present, throwing his "Arms about the Grand Duchess, began to "kiss her with as much warmth, as he could "have shewn if they had been alone, and "newly married. I was somewhat embarrassed at this unusual display of matrimonial Attachment, hardly knowing which "way to direct my view; for there was no "other person with us in the Carriage: and "as I sat opposite to their Imperial Highnesses, I could not easily avoid seeing all "that passed, though I affected to look "through the glass, at the objects without. "At length, the Grand Duke addressing "himself to me, said, '*Monsieur Le Chevalier, J'aime beaucoup ma Femme.*' It was "impossible not to credit the Assertion, after "the proofs which he had just exhibited. "But we had not proceeded a Mile further, when he recommenced the same "demonstrations of Attachment, which he "repeated many times before we arrived at "Portici: usually observing to me, each "time, '*Vous voyez que J'aime beaucoup*

" *ma Femme.*' I could only express my sa-
" tisfaction at his Felicity, concealing my as-
" tonishment at the Testimonies of it which
" I had witnessed." It would have been happy for this violent and infatuated Prince, if he had never ascended the Russian Throne, but had always continued in the state of political Annihilation to which his Mother had reduced him, and in which she retained him to the end of her life.

' The pretended Princess Tarrakanoff, and the first Grand Duchess of Russia, were not the only Females of high rank, who expired by a premature Death, under Catherine's Reign. Augusta Caroline, eldest Daughter of the late celebrated Duke of Brunswic-Wolfenbuttel, who fell at Auërstadt in 1806, is supposed to have perished in a manner equally mysterious. This Princess, who was born towards the end of the year 1764; before she attained the Age of sixteen, was married to the Prince of Wirtemberg, since elevated by Bonaparte to the Dignity of a King. He was then about twenty-six years old, and might be considered as eventual presumptive Heir to his Uncle, the reigning Duke of Wirtemberg, Charles Eugene, who

had no Issue. When I was at the Court of Brunswic, in the Autumn of 1777, at which time the Princess was near thirteen, I saw her more than once, in the Apartments of her Mother. She had a very fair Complexion, light Hair, pleasing Features, and an interesting Figure. Some years after her Marriage, she accompanied the Prince her Husband into Russia, when he entered into the military Service of that Crown; to the Heir of which, as has been already stated, his Sister was married. They resided during some time at Petersburgh, or in other parts of the Russian Empire; but in 1787 he quitted Catherine's Service and Dominions; leaving his Wife behind, of whose conduct, it was asserted, he had great reason to complain. They had then three Children living, two Sons and a Daughter, whom the Empress permitted him to take away, when he withdrew from her Employ; but she retained the Princess under her own Protection. At the end of a year or two, it was notified to the Prince of Wirtemberg, as well as to the Duke of Brunswic, by order of the Empress, that the Consort of the one, and the Daughter of the other, was no more. The Duke, her Father, immediately demanded in the

most pressing terms, that her Body might be delivered up to him: but this request was never granted, nor did he even receive any such authentic proofs of her Decease, and still less of the Circumstances attending it, as could satisfy him on the subject. Doubts were not only entertained whether she died a natural Death, but it remained questionable whether she did not still survive, and was not existing in Siberia, or in the Polar Deserts; like many other illustrious Exiles of her own Family, who had been banished thither by the Empress Elizabeth, when she ascended the Throne in 1741, on the Deposition of Ivan.

In May, 1797, the Princess Royal of England was married to the Prince of Wirtemberg; who, before the conclusion of that year, became Duke, by the decease of Frederic Eugene his Father. Early in the Summer of 1798, a Gentleman conversing with me on the subject of the first Princess of Wirtemberg's Death, assured me that he had seen and perused all the papers relative to her Imprisonment and Decease; which, at the desire of the Prince himself, and by his Authority, had been transmitted to George the

Third; who, after a full inspection of them, became perfectly convinced of his having had no part, direct or indirect, in that dark and melancholy Transaction.

"Frederic William, reigning Duke of "Wirtemberg," said he, "entered when "young, as is well known, into the Prussian "Service. Old Frederic liked and distin- "guished him. Wishing to attach him to the "House of Brandenburgh by permanent "ties, and considering him as a man of pro- "mising Abilities, the King himself set on "foot, and finally concluded his Marriage "with the eldest Daughter of his own fa- "vorite Nephew and General, the Duke of "Brunswic. This Event took place in 1780. "About five years afterwards, Frederic "being disposed to form a second Alliance "with the Family of Wirtemberg, by marry- "ing his great Nephew, the present King of "Prussia, as soon as his age would allow, "with the Princess Elizabeth, Sister to the "Prince; dispatched him to Petersburgh "for that purpose. His Instructions were, "to apply to his Sister the Grand Duchess, "for the exertion of her influence at the "Court of Stutgard, in order to prevail on

" the Duke to promise his Niece to the
" eventual Heir of the Prussian Monarchy.
" This Negotiation was however, rendered
" unsuccessful, by the demand which the
" Emperor Joseph the Second made about
" the same time, of the Princess Elizabeth
" of Wirtemberg, for his Nephew, Francis,
" hereditary Prince of Tuscany, now Em-
" peror of Austria; a Marriage which was
" actually accomplished early in 1788.

" When the Prince of Wirtemberg arrived
" in the Capital of the Russian Empire, this
" Austrian Alliance was already settled; or
" at least, was too far advanced in its Pro-
" gress, to be overturned by his interference.
" After making therefore every effort in his
" power, through the Grand Duchess, to
" prevent its Accomplishment; and finding
" these Exertions fruitless, he returned to
" Potzdam. Whether Frederic suspected
" any duplicity or insincerity on his part;
" or, whether it was the result merely of
" Disappointment; it is certain that he re-
" ceived the Prince very coldly: and the
" Empress of Russia having soon afterwards
" invited him into her Service, he quitted
" that of Prussia, and revisited Petersburgh.

" She employed him in the war that began in
" 1787 against the Turks; and he command-
" ed one of the three Armies which took
" the field. The Van, consisting of forty
" thousand Men, was entrusted to him. He
" is said to have displayed great military Ta-
" lent, to have distinguished himself much,
" and to have rendered essential Services to
" Catherine.

" At the time that he entered the Russian
" Service, he carried the Princess his Wife
" with him to Petersburgh, as well as the two
" Sons and Daughter which she had brought
" him. Being in the flower of her youth,
" endowed with many amiable qualities of
" mind and of deportment, she soon became
" a Favorite of Catherine; in whose Society
" and intimate Confidence she occupied a
" distinguished place. It can hardly how-
" ever excite Astonishment, that such an in-
" tercourse should have been calculated to
" corrupt her Morals. The Court and Pa-
" lace of the Empress, were Scenes of dissi-
" pation and licentiousness. Yet, when the
" Prince went to serve against the Turks, he,
" of necessity, left his Wife exposed to all
" these Temptations. In effect, during his

" absence, she conducted herself so impru-
" dently, that when he returned, after the
" Conclusion of the Campaign, to Peters-
" burgh, he found himself compelled to
" adopt some strong Measures respecting
" her. Being placed in this painful situa-
" tion, he wrote to her Father, the Duke of
" Brunswic, informing him of his Daughter's
" misconduct, and consulting him on the
" mode of action proper to be pursued under
" those Circumstances. It was agreed be-
" tween them, that as a preliminary step,
" she should be removed out of Russia; and
" the Prince accordingly demanded Cathe-
" rine's permission to quit her Dominions,
" together with his Wife and his family. The
" Empress allowed him to retire, and to take
" with him his Children; but she perempto-
" rily refused to permit him to carry his
" Consort back to Germany. All remon-
" strance proving vain, the Princess there-
" fore remained behind, and he quitted
" Petersburgh, with his sons and daughter,
" to return to Wirtemberg.

" About a fortnight after his Departure,
" the Princess, without any reason assigned,
" was sent by Order of Catherine, to the

" Castle of Lhode, about two hundred Miles
" from Petersburgh; but, in what part or
" Province of that vast Empire, I am unable
" to assert. There, it seems, under close
" Confinement, she remained about eighteen
" Months: but, all her German Attendants,
" male and female, were withdrawn from her.
" At the end of that time, the Prince re-
" ceived letters from the Empress, informing
" him that his wife was dead, of *a Hemor-*
" *rhage*. Similar Information was conveyed
" by Catherine, to the Duke of Brunswic,
" the unfortunate Princess's Father. No Par-
" ticulars were stated; nor, as far as appears,
" were any other Circumstances ever known
" respecting her. Thus situated, the Duke
" of Brunswic, conscious that he could nei-
" ther bring his Daughter to life, nor call the
" Empress to account, acquiesced patiently
" in the Calamity: but, during some years,
" he did not communicate to the Duchess his
" Wife, the intelligence of her Daughter's
" Death. She therefore remaining in igno-
" rance of the Catastrophe, continued to be-
" lieve that the Princess was still confined at
" Lhode, or existing somewhere in the De-
" serts of Russia. The Duchess used even
" to speak of her, as being alive in Siberia;

"and this fact will account for the universa-
"lity of the report."

If the Account given me by Sir John Dick, relative to the supposed Princess Tarrakanoff, left many Circumstances obscure and unexplained in the history of that Female; it must be owned that, after considering this Narrative, no less uncertainty still pervades the story of the Princess of Wirtemberg. It is natural to ask, why did Catherine cause the Princess to be imprisoned? Her Gallantries, however culpable or notorious they might be, yet constituted no Crime against the Empress of Russia; who exhibited in her own Conduct, an example of emancipation from all restraint and decorum on the article of female irregularities of Deportment. It was the Prince her Husband, whom she had dishonoured and incensed. What proof is adduced, except assertion, that he did not know of the intentions of Catherine to confine and banish her? In the case of the two Emperors, Peter the Third, and Ivan; as well as in the instance of the pretended Princess Tarrakanoff; the motives which might impel Her to deprive them of life, are obvious. But, none such appear in the in-

stance before us. There are, moreover, other Particulars which may lead us to hesitate in forming a decisive Opinion on the subject. The Death of the Princess of Wirtemberg at Lhode, was announced and stated in all the German Almanacks, printed by Authority, to have taken place on "the 27th Septem-" ber, 1788." Her Husband remained a Widower, near eight years after that event, before he aspired to the Hand of the Princess Royal of Great Britain. During so long a period of time, he seems to have adopted no Measures for repelling the calumnious reports circulated all over Europe; reports which, however false, (and such I esteem them to have been,) yet had made the most unfavourable impression, even in England. George the Third became indeed perfectly convinced of his innocence, before he consented to the union of the Prince with his eldest Daughter. But, though the King yielded to the undeniable proofs brought upon this point, yet, from paternal Fondness or Solicitude, he did it with reluctance. So far, indeed, was he from pushing forward the Alliance, that I know from good Authority, he offered the Princess, after all the Preliminaries were adjusted, and the Marriage was fixed, to

break it off, if she chose to decline it; taking on himself personally, the whole responsibility of its failure. Over the precise nature of the first Princess of Wirtemberg's Illness and Death, a deep or impenetrable Veil is drawn. We must leave it to Time to unfold, if it does not rather remain, as is more probable, for ever problematical.

Before I quit this subject, I cannot help remarking, that during the course of the eighteenth Century, the Family of Brunswic, in its different Branches, produced no less than five Princesses, who exhibited in succession, the most conspicuous examples of human Infelicity. The first of them was Sophia of Brunswic *Zell*, married to George the First; who, for her alledged, but unproved Gallantries with Count Konigsmark, was confined during near forty years, at the sequestered Seat or Castle of Ahlden, in the Electorate of Hanover, where she expired in 1726. Charlotte-Christina of Brunswic *Blanckenberg*, who espoused in 1711, the Czarowitz Alexis, only son of Peter the Great; a Princess endowed by Nature with almost every amiable and estimable quality of Body and of Mind; equally beautiful and

virtuous; fell a Victim, in the flower of her youth, to the ferocious Treatment that she experienced from her Husband. She died at Petersburgh, in Child-bed, at twenty-one years of age, in 1715; or at least, She disappeared:—for her Death has been contested in the strongest manner: lamented by the whole Empire, except by Alexis, whose brutal Character rendered him incapable of appreciating her value. Brunswic *Wolfenbuttel* furnished the next Instance, in the person of Elizabeth, married in 1765, to the late King of Prussia, then only Prince Royal; divorced four years afterwards, for her Irregularities; confined at Stettin, where I have seen her in 1774; and relative to whose private History I could state from high Authority, the most minute, as well as curious Particulars, if I were not restrained by Motives of Respect and Delicacy towards the illustrious Persons who are connected with Her by Descent, or by Alliance. I believe She still survives, forgotten and unknown, in some part of the Prussian Dominions; after having witnessed the temporary Subversion of her own House, and the Calamities inflicted on that of Brandenburgh, by Bonaparte. Caroline Matilda of Brunswic *Lü-*

nenburgh, posthumous Daughter of Frederic, late Prince of Wales, and sister of George the Third, is the Fourth in this Enumeration. To Her I had the Honor of being well known, have dined frequently at her Table, and was employed by Her during the Year preceding her Decease, in conducting Negotiations of the deepest Importance to her future Greatness, as well as Felicity. Banished by a Revolution, from Denmark, in 1772, effected in the name of Christian the Seventh, her imbecile Husband; She only survived it about three years, terminating her short Career, in the prime of life, at Zell, in 1775. Augusta Caroline of Brunswic *Wolfenbuttel*, whose melancholy History, and whose ambiguous End, we have been surveying, continues, but does not terminate the List. It must be esteemed singular, that in the lapse of scarcely a hundred years, such a Fatality should seem to have marked, and still to pursue, so many Females of that illustrious Family.

In the Autumn of 1778, I visited Dresden for the second time: a Court which was rendered peculiarly agreeable to the English at that period, by the hospitality and polished

Manners of His Majesty's Minister to Saxony, Sir John Stepney; one of the finest Gentlemen who have been employed on foreign Missions, during the course of the present Reign. Dresden was then a place where the *Illuminés* had made a deep and general impression on the public Mind; Schrepfer having chosen it, only a few years earlier, for the scene of his famous Exhibition of the Apparition of the Chevalier de Saxe. Having given in a former work, some account of that extraordinary Imposition, I shall not resume the subject here; but I cannot help relating another somewhat similar Story, which was told me during my residence in Dresden, by the Count de Felkesheim. He was a Livonian Gentleman, settled in Saxony, of a very improved Understanding, equally superior to Credulity, as to Superstition. Being together on an Excursion of Pleasure, in the Month of October, 1778, and our Discourse accidentally turning on the Character and Performances of Schrepfer; "I have conversed," said he to me, "with several of the "Individuals who were present at the Scene "of the Spectre or Phantom, presented by "him in the Gallery of the Palace of the "Duke of Courland. They all agreed in

" their account of the leading particulars.
" Though I do not pretend to explain by
" what process or Machinery, that Business
" was conducted, I have always considered
" him as an artful Impostor, and his audience
" as Dupes. Yet am I not so decidedly scep-
" tical on the possibility of supernatural Ap-
" pearances, as to treat them with ridicule,
" because they may seem to be unphiloso-
" phical. I received my Education in the
" University of Konigsberg, where I enjoyed
" the advantage of attending Lectures in
" Ethics and Moral Philosophy, delivered
" by a Professor who was esteemed a very
" superior man in those Branches of Science.
" He had, nevertheless, though an Ecclesi-
" astic, the reputation of being tinctured
" with incredulity on various points con-
" nected with revealed Religion. When
" therefore it became necessary for him, in
" the course of his Lectures, to treat on the
" nature of Spirit, as detached from Matter;
" to discuss the Immortality of the Soul;
" and to enter on the Doctrine of a Fu-
" ture State; I listened with more than or-
" dinary attention, to his Opinions. In speak-
" ing of all these mysterious Subjects, there
" appeared to me to be so visible an embar-

" rassment, both in his language and his ex-
" pressions, that I felt the strongest Curio-
" sity to question him further respecting
" them. Finding myself alone with him
" soon afterwards, I ventured to state to
" him my remarks on his Deportment, and I
" entreated him to tell me if they were well
" founded, or only imaginary Suggestions."

" The Hesitation which you noticed," answered he, " resulted from the conflict that
" takes place within me, when I am at-
" tempting to convey my ideas on a subject,
" where my understanding is at variance
" with the testimony of my senses. I am,
" equally from reason and reflection, disposed
" to consider with incredulity and contempt,
" the existence of Apparitions. But, an
" Appearance which I have witnessed with
" my own Eyes, as far as they, or any of the
" perceptions can be confided in; and which
" has even received a sort of subsequent
" confirmation, from other circumstances
" connected with the original fact, leaves me
" in that state of Scepticism and Suspense
" which pervaded my Discourse. I will
" communicate to you its cause. Having
" been brought up to the Profession of the

" Church, I was presented by Frederic Wil-
" liam the First, late King of Prussia, to a
" small Benefice situated in the interior of
" the Country, at a considerable distance
" South of Konigsberg. I repaired thither,
" in order to take possession of my Living;
" and found a very neat Parsonage House,
" where I passed the Night in the Bed-
" chamber which had been occupied by
" my predecessor. It was in the longest
" Days of Summer; and on the following
" Morning, which was Sunday, while lying
" awake, the Curtains of the Bed being un-
" drawn, and it being broad day-light, I be-
" held the figure of a Man, habited in a sort
" of loose Gown, standing at a reading Desk,
" on which lay a large Book, the leaves of
" which he appeared to turn over at inter-
" vals. On each side of him stood a little
" Boy, in whose faces he looked earnestly
" from time to time; and as he looked, he
" seemed always to heave a deep Sigh. His
" Countenance, pale and disconsolate, indi-
" cated severe distress of mind. I had the
" most perfect view of these Objects; but,
" being impressed with too much terror and
" apprehension to rise, or to address myself
" to the appearances before me, I remained

" for some Minutes, a silent and breathless
" Spectator, without uttering a word, or al-
" tering my position. At length, the Man
" closed the Book, and then taking the two
" Children, one in each Hand, he led them
" slowly across the room; my Eyes eagerly
" following him, till the three figures gradu-
" ally disappeared, or were lost behind an
" iron Stove, which stood at the farthest
" Corner of the Apartment.

" However deeply and awfully I was af-
" fected by the sight which I had witnessed,
" and however incapable I was of explaining
" it to my own satisfaction, yet I recovered
" sufficiently the possession of my mind, to
" get up; and having hastily dressed myself,
" I left the House. The Sun was long risen,
" and directing my steps to the Church, I
" found that it was open; but, the Sexton
" had quitted it, and on entering the Chancel
" my Mind and Imagination were so strongly
" impressed by the Scene which had recently
" passed, that I endeavoured to dissipate
" the recollection, by considering the Objects
" around me. In almost all the Lutheran
" Churches of the Prussian Dominions, it is
" an established usage to hang up against

" the walls of some part of the Building, the " Portraits of the successive Pastors or Cler- " gymen who have held the Living. A num- " ber of these Paintings, rudely performed, " were suspended in one of the Aisles. But " I had no sooner fixed my Eyes on the last " in the range, which was the Portrait of my " immediate predecessor, than they became " rivetted to the object; as I instantly re- " cognized the same face which I had beheld " in my Bed-chamber, though not clouded " by the same deep expression of Melancholy " or Distress.

" The Sexton entered, as I was still con- " templating this interesting Head, and I im- " mediately began a Conversation with him, " on the subject of the persons who had pre- " ceded me in the Living. He remembered " several Incumbents, concerning whom, re- " spectively, I made various inquiries, till I " concluded by the last, relative to whose " History I was particularly inquisitive." " We considered him," said the Sexton, " as " one of the most learned and amiable Men " who have ever resided among us. His " Charities and Benevolence endeared him to " all his parishioners, who will long lament

" his loss. But he was carried off in the " middle of his Days, by a lingering illness, " the cause of which has given rise to many " unpleasant reports among us, and which " still forms matter of Conjecture. It is " however commonly believed, that he died " of a broken Heart." My Curiosity being " still more warmly excited by the mention " of this circumstance, I eagerly pressed him " to disclose to me what he knew or had " heard on the subject. " Nothing respecting " it," answered he, " is absolutely known; but " Scandal had propagated a story of his " having formed a criminal Connexion with " a young Woman of the neighbourhood, by " whom, it was even asserted, that he had " two Sons. As a confirmation of the report, " I know that there certainly were two Chil- " dren, who have been seen at the parsonage; " Boys of about four or five years old. But, " they suddenly disappeared, some time be- " fore the decease of their supposed Father; " though to what place they are sent, or what " is become of them, we are wholly ignorant. " It is equally certain, that the Surmises and " unfavorable Opinions formed respecting " this mysterious Business, which must ne- " cessarily have reached him, precipitated,

" if they did not produce, the Disorder of
" which our late Pastor died: but he is
" gone to his account, and we are bound to
" think charitably of the departed."

" It is unnecessary to say with what Emo-
" tions I listened to this relation, which re-
" called to my Imagination, and seemed to
" give proof of the Existence, of all that I
" had seen. Yet, unwilling to suffer my
" mind to become enslaved by Phantoms
" which might have been the effect of error
" or deception, I neither communicated to
" the Sexton, the Circumstance which I
" had just witnessed, nor even permitted
" myself to quit the Chamber where it had
" taken place. I continued to lodge there,
" without ever again witnessing any similar
" Appearance; and the recollection itself
" insensibly began to wear away as the
" Autumn advanced. When the approach
" of Winter rendered it necessary to light
" fires through the House, I ordered the iron
" Stove that stood in the room, behind
" which, the figure which I had beheld, to-
" gether with the two Boys, seemed to dis-
" appear, to be heated for the purpose of
" warming the Apartment. Some difficulty

" was experienced in making the attempt,
" the Stove not only smoking intolerably,
" but, emitting a most offensive Smell. Hav-
" ing, therefore, sent for a Blacksmith to
" inspect and repair it, he discovered in the
" inside, at the farthest extremity, the Bones
" of two small human Bodies, corresponding
" perfectly in size, as well as in other re-
" spects, with the description given me by
" the Sexton, of the two Boys who had been
" seen at the parsonage. This last Circum-
" stance completed my astonishment, and
" appeared to confer a sort of reality on an
" Appearance, which might otherwise have
" been considered as a delusion of the Senses.
" I resigned the Living, quitted the place,
" and returned to Konigsberg: but it has
" produced upon my mind the deepest Im-
" pression, and has, in its effects, given rise
" to that uncertainty and contradiction of
" Sentiment which you remarked in my late
" Discourse." Such was Count Felkesheim's Story, which, from its singularity appeared to me deserving of Commemoration, in whatever Contempt we may justly hold similar Anecdotes.

One of the most interesting portions of my

life, was the time that I passed at Naples, in the Summer of 1779. Sir William Hamilton, His Majesty's Minister, constituted in himself the greatest source of entertainment, no less than of instruction, which that Capital then afforded to Strangers. He honored me with his friendship, which he continued to the end of his life. In his person, though tall and meagre, with a dark Complexion, a very aquiline Nose, and a figure, which always reminded me of *Rolando* in "Gil Blas;" he had nevertheless such an air of intelligence, blended with distinction in his Countenance, as powerfully attracted and conciliated every beholder. His Mother, Lady Archibald Hamilton, enjoyed, as is well known, a very distinguished place in the favor of Frederic, late Prince of Wales; and Sir William himself was brought up from early life, with His present Majesty, to whom he became, after his Accession to the Crown, an Equerry. At a very early period he entered into the Army, and was at the Battle of Fontenoy, as well as, I think, at that of La Feldt.

The versatility of Sir William Hamilton's Character, constituted one of the most in-

teresting features of his Composition. Endowed with a superior understanding, a philosophic mind, and a strong inclination to the study of many Branches of Science, or of polite letters, which he cultivated with distinguished success; he was equally keen as a Sportsman, in all the exercises of the field. After being actively occupied in studying the Phænomena of Vesuvius, like the Elder Pliny; or in exploring the Antiquities of Pompeii and of Stabia, with as much Enthusiasm as Pausanias did those of ancient Greece; he would pass whole Days, and almost Weeks, with the King of Naples, either hunting or shooting in the royal Woods; or more laboriously engaged in an open Boat, exposed to the rays of a burning Sun, harpooning fish in the Bay of Castellamare. When beyond seventy years of age, he preserved undiminished his love of these Sports, particularly of fishing, which he followed with great ardor; thus mingling pursuits or passions of the Mind and of the Body, rarely united in the same Man. I have seen him, not more than two years before his Decease, perform the "Tarentella;" an Apulian Dance, which, as it is undoubtedly a copy of the Bacchant Amusements of

Antiquity, demanded no slender portion of animal strength and spirits. The occasion was so remarkable, that I am induced to relate the particulars. Intelligence of the glorious Victory obtained by the English fleet under Lord Nelson, before Copenhagen, arrived in London, on Wednesday, the 15th of April, 1801. Sir William Hamilton then resided opposite the Green Park, in Piccadilly. About ten o'clock, that Evening, I went to his House, with Sir John Macpherson. We found assembled there, the Dukes of Gordon and Queensberry, Lord William Gordon, Monsieur de Calonne, Mr. Charles Greville, Sir William's Nephew; the Duke de Nöia, a Neapolitan Nobleman; Mr. Kemble, the celebrated Comedian, and his Wife; the Reverend Mr. Nelson, now Earl of that name, with some other persons. Lady Hamilton, inspired by the recent Success of Lord Nelson against the Danes, of which Victory he had transmitted her, with his remaining Hand, all the particulars as they occurred, from the 1st, up to the 8th of April, the Day when the dispatches came away; after playing on the Harpsichord, and accompanying it with her voice, undertook to dance the "Tarentella."

Sir William began it with her, and maintained the Conflict, for such it might well be esteemed, during some Minutes. When unable longer to continue it, the Duke de Nöia succeeded to his place: but he, too, though near forty years younger than Sir William, soon gave in, from Extenuation. Lady Hamilton then sent for her own Maid servant; who being likewise presently exhausted, after a short time, another female Attendant, a Copt, perfectly black, whom Lord Nelson had presented her, on his return from Egypt, relieved her Companion. It would be difficult to convey any adequate idea of this Dance; but, the *Fandango* and *Seguedilla* of the Spaniards, present an image of it. Madame de Staël has likewise attempted to describe it, and has made "Corinna" perform it at a Ball in Rome, with the Prince of Amalfi, a Neapolitan, for her Partner: but, she has softened down the voluptuous Features that render it too powerful over the Imagination and the Senses. Yet she admits the "Melange de Pudeur et de Volupté," inherent in the Exhibition, which conveyed an Idea of the Bayadères or Indian dancing Girls. Madame de Staël's "Corinna" could not be more fami-

liar with the Attitudes of the antique Statues, than was Lady Hamilton; nor more capable of transporting the Spectators to the Vatican Palace, or to the Medicean Gallery at Florence, by her accurate and picturesque Imitation of the Models there preserved, with which she seemed at Times to identify herself. Castagnettes, and the Tambour de Basque, constitute essential Accompaniments of the Performance; which, at its Termination, from the physical Exertions necessary, left her in a State of Dissolution, like the Delphic Priestess, overcome by the Inspiration of Apollo; or perhaps, more like Semelé, as Corregio has painted her, after her Interviews with Jove. We must recollect that the two performers are supposed to be a Satyr and a Nymph; or, rather, a Fawn and a Bacchant. It was certainly not of a nature to be performed, except before a select Company; as the Screams, Attitudes, Starts, and Embraces, with which it was intermingled, gave it a peculiar Character.

I have mentioned it, principally in order to shew Sir William Hamilton's activity and gaiety at that advanced period of life.

Though a finished Courtier, he preserved such an independence of Manner, without any mixture of Servility or Adulation, as seemed eminently to qualify him for the diplomatic Profession. His Conversation offered a rich diversity of Anecdote. With these qualifications, it cannot excite wonder that he formed the delight and ornament of the Court of Naples. No foreign Minister, not even the *Family* Embassadors of France and Spain resident there, enjoyed in so eminent a degree the favor or affection of His Sicilian Majesty. Nor was the attachment of that Prince to Sir William, merely limited to hunting, or fishing parties. He gave the English Envoy many solid proofs of sincere regard; a regard that extended to the British Crown and Nation. One striking instance of this partiality took place in June, 1779, while I was at Naples. The King of Spain, Charles the Third, having written confidentially to his Son Ferdinand, that he should probably be induced soon to take part with Louis the Sixteenth, by entering into a War with Great Britain, as he effectively did immediately afterwards; the King of Naples, though enjoined by his Father to secrecy, communicated the letter

itself to Sir William Hamilton. He even accompanied the disclosure, with the assurance of his deep regret at the Adoption of such a line of Policy; and his own firm determination never to enter into the hostile Combination against England, though himself a Prince of the House of Bourbon, and included in "the Family Compact" by name. Sir William transmitted the King's communication, as well as his assurance on the point, without delay to Lord North, then first Minister. I received this Anecdote from himself at Naples.

It was in Sir William's, and the first Lady Hamilton's Company, that I learned a number of curious, as well as authentic Particulars, relative to the King and Queen of Naples. Ferdinand the Fourth was then in the twenty-ninth year of his age; tall, muscular, and active in his frame, capable of immense fatigue, and apparently formed for long life. His features were coarse and harsh, his Nose immoderately long, like that of his Father and Brother, Charles the Third, and Charles the Fourth, Kings of Spain: but, nevertheless, though the component parts of his face might separately be esteem-

ed ugly, the general expression of his Countenance had in it something intelligent, and even agreeable. There was an unpolished simplicity, or rather a rude nature, in his Manner, Attitudes, Deportment, and Conversation, which pleased for a double reason; on account of its own intrinsic claim to be liked, and as being rarely found on a Throne, where we naturally expect Disguise, Artifice, and habits of Concealment. If he conversed little with Strangers, he seemed at least, when he talked, always to say what he thought; and he betrayed no defect of natural Understanding, though he was altogether destitute of that Elegance and Art, which frequently veil the want of Information. He always reminded me of a Rustic, such as Abdolonymus, elevated by fortune or accident, to a Crown: but, it was an amiable, honest, sensible, well intentioned Rustic, not altogether unworthy of such an Elevation.

The Queen of Naples, who was not quite twenty-seven years old at this time, seemed much better fitted to represent the Majesty of the Throne, and to do the honors of a Court. Though neither possessing Beauty

of face, nor loveliness of person, yet was she not absolutely deficient in either Respect; and if her Figure might be esteemed too large, still it wanted neither Grace, Dignity, nor even Attractions. She is the only Queen whom I ever saw weep in public, before a crowd of both Sexes, assembled in her own Palace, on a Gala Day. The Festival on which I was presented to her, happened to be the Anniversary of the loss of her eldest Son, who expired exactly a year before, in 1778. He was a very fine Boy, of promising expectations, to whom his Mother was passionately attached. The ignorance of the Neapolitan Physicians, as it was believed, had caused his Death: for, being seized with a violent sickness and pain in his Stomach, from which, an Emetic, promptly administered, might probably have relieved him, they had the imprudence to bleed him, and thereby brought on fatal Convulsions. Such was the Queen's distress, at the recollection of the event which had taken place on this painful Anniversary, that she was unable to repress her Emotions. In the Presence Chamber of the Palace at Naples, she stood under a Canopy, her right Hand held out to the Nobility and Courtiers,

as they approached to kiss it; holding in her left, a Handkerchief with which she perpetually wiped her Eyes, that were suffused in Tears. It was difficult not to be favourably impressed towards a Princess, capable of giving such an involuntary testimony of her maternal Tenderness, in a place and situation, where it was impossible to suspect her of Artifice or Affectation.

Having drawn this imperfect outline of the King and Queen of Naples, from my own personal Observations, I shall enumerate some of the particulars respecting them, which I collected in the course of Conversation from Sir William or Lady Hamilton. I mean, his first Wife, who was a most accomplished and superior Woman.

"No European Sovereign, without exception," said Sir William, "has been so ill "educated as the King of Naples. He is "not even master of any language except "Italian, without making a painful effort; "and his ordinary Italian is a Neapolitan "Dialect, such as the lowest of his Subjects, "the *Lazaroni*, speak in their intercourse "with each other. It is true that he under-

" stands French, and converses in it when
" indispensable; but he rarely reads any
" French Author, and still more rarely at-
" tempts to write in that language. All the
" Correspondence that takes place between
" him and his Father, the King of Spain, is
" carried on in the common Neapolitan
" Jargon. They write very frequently and
" largely to each other; but, seldom does
" this Intercourse embrace political subjects:
" their letters, of which I have seen num-
" bers, being filled with accounts of the
" quantity and variety of the Game respec-
" tively killed by them, in which the great
" Ambition of each Prince is to exceed the
" other. Ferdinand, indeed, who scarcely
" ever reads, considers as the greatest of
" misfortunes, a rainy Day, when the Wea-
" ther proves too bad for him to go out to
" the Chace. On such occasions, recourse
" is had to every expedient by which time
" may be killed, in order to dissipate His
" Majesty's Ennui, even to the most puerile
" and childish Pastimes. The King's Edu-
" cation was systematically neglected: for,
" Charles the Third, alarmed at the Imbeci-
" lity of his eldest Son, Philip, Duke of
" Calabria, who on account of his recog-

"nized debility of understanding, was wholly set aside from the right of Succession; strictly ordered, at his departure for Spain in 1759, that this, his third Son should not be compelled to apply to any severe Studies, or be made to exert any close application of Mind.

"I have frequently seen the unfortunate Duke of Calabria, who has only been dead a few years, and who was by his Birth, Heir to the Spanish Monarchy. He attained to Manhood, and was treated with certain distinctions, having Chamberlains placed about him in constant attendance, who watched him with unremitting Attention; as otherwise he would have committed a thousand Excesses. Care was particularly taken to keep him from having any connexion with the other Sex, for which he manifested the strongest propensity; but it became at last impossible to prevent him altogether from attempting to emancipate himself in this respect. He has many times eluded the vigilance of his keepers, and on seeing ladies pass through the Apartments of the Palace, would attack them with the same impetuosity,

" as Pan or the Satyrs are described by
" Ovid, when pursuing the Nymphs; and
" with the same intentions. More than one
" Lady of the Court has been critically res-
" cued from his Embraces. On particular
" Days of the year, he was allowed to hold
" a sort of Court or Levee, when the foreign
" Ministers repaired to his Apartments, to
" pay their Compliments to him; but his
" greatest Amusement consisted in having
" his Hand held up by his Attendants, while
" Gloves were put upon it, one larger than
" another, to the number of fifteen or six-
" teen. His Death was justly considered as
" a fortunate event, under such circum-
" stances of incurable Imbecility.

" Before the present King fully attained
" his seventeenth year, the Marquis Tanuc-
" ci, then Prime Minister, by directions
" sent from the Court of Madrid, provided
" him a Wife. The Archduchess Josepha,
" one of the Daughters of the Empress
" Maria Theresa, being selected for Queen
" of Naples; and being represented to young
" Ferdinand, as a Princess equally amiable
" in her mind, as she was agreeable in her
" person, he expected her arrival with

" great pleasure, mingled even with some
" impatience. So much more severely was
" it natural that he should feel the melan-
" choly Intelligence, when it arrived from
" Vienna, that she was dead of the small-
" pox. In fact, he manifested as much Con-
" cern at the event, as could perhaps be
" expected in a Prince of his disposition,
" and at his time of life, for the Death of a
" person whom he had never seen. But, a
" Circumstance which greatly augmented his
" Chagrin on the occasion was, its being
" considered indispensable for him not to
" take his usual Diversion of hunting or fish-
" ing, on the Day that the account reached
" Naples. Ferdinand reluctantly submitted
" to such a painful and unusual renuncia-
" tion: but, having consented to it from a
" sense of Decorum, he immediately set
" about endeavouring to amuse himself with-
" in doors, in the best manner that Circum-
" stances would admit; an Attempt in which
" he was aided by the Noblemen in waiting
" about his person. They began therefore
" with Billiards, a Game which His Majesty
" likes, and at which he plays with skill.
" When they had continued it for some time,
" leap-frog was tried, to which succeeded

"various other feats of agility or Gambols.
"At length, one of the Gentlemen, more
"ingenious than the others, proposed to
"celebrate the Funeral of the deceased
"Arch-Duchess. The Idea, far from shock-
"ing the King, appeared to him, and to the
"whole Company, as most entertaining;
"and no reflections, either on the Indeco-
"rum, or want of apparent Humanity, in the
"proceeding, interposed to prevent its im-
"mediate realization. Having selected one
"of the Chamberlains, as proper, from his
"youth and feminine Appearance, to repre-
"sent the Princess, they habited him in a
"manner suitable to the mournful Occasion;
"laid him out on an open Bier, according
"to the Neapolitan Custom at interments;
"and in order to render the Ceremony more
"appropriate, as well as more accurately
"correct, they marked his Face and Hands
"with Chocolate drops, which were design-
"ed to imitate the Pustules of the small-
"pox. All the Apparatus being ready, the
"funeral Procession began, and proceeded
"through the principal Apartments of the
"Palace at Portici, Ferdinand officiating as
"Chief Mourner. Having heard of the
"Arch-Duchess's Decease, I had gone thi-

" ther on that Day, in order to make my Con-
" dolence privately to His Majesty, on the
" Misfortune; and entering at the time, I be-
" came an eye-witness of this extraordinary
" Scene, which, in any other Country of Eu-
" rope, would be considered as incredible,
" and would not obtain Belief.

" The Arch-Duchess Caroline being sub-
" stituted in place of her Sister, and being
" soon afterwards conducted from Vienna to
" Naples, the King advanced in person, as
" far as the 'Portella,' where the Neapolitan
" and Papal Territories divide, in order to re-
" ceive his new Bride. She was then not
" sixteen years old, and though she could
" not by any means be esteemed handsome,
" yet she possessed many Charms. Ferdi-
" nand manifested on his part, neither ardor
" nor indifference for the Queen. On the
" Morning after his Nuptials, which took
" place in the beginning of May, 1768, when
" the Weather was very warm, he rose at an
" early Hour, and went out as usual to the
" Chace, leaving his young Wife in Bed.
" Those Courtiers who accompanied him,
" having inquired of His Majesty how he

" liked her; '*Dormé ęom un amazzata,*' re-
" plied he, '*et suda com un Porco.*' Such
" an Answer would be esteemed, any where
" except at Naples, most indecorous; but
" here we are familiarized to far greater vio-
" lations of propriety and decency. Those
" acts and functions which are never men-
" tioned in England, and which are there
" studiously concealed, even by the vulgar,
" here are openly performed. When the
" King has made a hearty meal, and feels an
" inclination to retire, he commonly commu-
" nicates that intention to the Noblemen
" around him in waiting, and selects the
" favored Individuals, whom, as a mark of
" predilection, he chuses shall attend him.
" '*Sono ben pransato,*' says he, laying his
" hand on his Belly, '*Adesso bisogna un*
" *buona panchiata.*' The persons thus pre-
" ferred, then accompany His Majesty, stand
" respectfully round him, and amuse him
" by their Conversation, during the perform-
" ance."

However strong this fact may appear, and however repugnant to our ideas of Decency; it has been for successive Centuries, perfectly

consonant to the Manners of the Italians in general, and scarcely less so to those of the French. D'Aubigné, a grave Writer, in the "Memoirs of his own Life," does not hesitate to relate in the most circumstantial manner, the narrow escape which Henry the Fourth, his Master, had of being knocked on the Head, while engaged in this necessary function. Nay, D'Aubigné composed a "*Quatrain*" on the Adventure, which he has transmitted to Posterity. The Story is so naturally related, and is so characteristic of the Nation, that I can't resist giving it in the words of the Author. Henry, who was then only King of Navarre, having effected his escape from Paris, in 1575, on which occasion D'Aubigné accompanied him; they passed the river Seine at Poissy, and soon afterwards stopped to refresh themselves in a Village. Here, says D'Aubigné, the King "*étant allé faire ses affaires dans un tet à*
"*cochons, une Vieille, qui le surprit en cet état,*
"*lui auroit fendue la Tête par derrière, d'un*
"*coup de Serpe, sans moi qui parai le Coup.*"
It is clear from this circumstance, that D'Aubigné must have been close to his royal Master at the time. Then follows the ludicrous Epitaph which he made for the occasion, on

a supposition that the old Woman had killed the King.

> " Cy git un Roi, grand par merveille,
> Qui mourut comme Dieu permet,
> D'un coup de serpe d'une Vieille,
> Ainsi qu'il chioit dans un tet."

His Predecessor, Henry the Third, it is well known, was stabbed in the Belly, of which Wound he died, in 1589, while sitting on the *Chaise percée;* in which indecorous situation he did not scruple to give audience to Clement, the regicide Monk, who assassinated him. Marshal Suwarrow, in our own time, received his Aids du Camp, and his General Officers, precisely in a similar manner. Madame de Maintenon, as the Duke de St. Simon informs us, thought those moments so precious, that she commonly accompanied Louis the Fourteenth to the " Garderobe." So did Louvois, when Minister of State. The Duke de Vendome, while commanding the Armies of France in Spain and Italy, at the commencement of the last Century, was accustomed to receive the greatest personages, on public Business, in the same situation. We have Cardinal Alberoni's authority for this fact. If we

read the account written by Du Bois, of the last illness of Louis the Thirteenth, we may there see what humiliating functions Anne of Austria performed for that Prince, in the course of his malady; over which, an English Writer, more fastidious, would have drawn a veil. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, and the Palatine Duchess of Orleans, though Women of the highest Birth and Rank, as well as of unimpeached Conduct, conceal nothing on these points, in their writings. The former, speaking of the Duchess of Orleans, her Step-mother, second Wife of Gaston, Brother of Louis the Thirteenth, says, "She had "contracted a singular habit of always run- "ning into another room, *pour se placer sur* "*la Chaise percée*, when Dinner was an- "nounced. As she never failed in this par- "ticular, the Grand Maitre, or Lord Steward, "of Gaston's Household, who performed "the Ceremony of summoning their Royal "Highnesses to Table; observed, smelling "to his Baton of Office, that there must cer- "tainly be either Senna or Rhubarb in its "composition, as it invariably produced the "effect of sending the Duchess to the Garde- "robe." I have, myself, seen the late Elec- tress Dowager of Saxony, Daughter of the

Emperor Charles the Seventh, at her own Palace, in the Suburbs of Dresden, rise from the Table where she was playing, when the room has been full of company of both Sexes; lay down her Cards, retire for a few minutes, during which time the Game was suspended, and then return, observing to those near her, "*J'ai pris Medecine aujourd'huy.*" These Circumstances sufficiently prove that Ferdinand, however gross his manners or language seem to us, by no means shocked the feelings, or excited the disgust of his own Courtiers.

"In all the exercises or exertions of the "Body, that demand vigor and address," continued Sir William, "the King of Naples "excels. He might have contended for the "prize at the public Games of ancient "Greece, at Elis, or at Olympia, with no "ordinary prospect of success. He likes in "particular, wrestling; and having heard "that a young Irish Gentleman of the name "of Bourke, who visited Naples not long "since, was an expert Wrestler, he caused it "to be signified, that he should like to try a "fall with that foreigner: but, Bourke had "the good sense to decline a contest for the

" Honors of the Palæstra, with a crowned
" Head. He dances violently at the Court
" Balls; on one of which occasions, some
" years ago, I witnessed a Scene truly origi-
" nal, as well as comic. When his Brother-
" in-law, the Emperor Joseph, being on his
" Progress thro' Italy, arrived here, a superb
" Ball was given in honor of his visit; at
" which Entertainment, however, he declined
" mixing personally in the Dance. While
" his Imperial Majesty was standing near
" the Dancers, engaged in conversation with
" me; Ferdinand having gone down the set,
" and being in a most profuse state of per-
" spiration, pulled open his Waistcoat: then
" taking Joseph's Hand, he applied it sud-
" denly to his own Shirt behind, exclaiming
" at the same time, '*Sentité qui, Fratello*
" *mio.*' The Emperor instantly withdrew
" his Hand, not without manifesting great
" discomposure; and the two Sovereigns re-
" mained for a few Seconds, looking in each
" other's faces. Surprise was equally paint-
" ed in the features of both; for, as the one
" had never before been invited to try such
" an Experiment, so the other had never
" found any individual who did not esteem
" himself honored by the familiarity. I had

" no little difficulty to restrain the Muscles
" of my Countenance on the occasion.

" Joseph, who held his Brother-in-law's
" Understanding in great contempt, endea-
" voured to assume over him the sort of Su-
" periority, arrogated by a strong, over a
" weak Mind. But, Ferdinand, though con-
" fessedly his inferior in cultivation and re-
" finement, was by no means disposed to
" adopt his political opinions or ideas. He
" even manifested, in various Conversations,
" and on many Occasions, that, defective as
" his Education had been, he possessed as
" much plain Sense, and even acute Discern-
" ment, as the Emperor, or his Brother
" Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Jo-
" seph did not indeed inspire any very high
" Admiration, by his deportment, or general
" conduct, while he remained at Naples.
" He was irritable, and even irascible, where
" he should have shewn good humor, or
" command of temper. I accompanied him
" to the summit of Vesuvius, and with con-
" cern saw him break his Cane over the
" Shoulders of the Guide, Bartolomeo, for
" some slight offence which he had given
" his Imperial Majesty.

"Ferdinand's passions are all swallowed "up in his rage for the pleasures of the "field; hunting, shooting, and fishing: for, "this last Diversion, peculiarly adapted to "the Climate of Naples, must be included "in the number. He thinks no fatigue, and "no privations, too great to undergo for its "indulgence. The quantity of Game, by "which I principally mean Deer, wild Boar "of all ages, and Stags of every kind, pre-"served in the Royal Woods or Parks, at "Astruni, at Caserta, Caccia Bella, and "other places, exceeds belief. And the "Slaughter made of them in some of the "hunting parties, is equally beyond credi-"bility. I have frequently seen a heap, "composed only of the Offal or Bowels, "reaching as high as my head, and many "feet in circumference. The King rarely "misses a shot; but, when he is tired with "killing, then commences another Opera-"tion. He next dissects the principal "pieces of Game, which he presents to fa-"vored Courtiers, or distributes among his "Attendants. In order to perform this part "of the Diversion, having first stripped, he "puts on a flannel Dress, takes the knife in "hand, and, with inconceivable dexterity,

" cuts up the Animal. No Carcass-Butcher " in Smithfield can exceed him in anatomi- " cal ability; but he is frequently besmear- " ed with Blood from head to foot, before " he has finished, and exhibits an extraor- " dinary Spectacle, not easily to be ima- " gined, by those who have never witnessed " it. The Queen herself is sometimes ob- " liged to be present at the Scene, though " more, as may be supposed, in compliance " with the King's wish, than from her own " inclination. He is equally indefatigable " on the water, in harpooning or in catch- " ing fish; particularly the Pesce Spada, or " Sword-fish; and he neither regards heat, " nor cold, nor hunger, nor danger. On " these occasions, he is usually or always " attended by a number of chosen Liparots, " natives of the Lipari islands, who have " been in all Ages most expert Sailors, Di- " vers, and Fishermen.

" It is thus that Ferdinand passes the " greatest portion of his time; while the " Potentates of Germany, England, France, " and Spain, are engaged in war. Not that " he is indifferent to the felicity of his Sub- " jects, or regardless of the security and

" prosperity of his Dominions. On the con-
" trary, his Heart, which is animated with
" the best emotions towards his People, im-
" pels him to manifest it by all his Mea-
" sures: but, his defects of Education, ren-
" der him shy, embarrassed, and awkward;
" nor have his Ministers any wish to
" awaken, or to invigorate, the faculties of
" his Mind. Neither Tanucci, who govern-
" ed Naples during his Minority, nor Sam-
" buca, the present First Minister, desire to
" see him assume an active part in the Ad-
" ministration of public Affairs. The Che-
" valier Acton, who is at the head of the
" Marine, has however begun to put the
" Neapolitan Navy in a more respectable
" condition, than it has been for several
" Centuries. Already it affords some pro-
" tection to the Coasts of Calabria and of
" Sicily; which have been perpetually in-
" fested by the Algerines, Tunisians, and
" other Pirates; who were accustomed to
" land, and to carry off whole Villages into
" slavery, precisely as Dragut and Barba-
" rossa did, two hundred years ago. Such
" Calamities are even now by no means un-
" usual. It is a fact, that I narrowly
" escaped, myself, some time since, in one

" of my maritime Excursions round the
" Southern Provinces of the Kingdom, be-
" ing surprized in a Sparonara, while lying
" close under Cape Spartivento. Lady
" Hamilton was of the party, and those
" Barbarians would not have respected my
" official Character; nor still less would
" they have regarded the reclamations of
" this Government.

" The power of the Neapolitan Kings is
" moreover fettered by many impediments,
" which even a Prince of the greatest Ta-
" lents, or of the most vigorous Charac-
" ter, would find difficult to surmount. In
" Apulia, as well as in Calabria and Sicily,
" the great feudal Barons still retain Privi-
" ledges that render them almost independ-
" ant of the Crown; and which they con-
" sider as imprescriptible, having constituted
" their Birth-right for Ages, under the va-
" rious Dynasties that have reigned over
" this beautiful Country. The Church en-
" joys revenues and immunities, not less in-
" compatible in many respects, with civil
Order and Obedience. But, Ferdinand is
" greatly beloved by his People, who know,
" and who do justice, to his good inten-

" tions. He is even far more popular than " the Queen. That Princess, who pos- " sesses an active mind, and very considera- " ble parts, as well as Ambition and love of " Power, has assumed a share in the Admi- " nistration, for which she is by no means " unqualified: yet is she less esteemed than " her Husband; who, if he is not ardently " attached to her as a Wife, treats her at " least with great consideration, kindness, " and confidence. They live together in " conjugal union, though Her Majesty is " not exempt from the frailties and weak- " nesses of her Sex. Indeed, the Air, Man- " ners, and Society of this Capital, are all " very inimical to female Virtue. From the " time of the first Jane, Queen of Naples, " so famous in the Annals of Gallantry, " down to the present Day, these Countries " have exhibited Scenes of dissolute plea- " sure, or rather, of unrestrained licentious- " ness. They will probably ever so remain. " Yet," concluded Sir William, " if I were " compelled to be a King, I would choose " Naples for my Kingdom. Here, a Crown " has fewer Thorns, than in any other Coun- " try. His very want of political Power, en- " sures his repose; and the Storms which

"desolate Europe, pass over his Head with-
"out Injury. Placed at the Extremity of
"Italy, he is removed out of the way of
"contest and hostility. A delicious Cli-
"mate, Shores, to which the Romans retired
"when masters of the World, in order to
"enjoy a luxury unattainable elsewhere,
"and which are still covered with the re-
"mains of Roman Splendor, or Grecian
"Magnificence; all the productions of the
"Levant, which are to be found here,
"blended with those of the Mediterranean;
"a splendid Capital, Palaces, Woods, Game,
"every thing seems assembled in this en-
"chanting Bay, that can conduce to human
"Enjoyment. Such is the favored position,
"and the enviable lot of Ferdinand the
"Fourth." Such, indeed, as here described, it might be considered without Exaggeration, in 1779; though during the awful Convulsions which have shaken Europe since that period, produced by the French Revolution, his Throne was subverted, and himself compelled to take Refuge at Palermo, during many years.

The impunity with which the great Nobility perpetrated the most atrocious Crimes,

and the facility that they found in evading Inquiry, or in eluding Justice, then constituted one of the worst features of the Neapolitan Administration. Lady Hamilton, who had been several years resident at Naples, where she died not long afterwards, related to me various instances illustrative of this fact. "Some time ago," said she, "a "Sicilian Lady of high rank, was by order "of the Court, brought prisoner here, from "that Island. She had committed so many "Assassinations or Murders, that her own "relations having denounced her, called on "the Government to arrest the further "course of her Crimes. It was believed that "she had dispatched ten or eleven persons, "by the Dagger, or by Poison; particularly "by that species of Poison, denominated, "'*Aqua tophana.*' I had the curiosity to "visit her, during her confinement. She re-"ceived me sitting in her Bed, conversed "with great cheerfulness, offered me Cho-"colate, as well as other refreshments, and "seemed to labour under no Agitation of "Mind. In her person she was delicate, "feminine, and agreeable, her manners po-"lite and gentle. Her age did not exceed "three or four and twenty. From her de-

"portment, one could not have suspected
"her to be capable of such Atrocities.
"Though her guilt was unquestionable, she
"was not put to Death. Confinement for
"life, in a Convent of a severe Order, toge-
"ther with certain acts of religious mortifi-
"cation or penance, which they are com-
"pelled to undergo;—these constitute the
"punishments usually inflicted here, on
"Culprits of high Birth."

The vicinity of the Northern Provinces of the kingdom of Naples, to the Papal Territories; and the ease with which Malefactors of both Countries, respectively gained an Asylum, by passing the Frontiers; opened another door to the commission of the most flagitious Acts. Conversing at Portici, on this subject, with Lady Hamilton, she related to me the following Story, which I shall endeavour to give in her own words. "About the year 1743, a person of
"the name of Ogilvie, an Irishman by birth,
"who practised Surgery with great reputa-
"tion at Rome, and who resided not far
"from the 'Piazza di Spagna,' in that City;
"being in Bed, was called up to attend
"some Strangers who demanded his profes-

" sional Assistance. They stopped before
" his House, in a Coach; and on his going
" to the door, he found two Men masked, by
" whom he was desired to accompany them
" immediately, as the case which brought
" them, admitted of no delay, and not to
" omit taking with him his lancets. He
" complied, and got into the Coach; but,
" no sooner had they quitted the Street in
" which he resided, than they informed him
" that he must submit to have his Eyes
" bandaged; the person to whom they were
" about to conduct him, being a lady of
" rank, whose name and place of abode, it
" was indispensable to conceal. To this re-
" quisition he likewise submitted; and after
" driving through a number of Streets, ap-
" parently with a view to prevent his form-
" ing any accurate idea of the part of the
" City to which he was conducted, the Car-
" riage at length stopped. The two Gentle-
" men his companions, then alighting, and
" each taking him by the arm, conducted
" him into a House. Ascending a narrow
" Staircase, they entered an Apartment,
" where he was released from the Bandage
" tied over his Eyes. One of them next ac-
" quainted him, that it being necessary to

" deprive of life a lady who had dishonored
" her family, they had chosen him to per-
" form the Office, knowing his professional
" skill; that he would find her in the ad-
" joining Chamber, prepared to submit to
" her fate; and that he must open her Veins
" with as much expedition as possible; a
" service, for the execution of which, he
" should receive a liberal recompence.

" Ogilvie at first peremptorily refused to
" commit an act, so highly repugnant to his
" feelings. But, the two Strangers assured
" him, with solemn denunciations of venge-
" ance, that his refusal could only prove
" fatal to himself, without affording the
" slightest assistance to the object of his
" Compassion; that her Doom was irrevoca-
" ble, and that unless he chose to partici-
" pate a similar fate, he must submit to exe-
" cute the Office imposed on him. Thus si-
" tuated, and finding all entreaty or remon-
" strance vain, he entered the room, where
" he found a Lady of a most interesting
" figure and appearance, apparently in the
" bloom of youth. She was habited in a
" loose undress; and immediately after-
" wards, a female Attendant placed before

" her a large tub filled with warm water, in
" which she immersed her legs. Far from
" opposing any impediment to the act which
" she knew he was sent to perform, the
" Lady assured him of her perfect resigna-
" tion; entreating him to put the sentence
" passed on her into execution, with as little
" delay as possible. She added, that she
" was well aware no pardon could be
" hoped for from those who had devoted her
" to death, which alone could expiate her
" trespass: felicitating herself that his huma-
" nity would abbreviate her Sufferings, and
" soon terminate their Duration.

" After a short Conflict with his own
" mind, perceiving no means of extrication
" or of escape, either for the Lady, or for
" himself; being moreover urged to expe-
" dite his work, by the two persons with-
" out, who, impatient at his reluctance,
" threatened to exercise violence on him, if
" he procrastinated; Ogilvie took out his
" lancet, opened her Veins, and bled her to
" death in a short time. The Gentlemen
" having carefully examined the Body, in
" order to ascertain that she was no more;
" after expressing their satisfaction, offered

" him a purse of *Zechins*, as a remune-
" ration; but he declined all recompence,
" only requesting to be conveyed from a
" Scene, on which he could not reflect
" without horror. With this entreaty they
" complied, and having again applied a Ban-
" dage to his Eyes, they led him down the
" same Staircase, to the Carriage. But, it
" being narrow, in descending the steps, he
" contrived to leave on one, or both of the
" walls, unperceived by his Conductors, the
" marks of his fingers, which were stained
" with Blood. After observing precautions
" similar to those used in bringing him thi-
" ther from his own House, he was con-
" ducted home; and at parting, the two
" Masques charged him, if he valued his
" life, never to divulge, and if possible, ne-
" ver to think on the past Transaction. They
" added, that if he should embrace any mea-
" sures, with a view to render it public, or
" to set on foot an inquiry into it, he should
" be infallibly immolated to their revenge.
" Having finally dismissed him at his own
" Door, they drove off, leaving him to his re-
" flections.

" On the subsequent Morning, after great

" irresolution, he determined, at whatever
" risk to his personal safety, not to partici-
" pate, by concealing so enormous a Crime.
" It formed, nevertheless, a delicate and
" difficult undertaking to substantiate the
" Charge, as he remained altogether ignorant
" of the place to which he had been carried,
" or of the name and quality of the Lady
" whom he had deprived of life. Without
" suffering himself however to be deterred
" by these Considerations, he waited on the
" Secretary of the Apostolic Chamber, and
" acquainted him with every particular;
" adding, that if the Government would
" extend to him protection, he did not des-
" pair of finding the House, and of bringing
" to light the perpetrators of the deed. Be-
" nedict the Fourteenth, *(Lambertini)*, who
" then occupied the Papal Chair, had no
" sooner received the information, than he
" immediately commenced the most active
" measures for discovering the Offenders.
" A Guard of the *Sbirri*, or Officers of Jus-
" tice, was appointed by his order, to ac-
" company Ogilvie; who judging from vari-
" ous Circumstances, that he had been con-
" veyed out of the City of Rome, began by
" visiting the Villas scattered without the

"walls of that Metropolis. His search "proved ultimately successful. In the Villa "Papa Julio, constructed by Pope Julius "the Third, *(del Monté)* he there found the "bloody Marks left on the wall by his fin- "gers, at the same time that he recognized "the Apartment in which he had put to "death the Lady. The Palace belonged to "the Duke de Bracciano, the Chief of which "illustrious family, and his Brother, had "committed the Murder, in the person of "their own Sister. They no sooner found "that it was discovered, than they fled to "this City, where they easily eluded the "pursuit of justice. After remaining here "for some time, they obtained a pardon, by "the exertions of their powerful friends, on "payment of a considerable fine to the "Apostolic Chamber, and under the further "condition of affixing over the Chimney- "piece of the Room where the Crime had "been perpetrated, a plate of Copper, com- "memorating the Transaction, and their pe- "nitence. This Plate, together with the "Inscription, still continued to exist there "till within these few years."

However extraordinary many Circumstan-

ces of this Story may appear, similar events or accounts have been circulated and believed in other Countries of Europe. I have often been assured, both at Vienna, and in various places of the German Empire, that an Occurrence not less romantic, and more enigmatical in its nature, took place in 1774, or 1775; for, some uncertainty prevailed as to the precise time when the fact was pretended to have happened. It is well known that the "Bourreau," or public Executioner of the City of Strasburgh, although that place has formed a part of the French Monarchy ever since the reign of Louis the Fourteenth; yet was frequently employed during a great part of the last Century, to execute the functions of his Office, on the other side of the Rhine, in Swabia, on the Territories of Baden, and in the Brisgaw; all which Countries constitute a portion of Germany. Some persons who arrived at Strasburgh about the period to which I have alluded; having repaired, as it is said, to the House of the Executioner, during the Night, demanded that he should instantly accompany them out of the town, in order to execute a Criminal of Condition; for which service he should, of course, receive a liberal remune-

ration. They particularly enjoined him to bring the heavy two-edged Sword with which he was accustomed, in the discharge of his ordinary functions, to behead Malefactors. Being placed in a Carriage with his Conductors, he passed the Bridge over the river, to Kehl, the first Town on the Eastern Bank of the Rhine; where they acquainted him that he had a considerable Journey to perform; the object of which must be carefully concealed, as the person intended to be put to death, was an individual of great Distinction. They added, that he must not oppose their taking the proper precautions to prevent his knowing the place to which he was conveyed. He acquiesced, and allowed them to hoodwink him. On the second Day they arrived at a moated Castle, the drawbridge of which being lowered for the Purpose, they drove into the Court. After waiting a considerable time, he was then conducted into a spacious Hall, where stood a Scaffold hung with black Cloth, and in the Centre was placed a Stool or Chair. A Female shortly made her appearance, habited in deep mourning, her face wholly concealed by a Veil. She was led by two persons, who, when she was seated, having first tied

her hands, next fastened her legs with Cords. As far as he could form any judgment from her general figure, he considered her to have passed the period of youth. Not a word was uttered; neither did she make any complaints, nor attempt any resistance. When all the preparations for her Execution were completed, on a signal given, he unsheathed the instrument of punishment, according to the practice adopted in the German Empire, where the Axe is rarely, or never, used for Decapitation; and her Head being forcibly held up by the Hair, he severed it, at a single stroke, from her Body. Without allowing him to remain more than a few Minutes, he was then handsomely rewarded, conducted back to Kehl, by the same persons who had brought him to the place, and set down at the end of the Bridge leading to Strasburgh.

I have heard the question frequently agitated, during my residence in Germany, and many different Opinions stated, relative to the Name and Quality of the Lady thus asserted to have been put to Death. The most generally adopted Belief rested on the Princess of Tour and Taxis, Augusta Elizabeth,

daughter of Charles Alexander, Prince of Wirtemberg. She had been married, at a very early period of life, to Charles Anselm, Prince of Tour and Taxis. Whether it proceeded from mutual incompatibility of Character, or, as was commonly pretended, from the Princess's intractable and ferocious Disposition, the Marriage proved eminently unfortunate in its results. She was accused of having repeatedly attempted to take away her Husband's life, particularly while they were walking together near the Castle of Donau-Stauff, on the high Bank overhanging the Danube, when, it was said, she endeavoured to precipitate him into the River. It is certain, that about the year 1773, or 1774, a final Separation took place between them, at the Prince's solicitation. The reigning Duke of Wirtemberg, her Brother, to whose Custody she was consigned, caused her to be closely immured in a Castle within his own Dominions, where she was strictly guarded, no Access being allowed to her. Of the last mentioned fact, there is little doubt; but, it may be considered as much more problematical, whether she was the person put to Death by the Executioner of Strasburgh. I have dined, in the Autumn of the year

1778, with the Prince of Tour and Taxis, at his Castle or Seat of Donau-Stauff, near the northern Bank of the Danube, a few Miles from the City of Ratisbon. He was then about forty-five years of age, and his Wife was understood to be in Confinement. I believe that her Decease was not formally announced as having taken place, till many years subsequent to 1778: but, this Circumstance by no means militates against the possibility of her having suffered by a more summary Process, if her conduct had exposed her to merit it; and if it was thought proper to inflict upon her capital punishment. The private Annals of the great Houses and Sovereigns of the German Empire, if they were divulged, would furnish numerous instances of similar Severity exercised in their own Families, during the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries. Some of these Stories might realize the tragical Adventures commemorated by Boccace, or related by Margaret, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis the First, in her "Tales;" which last mentioned Productions, however romantic some of them may appear, are not Fictions, but, faithful delineations of the Gallantries or Crimes that took place in the Court of

Pau, where she resided, near the foot of the Pyrenees. Count Konigsmarck fell a victim, at Hanover, to the resentment of Ernest Augustus, father of King George the First: and we know how narrowly the great Frederic, afterwards King of Prussia, escaped perishing by the same Weapon which beheaded his Companion Katt, arbitrarily sacrificed by Frederic William the First, for only endeavouring to facilitate the Prince's evasion from his father's Court.

While I am engaged on the subject of extraordinary Events, I shall record one more Fact, which may appear equally curious with either of the Stories that I have just recounted. During the first Winter that I passed at Vienna, in 1778, I became acquainted with the Count and Countess Podotski. She was one of the most beautiful and accomplished Women of high rank, whom I have seen on the Continent. Her husband, a great Polish Nobleman, hereditary Cup-bearer, or "Grand Echanson" of the Crown, had become in some measure an Austrian Subject, in consequence of the first Partition of Poland, which took place in 1772. His patrimonial Estates lying

principally in that Southern Portion of the Kingdom which fell to the share of Maria Theresa, he of course repaired frequently to Vienna; between which Capital and Warsaw he divided his time. During the Winter of 1776, as the Count and Countess Podotski were on their way from Vienna to Cracow, the Wolves which abound in the Carpathian Mountains, rendered more than ordinarily bold and ferocious, in consequence of the severity of the Season; descending in great Numbers, began to follow the Carriage between the two little Towns of Oswiezk and Zator; the latter of which places is only a few Leagues distant from Cracow. Of two Servants who attended him, one had been sent forward to Zator, for the purpose of procuring post Horses. The other, a *Heyduc*, to whom he was much attached on account of his fidelity, finding the Wolves rapidly gaining ground on them, rode up, and exhorted the Count to permit him to abandon to these animals his Horse; as such a prey would naturally arrest their impetuosity, and allow time for the Count and Countess to reach Zator. Podotski immediately agreed to the proposal; and the *Heyduc*, mounting behind the Carriage, left

his Horse, who was soon overtaken, and torn in a thousand pieces.

They continued their journey meanwhile with all possible speed, in the hope of getting to the Town, from which they were at an inconsiderable distance. But, their Horses were fatigued; and the Wolves, become more ravenous, as well as eager, by having tasted Blood, already were nearly up with them. In this extremity, the *Heyduc* said to his Master, "There is only one way left to save "us. We shall all be devoured in a few "Minutes. I am ready to sacrifice myself, "by going to meet the Wolves, if you will "swear to be a Father to my Wife and Chil- "dren. I shall be destroyed; but, while "they are occupied in falling upon me, you "may escape." Podotski, after a Moment's reluctance to accept such an Offer, pressed nevertheless by the prospect of imminent Destruction to them all, and seeing no prospect of any other means of Extrication, consented; and assured him, that if he were capable of devoting himself for their common preservation, his family should find in him a constant Protector. The *Heyduc* instantly descending, advanced to meet the Wolves, who sur-

rounded and soon dispatched him. But, his magnanimous Sacrifice of himself, by checking the ardor of their pursuit, allowed Count Podotski time to reach the Gates of Zator in safety. I ought not to omit that the *Heyduc* was a Dissident or Protestant, while his Master professed the Catholic religion; a circumstance which greatly added to the merit and effect of the Sacrifice. I believe that Count Podotski most religiously fulfilled his engagement, to befriend the family of his faithful Servant. For the honor of human Nature, we ought not to suppose it possible that he could fail on such a point. I cannot say that I have heard him relate this Story, himself; but, I have received it from those persons who knew its Authenticity, and who recounted it to me at Vienna, while the Count was engaged in the same room at Play, in the Hotel of the French Embassador, the Baron de Breteuil, only about two years after it took place. An instance of more prompt, cool, and generous self-Devotion, is perhaps not to be found in the History of Mankind; nor ought its value to be in any Degree diminished by the Consideration, that even if the *Heyduc* had not acted as he did, they must all probably have perished together.

If Naples, in 1779, offered a number of enchanting Objects to the Imagination and the Senses; Florence, where I likewise passed a considerable time in the same year, presented others not less captivating to the Mind. The "Palazzo Vecchio," once inhabited by the elder Cosmo, and by Lorenzo de' Medicis: Names which will be for ever venerated;—the Chapel of St. Lorenzo, where reposed the remains of so many Princes or Individuals of that illustrious Family, whose Monuments were adorned by the Hand of Michael Angelo;—the Gallery constructed for the reception of all those Master-pieces of ancient, and of modern Genius, which Taste and Expense had collected in the lapse of Ages;—even the surrounding Scenery, the River Arno, Fiesolé, Vallombrosa, and every Object, awakened classic, or poetic recollections. Sir Horace Mann, who was then the British Minister at the Court of Tuscany, had long outlived the Extinction of the House of Medicis; for which Race of Princes he seemed to preserve the same predilection, which Brantome always manifests for the Family of Valois, above the Line of Bourbon. He remembered, and personally knew, the last Grand Duke of the Medicean line, John Gaston,

who died in 1737; in consequence of whose Decease without issue, those beautiful Portions of Italy, constituting his Dominions, were finally transferred to a Prince of Lorrain.

Conversing with Sir Horace Mann, on this Topic, which always excited his regret; "John Gaston," observed he to me, "was one of the most superior and accomplished Men, whom the present Century has witnessed, if his immoderate pursuit of pleasures had not enervated his Mind, and debilitated his Frame. He became, long before his Death, incapable of continuing his family: but that inability did not produce its Extinction. A sort of fatality seemed to overhang the House of Medicis, and to render ineffectual all the measures adopted for its prolongation. When the fact became perfectly ascertained, that John Gaston could not perpetuate his line, the Cardinal Hippolito de Medicis, his Uncle, was selected for that purpose; a Dispensation from his ecclesiastical Vows, being previously obtained from the Papal See. The only, and the indispensable object of the Marriage, be-

" ing the attainment of Heirs male to the
" Grand Duchy, in order to prevent its sei-
" zure by foreign Violence, or its incorpora-
" tion with the Austrian, French, or Spanish
" Monarchies; all Italy was searched, with
" the view of finding a young and hand-
" some Princess, from whom might be ex-
" pected a numerous Family. A Princess of
" Mirandola, on whom the selection fell,
" seemed to unite every requisite qualifica-
" tion. The Nuptials were solemnized;
" and the Bridegroom being of a feeble Con-
" stitution, as well as advanced in life, it was
" plainly insinuated to the Lady, that for
" reasons of State Necessity, connected with
" the very political Existence of Tuscany
" under the reigning House, she must pro-
" duce an Heir. The most agreeable youths
" and Pages about the Court were purposely
" thrown in her way, and every facility was
" furnished, that might conduce to the ac-
" complishment of the Object. But, so sa-
" credly did she observe the Marriage Vow,
" that no seductions could make an impres-
" sion on her, and she remained without
" Issue. Her husband died, and was fol-
" lowed by John Gaston. France having
" acquired Lorrain, and Don Carlos being

" made Sovereign of Naples, Tuscany, was " delivered over by the great Continental " Powers, as a conquered or forfeited Coun- " try, to Francis, Duke of Lorrain. But, " no sooner had these Events taken place, " than Hippolito's Widow, who had sur- " mounted every temptation to Inconstancy " during his life, gave the reins to her Incli- " nations, and brought into the world two " or three Children, within a few years. It " was thus that Florence, the repository of " so many invaluable Monuments of Greek " and Roman Sculpture, collected during " successive Centuries, by the Princes of " Medicis, together with the Territories de- " pendant on it, passed into the Austrian " Family." Sir Horace little foresaw at that time, the new and more calamitous Revolutions impending over Tuscany, about to issue from the Volcano of the French Revolution.

That beautiful Country, the Cradle of the fine Arts, in 1779, under the mild and parental government of the Grand Duke Leopold, enjoyed a great degree of felicity, as well as prosperity: perhaps as much, or more, than at any period of its History; either when a

Commonwealth, or under the Administration of the House of Medicis. While his Father, the Emperor Francis, retained the Sovereignty of Tuscany, that Portion of Italy was considered only as a detached Province of the Austrian Monarchy, rarely visited; and the internal Controul of which, Francis committed to Germans, or to subjects of Lorrain. But, with the Accession of Leopold, as Grand Duke, Florence assumed a new Aspect; and though he occasionally repaired to Vienna, in order to pay his duty to the Empress Maria Theresa his Mother, yet he was not partial to the Climate or Manners of Austria. He loved the Banks of the Arno; far more than those of the Danube; dividing his time between the Occupations of civil Government, the Education of his numerous family, which he superintended in person with great care; and the Researches of natural Philosophy, particularly Chymistry; for which last mentioned Pursuit, like the Emperor Francis, he nourished a strong predilection. In imitation of other royal Philosophers, ancient and modern, with the single illustrious Exceptions, I believe, of the great Frederic, King of Prussia, and of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden; he sought

in the gratifications of female Society, the best relief from the Toils and Cares of State. An English Lady, the Countess Cowper, became at this time distinguished by his Attachment; and the exertion of his Interest with Joseph the Second his Brother, procured her Husband, Earl Cowper, to be created soon afterwards a Prince of the German Empire; an Honor, which I believe, had not been conferred on any British Subject, since the beginning of the last Century, when John, Churchill, the great Duke of Marlborough, was raised to the dignity of Prince of Mildenheim, by the Emperor Joseph the First, after the memorable victory of Blenheim.

While I am engaged on the subject of the two Brothers, Joseph and Leopold, who were successively Emperors of Germany, as well as Kings of Hungary and Bohemia, I shall make a few Observations relative to both these Princes. The reign of Joseph, comprizing more than nine years, from November 1780, to February 1790, may be considered as one of the most unfortunate, and injurious in its Effects to the House of Austria, which occurs in the Annals of that Family. He possessed nevertheless many

eminent Virtues; Activity, Frugality, enlargement of Mind, facility of Access, indefatigable Application, great renunciation of Pleasure, the desire of acquiring Knowledge, and of ameliorating the Condition of his People. But he was theoretical, of an irritable Temper, precipitate, ambitious, despotic; and led astray by his anxiety to appear, like his Contemporary, Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, his own General and Minister. That great Prince last named, became, himself, on more than one Occasion, during the "Seven Years War," as is well known, the victim of his temerity or pertinacity in rejecting the advice of his Commanders. Joseph attempted, with far inferior Talents, to conduct the military Operations; but Disaster perpetually attended him in the field. Laudohn was reduced to the necessity of forcing him to quit the Camp in Lower Hungary, during the War carried on against the Turks; and his Arms never penetrated beyond the Danube, into Servia, till he left the Army, and retired to Vienna. His Alliance with Catherine the Second, and his visits to the Crimea in her Company, of which romantic Journeys the Prince de Ligne has given us such amusing Details; produced no perma-

nent advantages to his Crown, or real benefit to his People. We know that he had actually made, with the Russian Empress, a partition of all the European portion of the Turkish Dominions, and of some of the Asiatic Provinces lying along the Shore of the Black Sea: but, the two Sovereigns found it easier to divide Poland, than to dismember Turkey. Joseph's imprudent, arbitrary, and impolitic infractions of the privileges, or constitutional rights of his Flemish Subjects, when aggravated by his suppression of many of the Monastic Establishments; produced either an Insurrection, or a dangerous fermentation among the Hungarians, and throughout the Austrian Netherlands. While he fondly anticipated the Conquest of the Ottoman Provinces beyond Belgrade, which Prince Eugene had subjected to Charles the Sixth, seventy years earlier; the Hungarians opened a secret Negotiation of the most dangerous nature, with the Court of Berlin; and the Flemings overturned the Imperial Government at Brussels. Even the Archduchy of Austria, and the Kingdom of Bohemia, manifested symptoms of Disaffection: while the French Revolution, which had commenced in the Summer of 1789, advanc-

ing with gigantic steps towards Democracy, Anarchy, and external Violence, painfully attracted his Attention on that vulnerable Quarter, which He had imprudently dismantled and laid open to Invasion. Such was the critical and convulsed State of the Austrian Monarchy, when Joseph expired at Vienna, in the Spring of 1790, at the age of forty-nine; leaving no Issue by either of his Wives; but, extenuated by Diseases, caused or accelerated in their progress, by his own irritability of Temper, agitation of Mind, and the augmenting embarrassment of his Affairs.

Leopold, who succeeded him, and who was unquestionably a Prince of deep Reflection, enlarged Capacity, and sound Judgment; perceived the Misfortunes which had flowed from the spirit of Innovation, Reform, and restless Activity or Ambition, that had characterized his Brother. But, it was not easy for him to withdraw from the political Connexions formed by Joseph, with the Empress Catherine the Second. Yet, alarmed at the state of Flanders and of Hungary, while he dreaded the issue of the revolutionary Struggle in which his Brother-in-law,

Louis the Sixteenth, was involved with his subjects; Leopold, after many doubts, and much hesitation, finally determined to quit the Alliance of Russia. A Circumstance which took place not long after his Accession, confirmed him in the resolution. Potemkin, who then governed his imperial Mistress and the Court of Petersburgh; commanding the Armies of that Power in the vicinity of Oczakow, on the Coast of the Black Sea, pushed his Conquests against the Turks, so far to the Westward, in Moldavia and Walachia, as to approach the Austrian Frontier, on the Lower Danube, in Servia. Uneasy at the advances of such a neighbour, the Emperor addressed a letter to him, couched in very obliging language; but, intimating His Imperial Majesty's wishes that he would desist from prosecuting his advantages any further on that side. Potemkin, intoxicated with favor, brutal in his Manners, insolent, and restrained by no considerations of policy, or of respect for the Dignity of the writer, had the audacity to throw the letter on the ground, in the Presence of various Persons, to spit upon it, and to trample it under foot; adding the most injurious or insulting Epithets relative

personally to Leopold. These barbarous and impolitic Ebullitions of his rage, were reported soon afterwards to the Emperor, by Foscari, the Venetian Embassador at the Court of Petersburgh; who having returned to Venice, and there meeting His Imperial Majesty, acquainted him with the facts. Leopold heard the Narration with great apparent Calmness, but such an insult did not make the less deep impression on his Mind. We may however assume with Probability, that before Potemkin would have ventured on so outrageous an act of Contempt toward his Sovereign's Ally, he had good reason to believe that the existing ties between the two Courts or Sovereigns, were about to be dissolved, and new Alliances to be formed by Austria.

In fact, Leopold, from an early period of his Reign, turned all his views towards the two Courts of Berlin and London. After concluding a Treaty at Reichenbach, with the King of Prussia, he made Peace with the Turks at Sistova; wisely renouncing all his Brother Joseph's Conquests in Bosnia and Servia, restoring Belgrade to the Porte, and abandoning his Connexions with Cathe-

rine. Impelled by an anxious desire of arresting the Course of those French Revolutionary Principles, which, he foresaw, would, if not checked, eventually involve Europe in the greatest Calamities, he set on foot the celebrated *Interview of Pilnitz*. In the Summer of 1791, having repaired with his eldest Son, the present Emperor Francis, to the Castle or hunting Seat of that name, belonging to the Elector of Saxony, situate near Dresden; Frederic William, accompanied in like manner by his future Successor, the reigning King of Prussia, there met Leopold. Their Conferences led to a Treaty, which adopted as its fundamental Basis, the Resolution "not to make war "on *France*, but to arm against the introduction of *French Revolutionary Principles* into Germany and the Low Countries." The Emperor, who had formed an opinion to which he systematically adhered, that the Republican Faction in Paris would only be aided by Aggression and Hostility, thought that War must therefore be avoided: but, he conceived that the great Powers of Europe should arm against *French Principles*, by forming a military Cordon round France; thus shutting in, if I may so

express myself, the moral or political Infection, and leaving them to exhaust their democratic rage on each other.

Such was the unquestionable object and scope of that memorable *Treaty of Pilnitz*, relative to which so much has been said or written within the last twenty years, and whose very Existence has been called in Question. How far the Plan might have proved efficacious, if it had been generally acted upon by all the Germanic Body, as early as 1791; and if Leopold, who framed it, had lived to conduct its Operations; it is difficult to venture a decided Opinion: but, for the authenticity of the Fact itself, I think I may challenge Contradiction. Perhaps, moral and political Principles are not to be shut in or compressed by any defensive precautions which can be adopted by human wisdom. I am fully convinced at least, that when Mr. Pitt, early in 1793, declared open Hostility on France, he could not have saved England by temporizing Measures. Nay, I thought at the time, and I continue so to think now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, that Mr. Fox would have formed the same Estimate, and would have

acted precisely in the same manner, if he had been seated in Mr. Pitt's place, as First Minister, on the Treasury Bench. The whole difference in their mode of seeing and appreciating the tendency of the French Revolution, lay in the possession, or the negation, of political Power. Indeed, the fact was practically proved, when Fox, after Pitt's Decease in 1806, arrived at Employment. It soon became evident how much his attainment of a Seat in the Cabinet, had illuminated his understanding, as well as invigorated his Measures, in opposition to revolutionary Principles and their consequences. Fox's masterly Speech on the Cession of the two Margraviates of Anspach and Bareith to Bavaria, by Frederic William King of Prussia, and his Acceptance of Hanover from Bonaparte, as a Compensation; sufficiently demonstrated that he then saw through the Optics of Pitt and Burke. The present Earl of Chatham, if he had been seated under the Gallery at the Time, might have exclaimed with *Isabella* in "Measure for Measure," on hearing the Secretary's Harangue,

"There spake my Brother. There my Father's Grave
Did utter forth a Voice!"——

I return to Leopold. So anxious was he to form a defensive League against the French Republican Contagion, that on the very Day succeeding his Coronation at Frankfort, as Emperor of Germany, in the Autumn of 1790, he despatched a confidential Agent, whom I well know, and who is still living, to the Court of Berlin, empowered to open a private Negotiation with Frederic William. It was confined personally to the two Sovereigns; their respective first Ministers, Kaunitz and Hertzberg, being excluded from any knowledge of the Transaction. The King of Prussia, who came readily into Leopold's views, employed Bischoffswerder, his Favorite, to carry back his assent. But, no final or effectual Measures, as they well knew, could be settled, without the participation of England. Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville entered ardently into the Plan, which had principally in view two Objects; to arrest the arms of Catherine on the Shore of the Euxine, and, to coerce the Republicans of Paris, without making offensive War on France. The former of these points would unquestionably have been attained, if Mr. Fox had not excited so formidable an Opposition in the House of Commons, as

compelled the Ministry reluctantly to recede from their Engagements. He at the same time sent Mr. Adair, as his own private Agent, to Petersburgh; an act, for which, many persons thought that he deserved Impeachment, far more than Hastings merited Prosecution on Account of his Conduct while Governor General of India. Leopold, apprehensive of Catherine's resentment, doubtful of Mr. Pitt's and Lord Grenville's sincerity, nor without alarm at the murmurs which he foresaw would arise among his own Troops, on the evacuation of Belgrade, and the Restitution of his Conquests in Servia; said to a Gentleman, a Native of Great Britain, deep in his Confidence, with whom he was accustomed to unbosom his thoughts, and who had formed the medium of his Intercourse with Frederic William, "*J'ai signé la Paix avec les Turcs: mais, la Grande Bretagne, est-elle sincère? Me tiendra-t-elle ses Engagemens? Catherine sera inexorable. Je l'ai vu en Songe, Hier, la nuit, le Poignard à la Main.*" He even disapproved and lamented the line of Conduct adopted by Pitt towards the Empress, in the Business of Oczakow, as severe, irritating, and calculated to render her implacable. "Why,"

observed Leopold, speaking to the same friend, "rob the Empress of her laurels, "and humiliate Her in the eyes of Europe? "It is necessary that her Head should be "encircled with Glory, in order to hide "her Feet, which are all stained with "Blood." In fact, Catherine, who never forgave either Austria, Prussia, or England, for their conduct towards her, propelled those Powers to commence War on France in 1792; but, she extended no Assistance to them in the Contest. On the contrary, she compelled Frederic William to withdraw from the great Alliance, and to return home, by attacking Poland. "If," said the King, addressing himself to the distinguished Individual already alluded to, "I had not "marched my Army back into my own "Dominions, she would not only have taken "Warsaw, but have entered Berlin likewise "with her Troops." It was Russia, therefore, which acted as one great Cause of the Overthrow of the first Confederacy formed against Republican France.

During the Autumn of the year 1791, Leopold being on his way from Vienna to Florence, stopped, for the Purpose of Re-

freshment, at a small post House in the Duchy of Styria; where, while he remained, a croud of his own Subjects, pressed round to look at him. Among them he remarked an old Woman, who, when he got into his Carriage, approached it; and knocking against the Glass with her hand, addressed some words to him in a tone of great violence and asperity, accompanied with Gestures indicative of resentment: but, as she spoke in the Styrian Dialect, he was wholly unable to comprehend her meaning. Apprehending that she might have some Complaint to prefer, or might have received some Injury demanding redress, he ordered his Attendants to question her on the subject of her application. They manifested considerable reluctance in explaining to him its nature; but on his insisting to be informed, one of them answered that she said, "Render Justice promptly. We know all that "the Poissardes have done at Paris." The Emperor made no reply; but, when he recounted the Story to the Gentleman who related it to me, and to whom He was used to speak without Reserve, he added, "You "may suppose that I have read and reflected "much upon the French Revolution, and

" its Consequences: but, all that has been " said, or can be written upon it, never car- " ried such Conviction to my Mind, as the " few words uttered by the old Woman in " Styria." They forcibly remind us of the Female, who observed to Alexander the Great, that if he was not at Leisure to hear Abuses, and to redress Grievances, why did he reign?

Notwithstanding all the efforts made by the Emigrants, for inducing Leopold to commence War with France, he remained inflexibly steady to his System of arming against the *Revolution*, but of never attacking the *French Nation*. It was not till after his Decease, under Francis, his Successor, in the Summer of 1792, that the Austrians entered Champagne, in conjunction with the Prussian Forces. Leopold's Death took place on the first day of March, that very year, at Prague; to which City he had repaired for the purpose of being there crowned King of Bohemia. I think I may venture to assert with Confidence, that he was poisoned; and that the Poison was administered in Confectionary, which a Lady presented him at a Masquerade. Every Endeavour was

used to conceal the fact; and with that view, it was pretended that his End had been produced by some Drugs or Incentives, which he himself prepared in his own Laboratory:—for, he passed much time in chymical researches and processes. But, Agusius, his Physician, who opened his Body, did not entertain any doubt that he fell a victim to Poison.

During the Spring of the year 1798, chancing to be alone with a foreign Nobleman, in London; whose name I do not think proper to mention, he being still alive, but whose veracity was unquestionable; and who, as having been the Embassador of a Crowned Head, at the Court of Vienna, when Leopold's Death happened, must have possessed the best means of obtaining Information; I ventured to interrogate him on the subject. "I was accustomed," answered he, "during the last year of the Emperor's "life, to see him frequently, and to have "long Audiences of him, on Business, in his "Closet. During these Interviews, I be-"held him when divested of any disguise; "and I can pronounce, as a matter of cer-"tainty, that the Force of his Mind was then

" altogether broken, and his Faculties en-
" feebled. His Memory in particular had
" become so weakened, that he could no
" longer retain from one Day to another, the
" facts or images committed to it. He rarely
" recollected the Conversation of the preced-
" ing Morning. This premature Decay of
" his intellectual powers, resulted from his
" inordinate passion for the other Sex, which
" had characterised him at every period of
" his life, and which he continued to indulge
" when it proved destructive to his frame.
" The Brain was particularly affected. In
" my Audiences of Leopold, he always
" walked up and down the Apartment, dur-
" ing the whole time. On his Table lay a
" number of rolls of Wax, which he bit from
" one Minute to another, spitting out the
" pieces on the floor. When he quitted the
" room, whether any other persons were pre-
" sent, or whether we were alone, he never
" advanced forward in a straight line; but
" he went round the sides of the Chamber,
" touching with his hand the Wainscot, or
" the Window shutters. No Circumstances
" could more strongly indicate a disordered
" or enfeebled Understanding. As to the
" nature of his Death, I am unable positively

" to pronounce upon the fact. Certainly, " his Body, when opened, exhibited every " mark of Poison. But, if he was poisoned, " by whom was it administered, or with " what Object? I cannot pretend to guess, " nor even to form a Conjecture." Two Opinions, as I have been assured, prevailed at Prague, respecting it; both of which were alike founded on Leopold's well known determination not to engage in a War with France. One Party maintained that the Girondists, which Faction then predominated at Paris, dreading the effects of his defensive System, as most injurious to their tenure of Power, removed him in the manner related: while another Party accused the Emigrants of having produced his Death, as the only means left them of regaining their Estates, by forcing an immediate rupture between the Austrian and French Governments. I must leave the fact problematical. Time, however, will probably elucidate its nature.

Among the Objects of mingled Curiosity and Compassion, which Florence presented in 1779, to the view of an Englishman, was the Chevalier de St. George; or, as we commonly denominate him, the *Pretender*. It

was impossible to contemplate him, without making many reflections on his own Destiny, and on the condition of the infatuated Family of which he was the Representative. Neither ancient, nor modern History, presents the example of a line of Princes so eminently unfortunate, during a succession of Ages! The Calamities which overwhelmed the House of Bourbon, awful as they must be esteemed, have been comprized within the space of five and twenty years: but, from James the First of *Scotland*, murdered in the most inhuman manner, at Perth, in 1437, down to the last of his Descendants; with only the two exceptions of James the First of *England*, and Charles the Second; all the others perished by the hand of the Executioner, or by violent and premature Death, or died in Exile, maintained by foreign Contribution. It was not, however, merely when considered as the Grandson of James the Second, and the Inheritor of the pretensions of the Stuarts, that the Chevalier de St. George excited an Interest in the mind of every reflecting Spectator. By his Mother, he descended from the celebrated John Sobieski, King of Poland, who was his maternal great Grandfather; the first Chevalier de

St. George having carried off from Inspruck, about the year 1719, and married, Clementina Sobieska, daughter and heiress of Prince James Sobieski, whom Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden, meditated, some years earlier, to have placed on the Polish Throne. In right of that Princess, her Son succeeded to very considerable patrimonial Estates situated in Poland; the produce of which, formed a much more solid source of Support, than the precarious Allowance or Donations, made and withdrawn as Circumstances impelled, by the French and Spanish Crowns, or by the Apostolic See. Clement the Fourteenth (Ganganelli), when he refused to continue to the Chevalier, the public *Honors* previously enjoyed by his Father and himself at Rome, where a Canopy, decorated with the Royal Arms of Great Britain, was erected over their Box in the Theatre; retrenched likewise the pecuniary *Appointments*, antecedently paid him out of the Treasury of St. Peter. Nor do I believe that they were restored by Pius the Sixth, after his Election to the Papal Chair in 1775: but, the *Pretender*'s Income at the time of which I speak, might be estimated at more than five thousand Pounds Sterling; a Sum fully ade-

quate, at Florence, to maintain an Establishment becoming his situation.

His Faculties, even in their Zenith, appear to have been very moderate: but his Valour, though not heroic, was never, I believe, called in question by the Scots, during his Campaign in 1745 and 1746; as that of Charles the Second had been doubted in 1652, at the Battle of Worcester; and as James the Second's Courage was questioned, on various Occasions, both as Lord High Admiral, on the water, during the two Dutch Wars under his Brother's Reign, and on the land. Charles the First is indeed the only Prince of the Stuart Race, after their Accession to the English Throne, whose Bravery, conspicuously displayed at Edge Hill, at Newbury, at Naseby, and in many other Battles or Encounters, during the Course of the Civil Wars, equally sustained him in the last act of his life, on the Scaffold. In 1779, Charles Edward exhibited to the world, a very humiliating Spectacle. At the Theatre, where he appeared almost every Evening, he was conducted by his Domestics, who laid him on a species of Sofa, in the back part of his Box; while

the Countess d'Albany, his Consort, occupied the front seat during the whole Performance. Count Alfieri, a Man singularly eccentric in his Mind, Habits, and Manners; whose dramatic Productions have since rendered him known; her "*Cavaliero servante*," always attended on her in public, according to the established usages of Society throughout Italy. As, for obvious reasons, English Subjects could not be presented to a man who still laid Claim to the British Crown; no Opportunity of distinctly seeing the Chevalier de St. George, offered itself, except across the Theatre: and even there he lay concealed, as I have already observed, on account of his Infirmities: rarely coming forward to view.

Being desirous, therefore, to obtain a more accurate idea of his Face and Person, than could be acquired at such a distance; I took my station, one Evening, at the head of a private Staircase, near the Door by which, when the Performance closed, he quitted the Playhouse. Previous to my leaving England in 1777, His Majesty had been pleased, at the application of Lord Robert Manners, who then commanded the third Regiment of

Dragoon Guards, to give me a Lieutenant's Commission; and Lord Robert had allowed me to wear his Uniform, which I had on at the time. The present General Manners, now first Equerry to the King, and who has represented the Town of Cambridge in Parliament for a great number of years; then a Cornet in his father's Regiment, dressed in the same Uniform, and actuated by a similar Curiosity, accompanied me. As soon as the Chevalier approached near enough to distinguish the English Regimental, he instantly stopped, gently shook off the two Servants who supported him, one on each side; and taking off his Hat, politely saluted us. He then passed on to his Carriage, sustained by the two Attendants, as he descended the Staircase. I could not help, as I looked at him, recollecting the series of Dangers and Escapes which he underwent or effected, for successive Months, among the Hebrides, after his defeat at Culloden: a chain of Adventures which has no parallel among modern Nations, except in those equally extraordinary Hardships which distinguished the flight of Charles the Second from Worcester; or in the romantic Extremities to which Stanislaus, King of Poland, was reduced in

1734, after his Evasion and Flight from Dantzic. Mrs. Lane gave to the former of those Princes, the same noble proofs of disinterested Devotion, which Flora Macdonald displayed towards the *Pretender:* and both were eminently indebted for their final preservation, to female Honor or Loyalty. Charles Edward's Complexion was dark, and he manifestly bore the same family resemblance to his Grandfather James the Second, that His Britannic Majesty's Countenance presents to George the First, or to the late King. On the Occasion just related, he wore, besides the Decorations of the Order of the *Garter*, a velvet great Coat, which his infirm Health rendered necessary, even in Summer, on coming out of the Theatre; and a cocked Hat, the sides of which were half drawn up with gold twist. His whole Figure, paralytic and debilitated, presented the appearance of great bodily Decay.

The strength of his Mind had likewise become extinct at this time; and with the decline of his intellectual Powers, the suavity of his Temper forsaking him, he became irritable, morose, and intractable, particularly in his family. An unhappy propensity

to Wine, which he gratified to Excess, while it enervated his System, rendered him frequently an object of Pity or of Contempt, when in public; divesting him of that Dignity, which would otherwise have always accompanied the Descendant and Representative of so many Kings. His Misfortunes, Exile, and anomalous Situation, aggravated by mortifications of various kinds which he had undergone, both in France, and at Rome; probably induced him to have recourse to the Grape, for procuring Oblivion, or dispensing temporary felicity. That melancholy Indulgence extinguished the last hope which Fortune ever tendered him of ascending the Throne of England, justly forfeited by the Tyranny and imbecile Bigotry of James the Second.

I know from high Authority, that as late as the year 1770, the Duke de Choiseul, then First Minister of France, not deterred by the ill success of the Attempts made in 1715, and in 1745, meditated to undertake a third Effort for restoring the House of Stuart. His enterprizing Spirit led him to profit of the Dispute which arose between the English and Spanish Crowns, respecting

the possession of Falkland Islands, in order to accomplish the Object. As the first step necessary towards it, he dispatched a private Emissary to Rome, who signified to Charles Edward, the Duke's desire of seeing him immediately at Paris. He complied, and arrived in that City with the utmost privacy. Having announced it to Choiseul, the Minister fixed the same Night, at twelve o'Clock, when he and the Marshal de Broglio would be ready to receive the *Pretender*, and to lay before him their plan for an Invasion of England. The Hotel de Choiseul was named for the Interview, to which place he was enjoined to repair in a hackney Coach, disguised, and without any Attendant. At the appointed time, the Duke and the Marshal, furnished with the requisite papers and instructions drawn up for his conduct on the Expedition, were ready: but, after waiting a full Hour, expecting his appearance every instant, when the Clock struck one, they concluded that some unforeseen Accident must have intervened to prevent his Arrival. Under this Impression they were preparing to separate, when the noise of wheels was heard in the Court yard; and a few Moments afterwards, the Pretender entered the room, in a state of such Intoxica-

tion, as to be utterly incapable even of ordinary Conversation. Disgusted, as well as indignant, at this disgraceful Conduct, and well convinced that no Expedition undertaken for the restoration of a man so lost to every sense of decency or self-interest, could be crowned with Success; Choiseul, without hesitation, sent him, next Morning, a peremptory Order to quit the French Dominions. The *Pretender* returned to Italy; and the Nobleman who related to me these particulars, being in Company with the late Duke of Glocester, in 1770, while walking together in the Streets of Genoa, met the Chevalier de St. George, then on his way back from France to Rome. The Duke de Choiseul was soon afterwards dismissed by Louis the Fifteenth, and new principles of policy were adopted in the Cabinet of Versailles. The Contest respecting the Falkland Islands being accommodated, Peace continued to subsist between the Courts of France and England: while Charles Edward, driven by the Mortifications which he experienced at Rome, to abandon that City, sought Refuge at Florence; where he finished in January, 1788, his inglorious Career, as James the Second had done in 1701, at the Palace of St. Germain, in the Vicinity of Paris.

Louisa of Stolberg, Countess d'Albany, his Consort, merited a more agreeable Partner, and might, herself, have graced a Throne. When I saw her at Florence, though she had been long married, she was not quite twenty-seven years of age. Her person was formed on a small scale: she had a fair Complexion, delicate Features, and lively, as well as attractive Manners. Born Princess of Stolberg-Gedern, she excited great Admiration on her first Arrival from Germany: but in 1779, no hope of Issue by the Chevalier could be any longer entertained; and their mutual infelicity had attained to such a height, that she made various ineffectual attempts to obtain a Separation. The French Court may indeed be censured, in the Eye of Policy, for not having earlier negotiated and concluded the Pretender's Marriage, if it was desired to perpetuate the Stuart Line of Claimants to the English Crown. When Charles Edward espoused the Princess of Stolberg, he had passed his fiftieth year, was broken in Constitution, and debilitated by Excesses of many kinds. Previous to his Decease, she quitted Italy, and finally established herself at Paris. In the year 1787, I have passed the Evening at her residence,

the Hotel de Bourgogne, situate in the Faux-bourg St. Germain, where she supported an elegant Establishment. Her Person then still retained many pretensions to Beauty; and her Deportment, unassuming, but dignified, set off her Attractions. In one of the Apartments stood a Canopy, with a Chair of State, on which were displayed the royal Arms of Great Britain; and every piece of Plate, down to the very Tea-spoons, were ornamented in a similar manner. Some of the more massy pieces, which were said to have belonged to Mary of Modena, James the Second's Queen, seemed to revive the extinct recollections of the Revolution of 1688. A numerous Company, both English and French, male and female, was assembled under her roof, by all of whom she was addressed only as Countess d'Albany: but her own Domestics, when serving her, invariably gave her the title of Majesty. The Honors of a Queen, were in like manner paid her by the Nuns of all those Convents in Paris, which she was accustomed to visit on certain Holydays or festivals. She continued to reside in the Capital of France, till the calamitous progress of the French Revolution, compelling her to abandon that Country, she

repaired to London; where she found not only personal protection, but new resources in the Liberality and Bounty of George the Third.

While I am engaged on the Adventures of the Stuart Family, I shall commemorate a fact, which will probably impress every reader with astonishment. Dining at the present Earl of Hardwick's, in London, with a large Company, in June, 1796; among the persons present, was the late Sir John Dalrymple, known by his "History of England," and "State Papers." The Conversation turning on historical Subjects, he assured us that the Princess Sophia, Mother of King George the First, who would have ascended the Throne of Great Britain in her own person, if she had not died about seven Weeks before Queen Anne; was nevertheless a determined Jacobite in her political Principles. On our expressing the Amazement which such an Assertion was calculated to produce, he declared, that while he was occupied in looking over the memorable Chest preserved in Kensington Palace, from which, in the beginning of the present reign, he took the State Papers given by Him to the world; he

found a Bundle of Letters, marked on the back, in King William's own hand-writing, "Letters of the Electress Sophia to the Court of St. Germain's." Having perused them, he ascertained beyond any Doubt, that Sophia was really engaged in close Correspondence with James the Second, and attached to his Interests, in opposition to those of William. Lord Rochford, who was then Secretary of State, having procured for Sir John Dalrymple, permission from His Majesty, to examine and publish the Papers in question; he immediately communicated to that Nobleman his Discovery: requesting at the same time, his Lordship's Sanction or Approbation, in giving to the World the Letters of the Electress Sophia: "Publish them by all means, Jack," answered he. Thus empowered from such Authority, Dalrymple destined them without Delay for the Press: but, before he had time to get the Letters copied, Lord Rochford sent to him, desiring to have them delivered back to himself, in order that he might submit them to His Majesty's Inspection; he having on more mature reflection, judged it proper to take the King's pleasure on a matter of such Delicacy and Singularity.

Dalrymple returned them therefore to Lord Rochford, who carried them to the Queen's House, and presented the Bundle to His Majesty. But, they were neither restored, nor was even any Allusion to them ever made in Conversation by the King; he no doubt conceiving it more judicious to commit such Documents to the flames, than to permit their publication. However extraordinary this Anecdote may appear, it ought not to surprize, on full consideration, that Sophia should feel the warmest Attachment to James the Second. He was very nearly related to her by Consanguinity; *her* Mother, Elizabeth, the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, and Charles the First, *his* Father, being Brother and Sister. Nor could Sophia, during many years subsequent to the Revolution of 1688, nourish the slightest Expectation of being called to the British Throne, while the Princess Anne and her Issue interposed between the House of Brunswic and that Succession. It was not till after the Death of William, the young Duke of Glocester, in 1700, when the Princess Sophia and her Descendants being named by Act of Parliament, to succeed eventually to the Crown of Great Britain, as the nearest

Protestant Heirs of the Royal line; her Interests from that Period, became opposed to the right of Blood existing in the Stuart race.

Brussels, where I made a short stay in the Summer of the same year, 1779, exhibited another Prince in a state of physical and mental Infirmity, not less calculated to excite pity than the *Pretender*. The Austrian Netherlands were at that Time administered, as they had been almost ever since the Peace of Aix-la Chapelle in 1748, by Prince Charles of Lorrain, as Representative of the Empress-Queen. His double Alliance, both by Consanguinity and by Marriage, with the Emperor Francis and Maria Theresa; being Brother to the former, and having married the Sister of the latter Sovereign;—these qualities, and pretensions, rather than any mental Endowments, civil or military, had raised him to the Government of the Low Countries, the most enviable delegation of sovereign Power then existing in Europe. Neither Hungary, nor the Milaneze, nor Sicily, nor Sardinia, nor Ireland, nor Norway, could enter into any political Competition with the rich Provinces of Flanders, Haynault, and Brabant. Brussels consti-

tuted one of the most pleasing, as well as elegant, Courts of the Continent; its local Position, almost central between Germany, Holland, France, and England, rendering it far more important in a diplomatic point of view, than either Venice, Turin, Warsaw, or Naples; perhaps I might add, even than Copenhagen or Stockholm. Prince Charles of Lorrain having been bred to the profession of Arms from his early youth, and possessing an athletic frame of Body, united with unquestionable personal Courage, had more than once nominally commanded the Austrian Armies. His passage of the Rhine in 1744, and his irruption into Alsace, acquired him a degree of Reputation, which he by no means afterwards preserved during the memorable "Seven Years War." To Frederic, King of Prussia, he formed indeed a most unequal Antagonist, as that great Prince sufficiently proved at the Battle of Lissa in December, 1757, where he defeated the Austrians, and on many other Occasions. When I was presented to Prince Charles, in August, 1779, he might be regarded as performing the last of the Seven Ages of Man, and as sinking fast into "mere Oblivion." At his Levee he seemed apparently unconscious of

any thing beyond the mere Ceremony of the Hour, even his speech and articulation being rendered very indistinct by a paralytic Affection. He expired in the following Summer, at his Palace in the Vicinity of Brussels, regretted by the Flemings for his Moderation; and was succeeded in the Government general of the Netherlands, by the Archduchess Christina, the favorite Daughter of the Empress Queen Maria Theresa.

Never did a deeper political Gloom overspread England, than in the Autumn of 1779, when I arrived in London from the Continent. I question, whether at the time of the Destruction of the Ships of war lying in the Medway, burnt by the Dutch, under Charles the Second; or after the Defeat of the English and Dutch combined Fleets by the French, off Beachy-Head, in 1690, under William and Mary; which constitute two of the most calamitous Epochas in our History; greater Despondency, Consternation, and general Dissatisfaction, prevailed throughout the Kingdom. The disgraceful naval Campaign of 1778, in which Keppel's Engagement off Ushant, forms the principal or only feature; had been succeeded by another

year of Hostilities, still more humiliating to Great Britain. D'Orvilliers, at the head of the Fleets of France and Spain, rode Master of the Channel for a considerable time; and the total want of Enterprize, or of Information on their part, alone saved the Town, as well as the Dock-yards at Plymouth, from falling into the enemy's possession. Not only was the place in want of many indispensable Articles requisite to repel an Attack: even flints for supplying the Muskets, however incredible the fact may appear, were deficient. Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded our Fleet; inferior in number of Ships, and unapprized of the Enemy's approach to the Coast of England, remained quietly cruizing in the Atlantic, while they thus menaced our Shores. Happily, the defect of Intelligence, or want of mutual Confidence, in the combined Squadrons, supplied every Ministerial neglect; and extricated the Country from a Calamity, which, had it taken place, must have shaken not only the Administration, but would have convulsed the Throne itself. Faction did not however less pervade the Navy, where the respective Adherents of Keppel and of Palliser, carried their reciprocal rancour to

the utmost height. The American War, after four unsuccessful Campaigns, began to grow odious to the Nation: while the Administration, depressed under the weight of a Contest, to which the Talents of the great Earl of Chatham might have been found unequal, did not manifest or exert the Energy demanded by the nature of the Emergency. Even the King, notwithstanding a Display of private Virtues, which since Charles the First had not been exhibited by any Sovereign of Great Britain, not even by William the Third, yet fully participated in the unpopularity of his Ministers. As he was supposed to feel a more than common interest in effecting the reduction of his revolted Subjects, so he was believed to exert a more than ordinary personal influence over the Cabinet which directed the Operations of the War.

After the return of Lord Howe in 1778, from his unsuccessful Campaigns in America, the supreme naval Command on that Coast, as well as in the West Indies, devolved on Admiral Byron. He was a Brother of Lord Byron, whose fatal Duel with Mr. Chaworth rendered him unfortunately too conspicuous in the Journals of the House of

Peers. At an early period of his life, having been wrecked on the desart Coast of Patagonia, not far from Cape Horn, with Captain Cheap, in the "Wager" Frigate, he there endured those inconceivable hardships, of which he has left us an interesting Narrative. An intrepid and skilful, no less than an experienced naval Officer, he was nevertheless deficient in the Judgment, Promptitude, and decision of Character, requisite for conducting the Operations of a numerous Fleet. On the element of the Water, an evil destiny seemed invariably to accompany him, from his first Expedition under Commodore Anson, down to the close of his professional life. So well was this fact known in the Navy, that the Sailors bestowed on him the name of "Foul Weather Jack," and esteemed themselves certain of stormy Weather, whenever they sailed under his Command. From the time of his leaving England in 1778, till his return about two years afterwards, all the Tempests of the deep seemed to have conspired against him. No Man could less say of Himself, with Æolus, or rather with Holstenius,

"*Ventorumque* facis Tempestatumque potentem;"

Virgil having written the line,

" *Nimborumque* facis Tempestatumque potentem."

During the Action which Byron fought with D'Estaign, in July, 1779, off Grenada, all the characteristic valour of the British was displayed, not only by the Crews, but, by the Captains and their Commander. Yet the Honors of the day were divided, while the Advantages of it were reaped by France; though the slaughter of Men on the side of the French, prodigiously exceeded our loss. But, the West India Islands, one after another, fell into the Enemy's hands; and after the Surrender of Grenada, when D'Estaign quitted Martinico, to carry the Arms of Louis the Sixteenth against Savannah, the Capital of Georgia, he triumphantly swept the Coast of America. We must reluctantly confess, that the Navy of England at this period of the present Reign, had sunk to a [illegible] of Depression hardly conceivable, [illegible]Ameri-[illegible]mpared with the Times of Hawke, [illegible] thrders, and Boscawen; or if placed near the still more splendid period of Jervis, Duncan, and Nelson. We may incline to attribute so extraordinary a Contrast, to the errors or inability of Lord North's Administration: the

popular voice, I well know, sanctioned that accusation: but, its Cause lay principally in the nature of the Contest, which depressing the national Energy, and dividing the public Opinion, unnerved the British Spirit, and allowed France, during near four years, from 1778 to 1782, aided by Spain, to make such Exertions, as acquired them a temporary Ascendant on the Ocean. Byron, recalled from his Command, soon afterwards revisited England, and his Name occurs no more in our naval History: but, it has derived new Celebrity in the present Times, from the poetic Eminence to which his Grandson has attained, by Productions emulating, perhaps surpassing, the fame of Spenser, of Gray, of Mason; and of Scott.

To Byron, succeeded Rodney, who fills so distinguished a place during the unfortunate Period of the American War: a naval Commander as much distinguished by the prosperous Fatality which attended him, as Byron seemed to be under the influence of an unlucky Planet. Cardinal Mazarin, who, before he employed any Individual, always asked, "*Est-il heureux?*" had he been First Minister of England, might have selected

Rodney for active Service, upon that principle, from among all the Admirals in the Navy. His Person was more elegant than seemed to become his rough Profession. There was even something that approached to delicacy and effeminacy in his figure: but no man manifested a more temperate and steady Courage in Action. I had the honor to live in great personal Intimacy with him, and have often heard him declare, that superiority to Fear was not in him the physical effect of Constitution; on the contrary, no man being more sensible by Nature to that Passion, than himself: but, that he surmounted it from the Considerations of Honor and public Duty. Like the famous Marshal Villars, he justly incurred the reputation of being "*glorieux et bavard;*" making himself frequently the theme of his own Discourse. He talked much and freely upon every Subject; concealed nothing in the course of Conversation, regardless who were present; and dealt his censures, as well as his praises, with imprudent liberality; qualities which necessarily procured him many Enemies, particularly in his own Profession. Throughout his whole life, two Passions, both highly injurious to his repose, the Love of Women and

of Play, carried him into many Excesses. It was universally believed that he had been distinguished in his youth, by the personal Attachment of the Princess Amelia, Daughter of George the Second, who displayed the same partiality for Rodney, which her Cousin, the Princess Amelia of Prussia, manifested for Trenck. A living evidence of the former Connexion existed, unless Fame had recourse to Fiction for support. But, Detraction, in every Age, from Elizabeth down to the present Times, has not spared the most illustrious Females.

The Gaming Table had proved more ruinous in its effects to Rodney, and that Indulgence compelled him, after quitting England, to take refuge at Paris. So great was his pecuniary Distress while he resided in the French Capital, as to induce him to send over his second Wife to London, early in 1777, with the view of procuring a Subscription to be opened among the Members of the Club at White's, for his relief. Lady Rodney finding it however impracticable to raise any Supplies from that source; after much ineffectual Solicitation among Sir George's former friends, finally renounced

the Attempt. The old Marshal de Biron having soon afterwards, by an act of liberality, enabled Rodney to revisit his Country, he made the strongest Applications to the Admiralty, for Employment. His private Circumstances, indeed, imperiously demanded every exertion, when he was named, towards the Autumn of 1779, to command the Expedition then fitting out at Portsmouth, for the West Indies. I passed much time with him, at his residence in Cleveland Row, St. James's, down to the very Moment of his Departure. Naturally sanguine and confident, he anticipated in his daily Conversation, with a sort of certainty, the future Success which he should obtain over the Enemy; and he had not only already conceived, but he had delineated on paper, the naval Manœuvre of breaking, or intersecting the Line, to which he afterwards was indebted in an eminent degree, for his brilliant Victory over De Grasse:—a Manœuvre then new in maritime Tactics, though now become familiar to us; and which Nelson practised with such decisive Effect, in the Battle of the Nile, as well as on other Occasions. Rodney possessed no superior intellectual parts; but, unlike Keppel, his enter-

prizing Spirit always impelled him rather to risk, than to act with Caution, when in presence of an Enemy. The ardor of his Character supplied in some degree, the physical defects of his Health and Constitution, already impaired by various causes: while his happy Audacity, directed by the nautical Skill of others, controled by Science, and propelled by favorable Circumstances, at length enabled him to dissipate the Gloom that had so long overhung our naval Annals, at the same time that he covered himself with great personal Glory.

The Ministry sustained about this time, a diminution of strength, and a loss of talents, in the House of Peers, which an Administration so unpopular could ill afford, by the defection of Lord Lyttelton, who suddenly went over to the side of Opposition. His Decease not less sudden in its nature, took place immediately afterwards. He was a man of very considerable parliamentary Abilities, who, notwithstanding the many glaring vices of his private Character, might have made a conspicuous political figure, if he had not been carried off in the prime of life. His Father, the first Lord Lyttelton, well

known as an Historian and a Poet; derived not less respect in his private Capacity, from the Elevation of his Mind, and his many domestic Virtues. The second Lord Lyttelton, by the profligacy of his Conduct, and the abuse of his Talents, seemed to emulate Dryden's Duke of Buckingham, or Pope's Duke of Wharton; both of whom he resembled in the superiority of his natural Endowments, as well as in the peculiarity of his End. Villiers, the "Zimri" of Dryden's Poem of "Absalom and Achitophel;" after exhausting his health, and squandering his immense fortune in every species of Excess or Riot, expired, as is well known, at a wretched Tenement, on his own Estate near Helmsley in Yorkshire, abandoned by all his former Followers or Admirers. Wharton, who acted a part under George the First, hardly less distinguished or eccentric, than Villiers had performed under Charles the Second; prematurely terminated his equally extraordinary Career, exiled and attainted, among the Pyrenees, in an obscure Monastery of Catalonia; worn out, like Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, by his pursuit of Pleasures. Lyttelton, when scarcely thirty-six, breathed his last at a country House near Epsom, called

Pit Place, from its Situation in a Chalk-pit; where he witnessed, as he conceived, a supernatural Appearance.

Having gone down there for purposes of recreation, with a gay party of both Sexes, several Individuals among whom I personally knew; he had retired to Bed, when a noise which resembled the fluttering of a Dove or Pigeon, heard at his Chamber window, attracted his Attention. He then saw, or thought he saw, a female figure, which approaching the foot of the Bed, announced to him that in three Days precisely from that time, he should be called away from this state of Existence. In whatever manner the supposed Intimation was conveyed, whether by sound or by impression, it is certain that Lord Lyttelton considered the Circumstance as real; that he mentioned it as such, to those persons who were in the House with him; that it deeply affected his Mind, and that he died on the third Night, at the predicted Hour.* About four years afterwards, in the year 1783, dining at Pit Place, I had the Curiosity to visit the Bed-chamber, where the Casement window, at which, as Lord Lyttelton asserted, the Dove appeared to

flutter, was pointed out to me. And at his Step-mother's, the Dowager Lady Lyttelton's House in Portugal-Street, Grosvenor Square, who being a woman of very lively Imagination, lent an implicit faith to all the supernatural facts, which were supposed to have accompanied or produced Lord Lyttelton's End; I have frequently seen a Painting, which she herself executed in 1780, intended expressly to commemorate the Event. It hung in a conspicuous part of her Drawing-room. There, the Dove appears at the Window; while a female figure, habited in white, stands at the Bed foot, announcing to Lord Lyttelton his approaching Dissolution. Every part of the Picture was faithfully designed after the Description given her by the Valet de Chambre who attended him, to whom his Master related all the Circumstances. This man assured Lady Lyttelton, that on the Night indicated, Lord Lyttelton, who, notwithstanding his endeavours to surmount the Impression, had suffered under great depression of spirits during the three preceding Days, retired to Bed before twelve o'Clock. Having ordered the Valet to mix him some Rhubarb, he sat up in the Bed, apparently in Health, intending to swallow

the Medicine; but, being in want of a Tea-spoon, which the Servant had neglected to bring, his Master, with a strong expression of Impatience, sent him for a Spoon. He was not absent from the room more than the space of a Minute; but, when he returned, Lord Lyttelton, who had fallen back, lay motionless in that Attitude. No efforts to restore Animation, were attended with Success. Whether therefore his Death was occasioned by any new Attack upon his nerves, or happened in consequence of an Apoplectic or other Seizure, must remain matter of Uncertainty and Conjecture.

It is however to be observed, that the Lyttelton Family, either from constitutional nervous Irritability, or from other Causes, was peculiarly susceptible of Impressions similar to the shock which seems to have produced Lord Lyttelton's End. His Father, though a man of very distinguished Talents, as well as of high moral Principle, manifested great Credulity, as I have been assured, on the subject of Apparitions: and his Cousin, Miss Lyttelton, who married the present Sir Richard Hoare, died in a way somewhat similar, about four years later, at his beau-

tiful Seat of Stourhead in the County of Wilts. The second Lord Lyttelton's life had likewise been of a nature and description so licentious, not to say abandoned, as to subject him continually to the keenest reproaches of an accusing Conscience. This domestic Spectre, which accompanied him every where, was known to have given rise, while on his Travels, particularly at Lyons, to Scenes greatly resembling his last Moments. Among the Females who had been the objects and the victims of his temporary Attachment, was a Mrs. Dawson, whose fortune, as well as her honor and reputation, fell a sacrifice to her Passion. Being soon forsaken by him, she did not long survive; and distress of Mind was known to have accelerated, if not to have produced, her Death. It was her Image which haunted his pillow, and was supposed by him to have announced his approaching Dissolution, at Pit Place.

Lord North who had presided during ten years at the head of Administration, continued in the Spring of 1780, to struggle with the utmost Difficulty through the Sixth Session of Parliament, against a numerous and

augmenting Opposition in both Houses. His Resignation, anxiously anticipated by his political Enemies, seemed to be inevitable, and even imminent: but, the ministerial Disgraces, as well as the Triumphs of the adverse Party, were equally obliterated in a Calamity, which for the time of its duration, absorbed all Attention.—I mean, the Riots of June, 1780. No Event commemorated in our Annals, bears any Analogy with the Scene then exhibited in the Capital, except the Fire of London under Charles the Second. Even that Misfortune wanted some of the melancholy and sanguinary Features, which characterized the Tumults in question. During the Conflagration of 1666, whatever Stories may have been invented by party rage, or inscribed at the Time on public Monuments by religious Antipathy, the Inhabitants had only to contend with the progress of a devouring Element. In 1780, the flames were originally kindled, as well as rendered far more destructive, by a Populace of the lowest and vilest description, who carried with them, wherever they moved, the materials of universal Ruin. It was only in their Blood, by the interposition of an overwhelming military Force, that the Convulsion became

finally arrested; and that London, after being desolated by fire, was rescued from Plunder, Bankruptcy, and Subversion. Even the French Revolution, which from July, 1789, down to April, 1814, either under the forms of a Republic, or of a military Despotism, has presented to Mankind a pattern of every Crime revolting and degrading to human Nature; yet did not produce in the Capital of France, any similar Outrages. At Lyons, it must be admitted that Collot d'Herbois in 1793, exercised the most savage vengeance on the Buildings of the City, as well as on the unfortunate Inhabitants. But, neither Robespierre, nor Bonaparte, though the former Ruffian converted the Metropolis into a Charnel-house; and though the Vengeance, or atrocious Ambition of the latter Adventurer, has covered Europe with human Bones, from the Tagus to the Moskwa; yet ever directed their destructive Efforts against the public and private Edifices of Paris.

I was personally present at many of the most tremendous effects of the popular fury, on the memorable 7th of June, the Night on which it attained its highest point. About

nine o'Clock on that Evening, accompanied by three other Gentlemen, who, as well as myself, were alarmed at the accounts brought in every Moment, of the Outrages committed; and of the still greater acts of Violence meditated, as soon as Darkness should favor and facilitate their further progress; we set out from Portland-place, in order to view the Scene. Having got into a Hackney-coach, we drove first to Bloomsbury-square; attracted to that Spot by a Rumor generally spread, that Lord Mansfield's residence, situate at the North-east Corner, was either already burnt, or destined for destruction. Hart Street and Great Russel-Street presented, each, to the view, as we passed, large Fires composed of Furniture taken from the Houses of Magistrates, or other obnoxious Individuals. Quitting the Coach, we crossed the Square, and had scarcely got under the wall of Bedford House, when we heard the Door of Lord Mansfield's House burst open with violence. In a few Minutes, all the contents of the Apartments being precipitated from the Windows, were piled up, and wrapt in flames. A file of foot-Soldiers arriving, drew up near the blazing pile; but, without either attempt-

ing to quench the fire, or to impede the Mob, who were indeed far too numerous to admit of being dispersed, or even intimidated, by a small Detachment of Infantry. The Populace remained masters; while we, after surveying the Spectacle for a short time, moved on into Holborn, where Mr. Langdale's dwelling House and Warehouses afforded a more appalling picture of Devastation. They were altogether enveloped in Smoke and Flame. In front had assembled an immense multitude of both Sexes, many of whom were Females, and not a few held infants in their arms. All appeared to be, like ourselves, attracted as Spectators solely by Curiosity, without taking any part in the acts of violence. Spirituous Liquors in great Quantity ran down the kennel of the Street, and numbers of the populace were already intoxicated with this Beverage. So little Disposition, however, did they manifest to riot or pillage, that it would have been difficult to conceive who were the Authors and Perpetrators of such enormous Mischief, if we had not distinctly seen at the Windows of the House, Men, who while the floors and rooms were on fire, calmly tore down the furniture, and threw it into the Street, or

tossed it into the flames. They experienced no kind of Opposition, during a considerable time that we remained at this place: but, a party of the Horse Guards arriving, the terrified Crowd instantly began to disperse; and we, anxious to gratify our farther Curiosity, continued our progress on foot, along Holborn, towards Fleet-Market.

I would in vain attempt adequately to describe the Spectacle which presented itself, when we reached the declivity of the Hill, close to St. Andrew's Church. The other House and Magazines of Mr. Langdale, who, as a Catholic, had been selected for the blind vengeance of the Mob; situated in the hollow space near the North end of Fleet-Market, threw up into the Air a pinnacle of flame resembling a Volcano. Such was the beautiful and brilliant effect of the Illumination, that St. Andrew's Church appeared to be almost scorched by the heat of so prodigious a body of Fire; and the figures designated on the Clock, were as distinctly perceptible as at noon-day. It resembled indeed a Tower, rather than a private Building, in a state of Conflagration; and would have inspired the Beholder with a Sentiment

of admiration allied to pleasure, if it had been possible to separate the object, from its causes and its consequences. The Wind did not however augment its rage on this Occasion; for the Night was serene, and the Sky unclouded, except when it became obscured by the volumes of Smoke, which, from time to time produced a temporary Darkness. The Mob, which completely blocked up the whole Street in every part, and in all directions, prevented our approaching within fifty or sixty yards of the Building; but, the Populace, though still principally composed of persons allured by Curiosity, yet evidently began here to assume a more disorderly and ferocious Character. Troops, either horse or foot, we still saw none; nor, in the midst of this Combination of tumult, terror, and violence, had the ordinary Police ceased to continue its functions. While we stood by the wall of St. Andrew's Church-yard, a Watchman, with his lanthorn in his hand, passed us, calling the Hour, as if in a time of profound Tranquillity.

Finding it altogether impracticable to force our way any further down Holborn-Hill, and hearing that the Fleet Prison had

been set on fire; we penetrated through a number of narrow lanes, behind St. Andrew's Church, and presently found ourselves in the middle of Fleet-Market. Here, the same Destruction raged, but in a different stage of its progress. Mr. Langdale's two Houses were already at the height of their demolition: the Fleet Prison on the contrary was only beginning to blaze, and the Sparks or flaming particles that filled the Air, fell so thick upon us on every side, as to render unsafe its immediate vicinity. Meanwhile we began to hear the Platoons discharged on the other side of the River, towards St. George's Fields; and were informed, that a considerable number of the Rioters had been killed on Black-friars Bridge, which was occupied by the Troops. On approaching it, we beheld the King's Bench Prison completely enveloped in flames. It exhibited a sublime Sight, and we might be said there to stand in a central point, from whence London offered on every side, before, as well as behind us, the picture of a City sacked and abandoned to a ferocious Enemy. The Shouts of the populace, the Cries of women, the crackling of the fires, the Blaze reflected in the Stream of the

Thames, and the irregular firing which was kept up both in St. George's Fields, as well as towards the Quarter of the Mansion-House, and the Bank;—all these Sounds or Images combined, left scarcely any thing for the Imagination to supply; presenting to the view every recollection, which the classic Descriptions of Troy or of Rome, in the Page of Virgil, or of Tacitus, have impressed on the mind in youth, but which I so little expected to see exemplified in the Capital of Great Britain.

Not yet satisfied, and hearing that an obstinate Conflict was going on at the Bank, between the Soldiery and the Rioters, we determined, if possible, to reach that Spot. We accordingly proceeded through St. Paul's Church-yard towards it, and had advanced without impediment to the Poultry, within about sixty paces of the Mansion House, when our progress was stopped by a Centinel, who acquainted us that the Mob had been repulsed in their attempt upon the Bank; but, that we could penetrate no further in that direction, as his Orders were peremptory, not to suffer the passage of any person. Cheapside, silent

and empty, unlike the Streets that we had visited, presented neither the appearance of Tumult, nor of Confusion; though to the East, West, and South, all was Disorder. This Contrast formed not the least striking Circumstance of the Moment. Prevented thus from approaching any nearer to the Bank, finding the Day begin to break, satiated in some measure with the Scenes which we had witnessed, and wearied by so long a peregrination, which, from our first alighting near Bloomsbury Square, had all been performed on foot; we resolved to return to the west end of the Town. On Ludgate Hill we were fortunate enough to meet with a Hackney Coach, which conveyed us safely back, about four o'Clock in the Morning.

It is impossible for the most prejudiced person, without violating truth, to accuse the Opposition of having had any participation as a Body, direct or indirect, in these Outrages. They were indeed, themselves, individually, the objects of popular prejudice and violence, not less than the Ministers; Sir George Savile's House in Leicester Square, having been one of the first Buildings assailed and plundered by the Mob.

Devonshire House in Piccadilly, menaced with the same fate, was considered as so insecure, that the Duchess of Devonshire yielding to her fears, did not venture to remain in it after dusk, for a considerable time. She took refuge at Lord Clermont's in Berkeley Square, where she deemed herself safe from Attack; and lay down for successive Nights, on a Sofa, or a small tent Bed, placed in the Drawing-room. Many other persons of both Sexes, of the highest rank, either quitted their own Dwellings, or sent their most valuable Effects and Jewels into the Country. The first Minister, Lord North, passed that alarming Night, at his official Residence in Downing Street; accompanied by a few Friends, who had repaired thither to offer him their personal Aid, if Circumstances should render it necessary for his protection.

One of those Gentlemen, Sir John Macpherson, has often recounted to me the Particulars of that memorable Evening, which I shall give in his own words, and which will be perused with no common Interest. "A Day or two before the 7th of June," said he, "Count Maltzahn, the Prussian

" Minister at our Court, called on me at
" Kensington Gore, where I then resided,
" and informed me that the Mob had de-
" termined to attack the Bank. He added,
" that the fact had come to his knowledge
" through an authentic Channel, on the Ac-
" curacy of which I might depend. Having
" conveyed this Intelligence immediately to
" Lord North, I received on the Morning of
" that Day, an intimation to be at his House
" in Downing Street at Dinner. When I
" got there, I found Mr. Eden, (since cre-
" ated Lord Auckland,) the Honorable
" General Simon Fraser, the Honorable
" John St. John, and Colonel North, after-
" wards Earl of Guilford. Mr. Brummell,
" Lord North's private Secretary, who lived
" likewise in the same Street, was in At-
" tendance, but did not make one of the
" Company. We sat down at Table, and
" Dinner had scarcely been removed, when
" Downing Square, through which there is
" no Outlet, became thronged with people,
" who manifested a Disposition, or rather
" a Determination, to proceed to Acts of
" Outrage. Lord North, with his habitual
" good humor, observed to me, ' You see,
" Macpherson, here is much Confusion.

" Who commands the upper Tier?' ' I
" do,' answered Colonel North, ' and I
" have got twenty or more Grenadiers well
" armed, stationed above stairs, who are
" ready on the first Order, to fire upon
" the Mob.' General Fraser sat silent;
" while Mr. Eden, whose House was situ-
" ated on the opposite side of the Square,
" only remarked calmly to Colonel North,
" that if the Grenadiers fired, their shot
" would probably enter his Windows. The
" Tumult without Doors still continuing,
" and it being uncertain from one Minute
" to another, whether the populace might
" not proceed to Extremities; Lord North
" said to me, ' What is to be done, Mac-
" pherson?' ' My Opinion,' answered I, ' is
" to send out two or three persons, who
" mixing among the Crowd, may acquaint
" them that there are Troops posted in the
" House, ready, without waiting for the Riot
" Act being read, to fire on them, the instant
" that they commit any Outrage; exhorting
" them at the same time, for their own
" sakes, to disperse peaceably without
" Delay. But,' added I, ' *Nous parlons de*
" *la Guerre devant Annibal.* Here sits
" General Fraser, who knows far better

" than any of us, what is wisest to be done,
" and who has not yet opened his Mouth.'
" The Populace continued to fill the little
" Square, and became very noisy; but, they
" never attempted to force the street Door.
" Mr. St. John held a Pistol in his Hand;
" and Lord North, who never lost an occa-
" sion of jesting, exclaimed, 'I am not
" half so much afraid of the Mob, as of
" Jack St. John's Pistol.' By degrees, as
" the Evening advanced, the People, in-
" formed, from various Quarters, that there
" were Soldiers posted in the House, pre-
" pared to fire if they committed any vio-
" lence; began to cool, and afterwards gra-
" dually to disperse without further Effort.
" We then sat down again quietly at the
" Table, and finished our Wine.

" Night coming on, and the Capital pre-
" senting a scene of Tumult or Conflagration
" in many various Quarters, Lord North,
" accompanied by us all, mounted to the
" top of the House, where we beheld Lon-
" don blazing in seven places, and could
" hear the Platoons regularly firing in vari-
" ous Directions. 'What is your opinion
" of the remedy for this Evil?' said Lord

" North to me. ' I should try, my Lord,' " answered I, ' to effect a Junction, or to. " open some Communication, with the Heads " of Opposition, for the protection of the " Country.' ' You talk,' replied he, ' as " if the thing could be done; but, it is not " practicable.' I know however that a Day " or two afterwards, notwithstanding the " Opinion so given by Lord North, he and " Mr. Fox personally met; the former ac- " companied by Brummell, and the latter " by Sheridan, behind the Scenes at the " Opera House in the Haymarket, at Eleven " in the forenoon. They held a Conference " there; but, of the nature of the Conversa- " tion which passed between them, I am " wholly ignorant." Such was Sir John Macpherson's account of the Circumstances to which he was an eye-witness, at that Moment of public Calamity. He now remains the only Survivor of the Company that was convened in Downing Street, since the Decease of Lord Auckland.

Lord George Germain, like the first Minister, having assembled some Friends for the Purpose, barricaded the passages and entrance to his House in Pall Mall, which

was very susceptible of Defence; after which, he coolly waited for the Attack of the populace. But, the Rioters were too well informed of the precautions taken, to venture making any attempt on him. Even the King himself remained on foot, during the far greater part of that memorable Night, which he passed between Buckingham House and the Royal Manege contiguous; into the latter of which Buildings, a Detachment of the Horse Guards had been early admitted, who were ready to have sallied out upon the Insurgents. No Man who knows the steadiness and firmness which His Majesty has since displayed in the most trying Situations, when his person has been exposed to Danger; can doubt that he would have given on that Occasion, had it been unfortunately necessary, the strongest proofs of Courage. He would not have acted the tame and irresolute part which Louis the Sixteenth exhibited on the 10th of August, 1792; when, under similar Circumstances, surrounded by a savage Jacobin Mob, instead of defending himself to the last Extremity, as he was bound to have done not only by every Principle of Self-preservation, but from Regard to the Interests of the French Monarchy;—

he abandoned the defence of his Palace, and of his Family, to take refuge in the National Assembly. George the Third had embraced the resolution of repelling force by force, in case of necessity, and of perishing in support of the Laws, of civil Order, and regular Government, rather than survive their Extinction. But, happily, no Attempt was made by the Populace, to attack any part of the Queen's House or Offices.

Various were the Opinions and Assertions hazarded, relative to the numbers that perished in the Riots, between the third and the seventh of June, 1780: but, as no certain Data can be obtained, beyond the official returns of killed and wounded, the amount must always remain matter of Conjecture. Probably, it far exceeded the Computation commonly made; and from the concurring Testimony of those persons who were most competent to form a sound Judgment, I believe it would not be over-rated at seven hundred Individuals, killed and wounded: The Slaughter was most considerable at the King's Bench, at the Bank, and on Blackfriars Bridge. Colonel de Burgh, a Son of the Earl of Clanrickard, commanded one

of the Regiments sent to St. George's Fields. All the Troops did their duty, notwithstanding the efforts which the Populace exerted to seduce them, by calling on them as Protestants, and invoking their aid or their protection. Many of the Soldiers, in reply to these Blandishments, exclaimed, that they would not hurt the Mob. A great Nobleman, now alive, who, like myself, was a Spectator of all the scenes of Devastation committed on that Night; told me that he felt strong Doubts whether De Burgh's Regiment would actually draw the Trigger. Impressed with that Conviction, he mentioned his Apprehensions on the point, to the Colonel; who instantly replied, that he knew his Men, and could rely on their prompt Obedience. The Event justified his Confidence: for, no sooner had he given the word of command to fire, than, levelling their Pieces, they soon compelled the Rioters to seek their safety in immediate Dispersion. If the "Gardes Francaises" in 1789, had behaved like our regular Troops in 1780, the French Revolution might have been suppressed in its Birth; and Europe would not have groaned during fourteen years, under the accumulated Calamities inflicted on it by

Bonaparte. But, the difference of Character between the two Sovereigns of Great Britain and of France, constituted one great cause of the different Fate that attended the two Monarchies. George the Third, when attacked, prepared to defend his Throne, his Family, his Country, and the Constitution entrusted to his care. They were in fact principally saved by his Decision. Louis the Sixteenth tamely abandoned all to a ferocious demoralized Populace, who sent him to the Scaffold. No man of Courage or of Principle, could have quitted the former Prince. It was impossible to save, or to rescue, the latter ill-fated, yielding, and passive Monarch.

Many of the Rioters, who fell at Blackfriars Bridge, or in its Vicinity, where the Slaughter was most considerable, were immediately thrown over into the Thames, by their Companions. The Carnage which took place at the Bank likewise was great, though not of very long Duration; and in order to conceal as much as possible, the magnitude of the number, as well as the names of the persons who perished, similar Precautions were taken on both sides. All the dead

Bodies being carried away during the Night, were precipitated into the River. Even the impressions made by the Musket Balls, on the Houses opposite to the Bank, were as much as possible erased on the following Morning, and the Buildings whitewashed. Government and the Rioters seem to have felt an equal Disposition, by drawing a veil over the extent of the Calamity, to bury it in profound Darkness. To Colonel Holroyd, since deservedly raised to the British Peerage as Lord Sheffield, and to his Regiment of Militia, the Country was eminently indebted for repelling the fury of the Mob at the Bank; where, during some Moments, the Conflict seemed doubtful, and the Assailants had nearly forced an Entrance. Lord Algernon Percy, since created Earl of Beverley, marched likewise at the head of the Northumberland Militia, to the same Spot. Their Arrival, together with the energy, promptitude, and decision which Colonel Holroyd manifested, principally conduced to ensure the Safety of that great National Establishment. Lord Sheffield, by his commercial Disquisitions, and agricultural Pursuits or Productions, has since rendered scarcely less important Services to his Country. Nor

ought he to be forgotten in another Capacity, as the Friend and the Biographer of *Gibbon*, whose mortal Remains repose under his Protection, at Sheffield Place in Sussex. Numbers of the Insurgents concealed their Wounds, in order to evade discovery of the part which they had taken in the Disorders of the Capital. It is however indisputable, that almost all who perished, were of a low and obscure Description.

If the Populace had been conducted by Leaders of System or Ability, London must have been fundamentally overturned on that Night. The Bank, the India House, and the Shops of the great Bankers, would in that case have been early attacked; instead of throwing away their rage, as they did, on Popish Chapels, private Houses, and Prisons. When they began, after their first Fury had exhausted itself, to direct their Blows more systematically and skilfully, the time for Action was passed. Government, which was accused, perhaps with reason, of having appeared supine during the first Days of June; awoke early enough to preserve the Metropolis and Public Credit, from sustaining the last shock of popular Violence.

In fact, from the Instant that the three Bridges over the Thames were occupied by regular Troops, the danger was at an end. This awful Convulsion, which, on Wednesday, the *seventh* of June, seemed to menace the Destruction of every thing; was so completely quelled, and so suddenly extinguished, that on the *eighth*, hardly a Spark survived of the popular Effervescence. Some few persons in the Borough of Southwark, attempted to repeat the Outrages of Wednesday; but they were easily and immediately quelled by the military force. Never was a Contrast exhibited more striking, than between those two Evenings, in the same City! The Patroles of Cavalry, stationed in the Squares and great Streets, throughout the West End of the Town, gave London the Aspect of a Garrison: while the Camp which was immediately afterwards formed in St. James's Park, afforded a picturesque landscape; both sides of the Canal, from the Queen's House down to the vicinity of the Horse Guards, being covered with Tents and Troops.

The common Danger, which united all Parties for the time, extinguished, or at least

suspended in some measure, even the virulence of political Enmity. Alarmed at the prospect of impending Destruction, some of the principal Leaders of the Opposition repaired, unasked, to St. James's, under pretence of offering their Services to the Administration; nearly as the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle had done in the last Days of July, 1714, when Queen Anne lay insensible, near her End. The Marquis of Rockingham hearing that a Privy Council was summoned to meet on the Morning of the 7th of June, which Assembly, all who enjoyed seats at that Board, were invited to attend; made his appearance in an undress, his Hair disordered, and with testimonies of great Consternation. Nor did he, when seated at the Table, where the King was present, spare the Ministers, for having, as he asserted, by their negligence, or want of timely energy, allowed the Assemblage of People to take place in St. George's Fields, which original Meeting led to all the subsequent Outrages. It is nevertheless incontestable, that to the Decision manifested by His Majesty on that occasion, the Safety of the Metropolis, and its Extrication from all the Calamities that impended over it, was princi-

pally, if not solely to be ascribed. Elizabeth, or William the Third, could not have displayed more calm and systematic Courage in the highest sense of the term, than George the Third exhibited in so trying a Moment. Far from throwing himself for support or guidance on his Cabinet, as a Prince of feeble Character would have done; he came forward, and exhibited an example of self-devotion to his Ministers.

It is well known that at the Council to which I have alluded, the King assisted in person. The great Question was there discussed, on which hinged the protection and preservation of the Capital; a Question, respecting which, the first legal Characters were divided; and on which, Lord Mansfield himself was with reason accused of never having clearly expressed his Opinion up to that time. Doubts existed, whether Persons riotously collected together, and committing Outrages or Infractions of the Peace, however great, might legally be fired on by the military power, without staying previously to read the Riot Act. Lord Bathurst, President of the Council, and Sir Fletcher Norton, Speaker of the House of Commons, who were

both present; on being appealed to for their Opinion, declared that "a Soldier was not less a Citizen, because he was a Soldier, and consequently that he might repel Force by Force:" but, no Minister would sign the Order for the Purpose. In this Emergency, when every Moment was precious,—Mr. Wedderburn, since successively raised to the dignity of a Baron and of an Earl of Great Britain, who was then Attorney-general, having been called in to the Council Table, and ordered by the King to deliver his official Opinion on the point; stated in the most precise terms, that any such Assemblage might be dispersed by military force, without waiting for Forms, or reading the Act in Question. "Is that your Declaration of the Law, as Attorney-general?" said the King. Wedderburn answering decidedly in the affirmative, "Then so let it be done," rejoined His Majesty. The Attorney-general drew up the Order immediately, which the King signed, and on which Lord Amherst acted, the same Evening. The complete suppression of the Riots followed in the course of a few Hours. Never had any People a greater Obligation to the judicious Intrepidity of their Sovereign! If Louis the Sixteenth

would have acted with similar Decision and Self-Devotion, in the early Stages of the French Revolution, France might have been equally saved.

Nor ought we to deny the merit due to Wedderburn, for having with so much decision cut the Gordian Knot, which the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, either could not, or would not untie. His inexplicit Declarations on the subject, involuntarily remind us of the Accusations levelled against him by "Junius," when, speaking of Lord Mansfield, he says, "Besides his natural "Timidity, it makes part of his political plan, "never to be known to recommend violent "Measures. When the Guards are called "forth to murder their fellow Subjects, it is "not by the ostensible Advice of Lord Mans-"field." Here we see him in 1780, acting precisely as he had done twelve years earlier, in 1768. Nor is it a less curious and extraordinary Fact, that the very Exertion by which the King preserved London in June, 1780, from suffering the utmost extremities of violence and pillage, constitutes, *as a Principle*, the subject of "Junius's severest "Reflections upon him, in March, 1770."

" Did His Majesty," says he, " consult the " Laws of this Country, when he permitted " his Secretary of State to declare, that " whenever the Civil Magistrate is trifled " with, a military force must be sent for, " *without the delay of a Moment*, and effec- " tually employed?" So true is it, that at every period of his life, the King manifested the same consistency of Character, and superiority to personal Apprehension. When nevertheless we reflect that in 1768, a Magistrate of the County of Surrey, had been capitally accused and brought to trial, for ordering the Soldiery to fire on Rioters engaged in the most violent Acts of Outrage in St. George's Fields, though the Riot Act had been twice read; we cannot be surprized at the Apprehension displayed by Lord Mansfield, to sanction and authorize the same proceeding in 1780, nor ought we lightly to censure his Conduct. The Sovereign alone, as First Magistrate, impelled by the awful nature of the Emergency, and he only, could have taken upon him so serious a Responsibility.

No Individual manifested more Abhorrence of the Rioters, or exposed himself by his

Declarations on that subject, to more personal Danger, than Burke; whom his Enemies accused of having been brought up in the tenets or principles of the Romish Faith. This Conduct did him great honor, and proved him superior to the meanness of Party. His House in the Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, was threatened, but, not attacked. Fox contented himself with condemning the Authors of the Disorders, but took no active part, as a Member of the Legislature, in their Suppression. On the contrary, he refused to lend any personal Support to Government; when pressed in the House of Commons, to co-operate for the Extrication of the Capital; though Burke, who was there present, loudly expressed his wish for unanimity and association in that Moment of national Distress. It is impossible not to recollect, that as they thus diverged in different lines during the Riots of 1780, so in 1792, twelve years later, they exhibited a similar diversity of Conduct; Burke lending his powerful Aid to prop monarchical Government, while Fox remained the Advocate of Republicanism, and the Apologist of the French Revolution. Wilkes, who in the early part of His Majesty's reign,

had made so glorious a resistance to General Warrants, displayed as manly a resistance to popular Violence, during the whole progress of the Riots; and had he filled the chair of Chief Magistrate, instead of Kennett, would unquestionably, by his Vigor, have prevented many or all the disgraceful Scenes which took place in the Capital.

All the proofs given by Opposition, of their detestation for these calamitous Exhibitions of popular fury, did not, however, produce complete Conviction of their Sincerity. Many persons still believed, that some of the Parliamentary Leaders secretly fomented, or privately encouraged, the Rioters. Suspicions were in particular thrown on the Earl of Shelburne, probably with great Injustice. The natural expectation of effecting a change in Ministry, was imagined to suspend or supersede in certain Minds, every other Consideration; and it was even pretended, though on very insufficient grounds, that Peers did not scruple to take an active part in the worst Excesses of the Night of the seventh of June. Public Clamor selected the Earl of Effingham as an Object of Accusation. It was generally asserted, that

he had mingled with the Rioters on Black-friars Bridge; that he had there been mortally wounded, and his Body afterwards thrown into the River, by those of his own Party; but, not till he had been identified and recognized by his Dress, particularly by his laced Ruffles. Those who were acquainted with that Nobleman, and who knew his style of Dress, instantly detected the absurdity, as well as falsity of the Charge; for, no Man was ever less distinguished by any Ornaments of Apparel. His sudden Disappearance from London, where he certainly had been seen at the Commencement of the Riots; the general Ignorance in which people remained, of the place to which he had withdrawn; when added to his known, as well as violent, dislike to the Administration, and to the American War; of which He had exhibited a singular Proof, by renouncing his Profession and his Rank in the British Army, only a few Years earlier, rather than submit to serve against the Insurgents beyond the Atlantic;—all these Circumstances conduced, nevertheless, to maintain the Delusion for a considerable time. At the beginning of the ensuing Winter, he re-appeared in the House of Lords, in his usual Health; and stated to

his Acquaintance, that early in June, he had gone down to his seat of Grainge Hall in Yorkshire, where he had ever since resided. Such Persons as still remained incredulous, explained his Absence by saying that he had been hurt or wounded on the seventh of June; but, it is probable that the report originated altogether in Calumny.

Lord George Gordon, the primary Author of these Outrages, was not taken into custody, till two or three Days after they had been suppressed. Ministers were reproached with not having committed him to the Tower on the second of June, when he assembled, harangued, and excited the Mob to extort compliance with their Demands from the House of Commons. But, the attempt to seize, and to send him to prison, at a time when every Avenue to the House was thronged with Multitudes, when the Lobby overflowed with them, and when the Doors of the House itself might have been, every instant, forced in; would have formed an imprudent, not to say a dangerous Experiment. It is difficult to find any Instance in our Annals, when Parliament received a grosser Insult; or when the Members com-

posing both Houses, incurred a greater risk of falling victims to popular Violence. The Mobs of 1641, and of the following year, under Charles the First, directed their rage against the Sovereign and his principal Advisers, not against the Representatives of the Nation. Cromwell, when in 1653 he drove out and dissolved the Rump Parliament, offered no Outrage to their persons, but simply broke up the legislative Assembly by a military Force. The Tumults in 1733, when Sir Robert Walpole first attempted to introduce the Excise Laws, seem to form the nearest approach or similarity to the Proceedings in 1780; but, *longo Intervallo.*

It cannot be doubted that if the Populace had forced their way into the House of Commons, Lord George would not have survived to recount the Exploit. Many Members who were there present, justly indignant at his Conduct, threatened him with instant Death, as soon as any of the Rioters should burst open the Doors. The late Earl of Carnarvon, then Mr. Henry Herbert, followed him close, with that avowed Determination; and General Murray, Uncle to the present Duke of Athol, a Man whom I inti-

mately knew, and who, when incensed, was capable of executing the most desperate Resolution; held his Sword ready to pass it through Lord George's Body, on the first irruption of the Mob. It will always remain disputable, whether Ambition, Fanaticism, or Alienation of Mind, contributed most to the part which he acted, in assembling and inciting the people to acts of Violence. That he was not insensible to the political Consideration and Importance which he obtained from his personal influence over so vast a Multitude, cannot be questioned. To religious Enthusiasm or Conviction, something may perhaps be fairly attributed; but, more must be laid to the deranged state of his understanding, though no Circumstance in his Conduct or Deportment, could possibly subject him to be considered as insane. He appears in fact to have been perfectly master of himself, and in possession of all his Faculties, during every stage of the Riots: nor is it to be imagined that he either foresaw or intended any of the Outrages which were committed after the second of June. But, he had put in motion a Machine, of which he could not regulate or restrain the Movements: and unquestionably, the Mob which

set fire to London, was of a far more savage, as well as atrocious Description, than the original Assemblage of people who met in St. George's Fields. The late Lord Rodney, who was then an Officer in the Guards, told me, that having been sent on the Night of the 7th of June, to the defence of the Bank of England, at the head of a Detachment of his Regiment, he there found Lord George Gordon, who appeared anxiously endeavouring by Expostulation, to induce the populace to retire. As soon as Lord George saw Captain Rodney, he strongly expressed his concern at the acts of Violence committed; adding, that he was ready to take his stand by Captain Rodney's side, and to expose his Person to the utmost risk, in order to resist such Proceedings. Rodney, who distrusted however his Sincerity, and justly considered him as the original cause of all the Calamities, declined any Communication with him; only exhorting him, if he wished to stop the further effusion of Blood, and to prevent the destruction of the Bank, to exert himself in dispersing the furious Crowd. But, whatever might be his Inclination, he was altogether destitute of the Power. The military Force alone saved the

Bank from being plundered, and prevented the temporary subversion of the national Credit.

I knew Lord George Gordon well, and I once accompanied him from a party where we met, in Lower Grosvenor Street, at the late Lord Elcho's, to Ranelaugh, in the Summer of 1782, in his own Coach. In his person he was thin, his Features regular, and his Complexion pale. His Manners were gentle, his Conversation agreeable, and he had the appearance, as well as the deportment, of a Man of Quality. There was however something in his cast of Countenance and mode of Expression, that indicated Cunning, or a perverted Understanding, or both. His whole Income consisted, I believe, in an Annuity of six hundred Pounds a year, paid him by the Duke of Gordon, his Brother. It forms a singular subject of reflection, that after involving London during several successive Days, in all the horrors of Insurrection and Anarchy, he should have escaped any punishment for these proceedings, which cost the lives of so many Individuals, and the demolition of so many Edifices; while he expiated by a rigorous Imprisonment to

the end of his days, in Newgate, the publication of a Libel on the late unfortunate Queen of France, who, herself, perished on the Scaffold. He exhibited the strongest attestation of the sincerity of his Conversion to Judaism, by submitting to one of the most painful Ceremonies or Acts enjoined by the Mosaic Law. The Operation, which was performed at Birmingham, confined him to his Chamber, if not to his Bed, for a considerable time; and he preserved with great Care, the sanguinary proofs of his having undergone the Amputation. Few Individuals occupy a more conspicuous, or a more unfortunate place in the Annals of their Country, under the reign of George the Third. He will rank in History, with Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, the Incendiaries of the Plantagenet Times; or with Kett, so memorable under Edward the Sixth.

The Elements seemed to conspire with all the foreign Enemies of Great Britain, at this Period; the Hurricane of October, 1780, which took place in the West Indies, being one of the most tremendous in its Nature, as well as violent in its Effects, commemorated in the course of the Eighteenth Century.

Though its destructive rage spread Devastation in a greater or a less degree, over the whole Chain of the Carribee Islands, yet Barbadoes experienced its greatest fury, together with the severest loss of lives and property. A friend of mine, General James Cunningham, was then Governor of the Colony. He has related to me, that after remaining above ground as long as it was practicable with Safety, he, accompanied by a number of his Family and Domestics, took refuge in a small Cellar, several feet lower than the level of the Street, at Bridge Town, the Capital of the Settlement. Here, indeed, they found themselves secure from the Danger of being crushed under the ruins of the House which they had just quitted, or from being completely borne off and swept away by the force of the Wind. But, they were soon assailed by two new Misfortunes, against which they could provide no sufficient remedy. The first Inconvenience arose from the severe Cold which they endured; the Climate having changed, in the course of a few Hours, from intense Heat, to a contrary extreme. The other Evil, which was of a still more alarming nature, threatened their Destruction, from the Rain which flowed in

upon them in great quantity, as it fell in Torrents. While they remained in this deplorable Situation, up to the knees in water, doubtful whether to continue in the Cellar, where about twenty of them huddled together, were crouded into a very narrow Space; or whether to attempt reaching some more secure Shelter; a tall athletic Negro of General Cunningham's family, who lay upon him, in a posture which did not admit of his moving, said to the General, "Massa, if I "not make water, I die." "Do it then, in "God's name," answered he. The Negro had no sooner received this permission, than instantly availing himself of it, he bedewed the General, from the nape of his Neck, to his very Shoes; much, as we are taught to believe, in the manner of a Hottentot Priest, when celebrating the nuptial Ceremony. "But," added Cunningham, when relating the Story, "never did I experience a more "grateful Sensation than was produced by "this warm Libation, which seemed to ani-"mate my frozen Frame, and to revivify my "Body. I regretted when it stopped, and I "derived from it essential service in the Hor-"rors of that indescribable Night."

The Situation of the Negro, impelled by a Necessity paramount to all respect or restraint, reminds me of a fact somewhat similar, which took place at the Palace of Sans Souci. The great Frederic, in a select Society, having been one day more elevated and convivial than usual after Dinner, was induced by the gaiety of the Conversation, to prolong the accustomed limits of the Repast, and to detain his Guests to a late Hour. His Majesty furnished, himself, the chief share of the Entertainment, by the brilliancy of his Sallies; but he forgot, unfortunately, that his Guests were Men. One of them, an old General, who was often among the persons invited to the royal Table, but whose powers of retention had suffered in the course of twelve Campaigns; anticipated with extreme Impatience, the moment when the King, by rising, would permit of his quitting the Apartment. In this Hope and Expectation, he long supported with unshaken Fortitude, one of the most pressing demands of Nature. Overcome at length, and yielding to a Power stronger than himself, he suddenly rose from his Chair, and exclaiming, "*Sire, Tout est grand dans Votre Ma-*

"*jesté, jusqu'à la Vessie même. Sire, Je me* "*meurs,*" ran out of the Room. Frederic was charmed with the ingenuity of the Compliment, and laughed heartily at the General's Distress, which might however have proved fatal to him. The celebrated Astronomer Tycho Brahe's Death was caused by a precisely similar Act of imprudent Respect.

Parliament having been dissolved early in September, I was elected one of the Members for Hindon in the County of Wilts; and the new House of Commons meeting towards the end of October, the first Debate turned on the Choice of a Speaker. Lord George Germain, not Lord North, commenced the proceedings on that Evening, and performed the principal ministerial part. It was not intended by Administration, that Sir Fletcher Norton, who during near eleven years, ever since the resignation of Sir John Cust in January, 1770, had filled the Chair, should re-occupy it in the new Parliament. He had given umbrage during the Session of 1777, both to the Sovereign, and to Ministers, by a memorable Speech, which he addressed to the King, while standing in his official Capacity, at the Bar of the House of

Peers. And though the Admonition or Exhortation that he thought proper then to use, relative to the economical Expenditure of the Money voted by the House of Commons, had met with the Approbation of the Country at large, yet it unquestionably produced his eventual Exclusion from the Employment of Speaker. Lord North having tried the ground at St. James's, found His Majesty determined upon the point. Conscious, nevertheless, that it would be highly unpopular to place his intended Dismission on such a Basis; Ministers availed themselves of Sir Fletcher's ill state of Health, which had considerably impeded the progress of public Business in the preceding Session, as forming a sufficient Cause for his removal. While, therefore, they passed high Eulogiums on his Ability and Talents, they lamented that Infirmities of Body rendered it improper to ask of him, or to accept from him, a continuance of his public Services. Sir Fletcher however, rising in his place, and speaking from the Opposition Bench, while he was sustained by that powerful and numerous Phalanx; endeavoured to point out the latent Enmity, as well as the obvious Nullity, of the Ministerial Arguments. He

affected, it is true, to disclaim any wish of being again placed in the Speaker's Chair; but he took care to accompany the Declaration, by an Assertion of his perfect physical Capacity to meet its Duties and Fatigues. His Appearance seemed indeed to present the aspect of a Man, who, though somewhat declined in years, did not manifest any tokens of Decay. All the personal Attacks levelled by Norton's friends, on the Opposition side of the House, at Lord North, could neither induce nor provoke the First Minister to open his lips on the Occasion. He remained profoundly silent: but, Mr. Rigby, unintimidated by the Clamors of Sir Fletcher's Adherents, after boldly avowing that he was dismissed for his political Trespasses, justified his Exclusion from the Chair, on parliamentary or on Ministerial Grounds. Cornwall was chosen Speaker by a very large Majority.

Sir Fletcher Norton, though perhaps justly accused, as a professional Man, of preferring Profit to conscientious delicacy of Principle; and though denominated in the coarse Satires or Caricatures of that Day, by the Epithet of "Sir Bullface Doublefee;" yet

possessed eminent parliamentary Knowledge as well as legal Talents. Far from suffering in his Capacity of Speaker, by a Comparison either with his immediate Predecessor or Successor in that high Office, he must be considered as very superior to both. The Chair of the House of Commons, during the whole course of the Eighteenth Century, was never filled with less Dignity or Energy, than by Sir John Cust, whom Wilkes treats in all his letters, with the most contemptuous Irony, or the most mortifying Insult. Cornwall possessed every physical quality requisite to ornament the Place; a sonorous Voice, a manly, as well as imposing Figure, and a commanding Deportment: but, his best ministerial recommendation to the Office, consisted in the Connexion subsisting between him and Mr. Charles Jenkinson, then Secretary at War, which the Marriage of the former Gentleman, with the Sister of the latter, had cemented. After his Election, Cornwall gave little Satisfaction, and had recourse to the narcotic virtues of Porter, for enabling him to sustain its Fatigue: an Auxiliary which sometimes becoming too powerful for the Principal who called in its Assistance, produced Inconveniences. The

"Rolliad," alluding to the Speaker's Chair, as it was filled in 1784, says,

"There Cornwall sits, and ah! compelled by Fate,
Must sit for ever through the long Debate;
Save when compelled by Nature's sovereign Will,
Sometimes to empty, and sometimes to fill."——
——"Like sad Prometheus fastened to the Rock,
In vain he looks for Pity to the Clock;
In vain the Powers of strengthening Porter tries,
And nods to *Bellamy* for fresh Supplies."

We may here remark, as a curious Fact, that Sir Fletcher's Dismission from the Office of Speaker, conducted him within eighteen Months, to the Dignity of the Peerage; an Elevation which he owed solely to the jealousies and rivalities that arose between Lord Rockingham and Lord Shelburne, as soon as they got into Power: whereas, Cornwall, his successful Competitor, after presiding more than eight years in the House of Commons, died without ever entering the House of Lords. It was thus that Dunning reached that Goal, while Wallace missed it. So much does the Disposition of Events, which in common language we denominate Fortune, regulate the affairs of Men, in defiance of Juvenal's

"Nos te,
"Nos facimus, Fortuna, Deam, Cæloque locamus."

I scarcely remember, during near fourteen Years, that I sate in different Parliaments, a more personal, or a more acrimonious Debate than I witnessed soon after my first Entrance into the House, on the sixth of November. It took Place on the Address proposed to be carried up to the Foot of the Throne, in Answer to His Majesty's Speech. Lord George Germain again assumed the first Part, and attracted towards Himself all the Severity of Opposition; Lord North being unavoidably compelled to absent Himself, on Account of Indisposition. The recent Nomination of Sir Hugh Palliser to the Government of Greenwich Hospital, drew from Fox the most pointed, as well as violent Reflections, not only on various Members of the Cabinet, but, on the Sovereign himself. Not content with declaring that "there could be only "one of the King's Servants," (the Earl of Sandwich,) "so abandoned, so lost to all "Sensibility or Honor, as to have dared "to advise such a Measure;" he added, that "his Surprise was the less excited by "the Fact, because it formed the Charac- "teristic of the present *Reign*, to hunt "down, to defame, and to vilify great or

" popular public Men; while the infamous " were upheld, employed, and rewarded." As if apprehensive that the Application of these last Words might be in any Degree ambiguous, He subjoined, fixing his Eyes on Lord George Germain, " The recent " Promotion of Sir Hugh Palliser is dic- " tated by the same Spirit, which has pro- " duced the Promotion of a Man to one of " the greatest *civil* Employments, who has " been publicly degraded, and declared to " be incapable of serving again in any " *military* Capacity, at the Head of every " Regiment in the Service." So severe, if not illiberal an Allusion, which could not be misunderstood, instantly called up Lord George; who observed that " the Aspersion " which the Honourable Member had " thought proper to throw out in the Course " of his Speech, being obviously directed " at Himself; the House might naturally " expect He would notice it. I rise " therefore," said He, " once for all, simply " to declare that whenever Gentlemen de- " scend to the Meanness of personal Invec- " tives, instead of Argument, and shall think " proper to make Me their Object; I am " prepared to treat both the Invectives and

"their Author, with the Contempt that "They deserve." Fox allowed this Answer to pass unnoticed on that Evening; but, next Day, having probably felt that it could not be altogether despised, He thought proper to say, while speaking on the Report of the Address to the Crown, that "the noble "Secretary's Words during the preceding "Debate, however personal to Himself "they might be, yet were so qualified, as "to render it wholly unnecessary for Him to "take any further Notice of them." Admiral Keppel treading in the Traces of Fox, repeated however nearly the same Accusations as had already been brought forward against the first Lord of the Admiralty; whom Keppel charged with Incapacity and Mismanagement of the naval Forces, and stigmatized as meriting universal Reprobation for having recommended Palliser to His Majesty, for the Government of Greenwich Hospital. Such an Appointment conveyed indeed indirectly a severe Censure upon Himself. These Personalities and Charges did not prevent the Address from being voted by a Majority of Eighty-two. The Exclusion of Sir Fletcher from the Chair, on the first Day of the Session, had

only been carried by Sixty-nine. On so precarious a Foundation did the Ministers stand, even at the Commencement of a new Parliament; and so weak were the Foundations on which reposed Lord North's Power towards the Close of the Year 1780, undermined as it was by an unfortunate, if not an unpopular Contest. When a Motion was made a few Days later, by Mr. Thomas Townsend, to vote the Thanks of the House to their late Speaker; after a Debate of considerable Length, Administration could only command ninety-six Votes, while Opposition carried the Question by a Majority of Forty; having divided One Hundred and thirty-six, though Lord North was present on the Occasion. But, the Motion being conceived in very laconic and general Terms, the first Minister neither rose to speak, nor made any personal Effort to impede its Success.

A long and very interesting Debate arose on the 27th of November, when Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, Member for the Town of Nottingham, (one of the most upright, honorable, and incorruptible Individuals who ever sate in Parliament;) moved the Thanks of

the House to Sir Henry Clinton and Earl Cornwallis, for the important Services that those Commanders had rendered to their Country, on the other Side of the Atlantic. An Infinity of curious Matter was elicited by the Nature of the Subject, as it naturally or necessarily embraced the American War; a Topic calculated to produce interminable Discussions. Neither the first Minister, nor Mr. Fox, though both addressed the House in the Course of the Evening, performed the principal Parts. Wilkes rising in his Place, pronounced a Speech of great Length, and of still greater Severity; which, (as He was accustomed to do,) He had prepared, not without evident Labour, for the Occasion. It was, like every Composition of his; spirited, classic, and stamped with the characteristic Energy of his fearless Mind. In the Course of it, He neither spared Lord Cornwallis, whose Inconsistency in drawing his Sword to maintain a Cause, which, a few Years earlier, He had reprobated publicly in the House of Peers, Wilkes endeavoured to expose: nor did He fail to attack both the Ministers and the Sovereign, by whom the War was carried on against the Colonies. The Right claimed by the Crown and by

Parliament, to tax America, he reprobated as "an antiquated Usurpation of the Stu-"arts, revived under the third Prince of the "Family of Brunswic. This Pretension," exclaimed He, "has been in every Age, the "favorite Maxim of Despots. In Oppo-"sition to it, *Hampden* shed his Blood. "Such an Attempt against the fundamental "Rights of the English People, justified "our Ancestors in commencing the civil "War which conducted the Tyrant Charles "to the Scaffold." He concluded by imploring of Mr. Coke to withdraw a Motion in which no Man could concur, without indirectly giving his Sanction or Approbation to the American War itself. Lord North on the other Hand, expressed his Hope, that Wilkes would be the only Individual in the House to oppose the Motion. But, another dissentient Voice was raised to it in the Person of Sir Joseph Mawbey; a Man who, from some unfortunate Circumstances of his private Life, never could obtain a patient or a candid Hearing in Parliament. Rigby and Courtenay, both attacked Him; not, indeed, with Argument, but, with a more powerful Weapon, Ridicule. Sheridan and Fox rose to defend Sir

Joseph, as He constantly voted with Opposition. In 1784, after He had quitted that Party, and joined Pitt against "the Coa- "lition," they turned their powerful Artillery upon Him. The "Rolliad," when speaking of the Necessity imposed on the Speaker, *Cornwall*, to continue in the Chair while the House is sitting, adds,

"Painful Pre-Eminence!—He hears, 'tis true,
Fox, North, and Burke: but, hears *Sir Joseph* too."

Lines which form a Parody on Pope's Address to Lord Bolingbroke, which He concludes by saying,

"Painful Pre-Eminence! Ourselves to view,
Above Life's Weakness and its Comforts too!"

Sir Joseph Mawbey spoke nevertheless with great good Sense, though not with Brilliancy. He was at this Time the Colleague of Admiral Keppel, and represented the County of Surry. To the Marquis of Rockingham, during the short Administration of that Nobleman, in 1765, He owed his Elevation to the Rank of a Baronet. Like Wilkes, He refused to concur in the Vote of Thanks to Lord Cornwallis; but, the Motion was not the less finally carried without a Division.

Little Consolation can be derived during this gloomy period of English History, from carrying our view beyond the Metropolis, to the Extremities of the Empire, or from considering the Operations of the War by sea and land. As Geary had succeeded to the Command of the Channel Fleet, by Hardy's Death, so Darby took the same Command soon afterwards, in consequence of Geary's Resignation. None of these Names will be pronounced with Enthusiasm by Posterity. Admiral Barrington, by his repulse of D'Estaign at St. Lucie, acquired the only Renown gained on the Ocean, from the Commencement of Hostilities in July, 1778, till the period when Rodney was sent out to the West Indies. The inveterate Disputes that arose between Keppel and Palliser, which, after convulsing the Navy, and dividing the Kingdom, began insensibly to fall into Oblivion; were again revived during the short time that the House of Commons remained sitting before the Christmas Recess. In consequence of Sir Hugh Palliser's Appointment to the Government of Greenwich Hospital, the Events of the 27th July, 1778, were discussed anew, with all the Acrimony of Party. Fox originated the

Discussion by the Severity of his Animadversions on Palliser, who had just taken his Seat in the House, as Member for the Town of Huntingdon, where Lord Sandwich's Interest had procured his Election. The Earl of Lisburne, second Lord of the Board of Admiralty, having, in a Committee of Supply, laid the Navy Estimates on the Table, an animated and most personal Debate ensued. Lord Nugent, who was then well advanced towards fourscore, vainly attempted, (like Nestor in the "Iliad,") by calling Fox repeatedly to Order, to avert the Storm, and to give the Subject under Consideration, a more general Direction. When Fox had exhausted every Topic of Declamation with which the Occasion furnished Him, both against Palliser, and against the first Lord of the Admiralty, Lord North rose to protect them; and in a very able, as well as argumentative Speech, endeavoured to shew how unjust a Persecution the Vice Admiral had undergone. Sir Hugh himself, conscious of his Inability to contend with such an Adversary as Fox, on such a Theatre as Parliament; after denying the pretended Allegations made by his Enemies, and acknowledging his Obligations to

the first Minister for the eloquent Defence just pronounced; proceeded to read his own Justification. The Paper, by its Length, Dullness, and perhaps more than either, by the imperfect or defective Manner of its Delivery, put the Patience of his Auditors, as I well remember, to a severe Trial. Palliser, who had risen from an obscure Origin, by long and distinguished Services, to the Rank of a Baronet, and to some of the highest Honors of his Profession; wanted the Advantages of Education, as well as those of Manner, Deportment, and external Grace, in all which He was wholly deficient. Nor had He, like his Opponent, Keppel, the Support derived from high Descent and Alliances. I have however always considered Him as a most judicious, meritorious, and calumniated naval Officer, who was overborne by the Torrent of Party, and fell a Sacrifice to Ministerial Unpopularity. Never can I forget the Picture that He drew of the Action, fought on the 27th of July; a Day not to be recollected by an Englishman without Feelings allied to Humiliation. He declared in the Face of the House of Commons, that the British Fleet were led into Action in a disorderly and

unskilful manner. In the Beginning, with too much Contempt of the Enemy; but, towards its Close, with too much Awe; keeping at too great a Distance, and manœuvring in Confusion. In his Reply to Palliser, Keppel contented Himself with entrenching his Reputation behind the Sentences of the two Courts Martial; and reiterating the Charges of Treachery, blended with Falsehood, which his Honorable Relation, (Fox,) had already brought forward against the first Lord of the Admiralty. Not that Keppel's Courage could be called in Question, as had happened, though perhaps most unjustly, in the Instance of Byng: but, in Self Possession, Judgment, superior maritime Skill, and Presence of Mind; in all those Endowments of a great Commander which ensure Victory, I have always regarded Him as deficient. Even the State of his Health, disordered and shattered by Sickness, tended to incapacitate Him on the twenty-seventh of July, for performing with Promptitude, the arduous Duties of his Situation. I believe, now that Time has softened down the Asperities of Party, this Opinion has become general. Keppel's Exploits will never be ranked with those of

Rodney, of Duncan, or of Nelson; nor will they ever be associated to the glorious Recollections of the best Years of George the Third. Lord North, with whom, not to be defeated, constituted a sort of Victory; and who generally contented himself with half Triumphs; after defending Palliser with his usual Ability, and with more than his common Animation; having thus rescued him from the immediate Attack of his Enemies, aimed at no further Advantage, but moved for an Adjournment early in December.

As if to complete the Climax of our national Misfortunes at this humiliating Period, Holland was added to the number of our Enemies; War being declared against the Seven United Provinces, before the close of 1780, notwithstanding the Repugnance equally felt at such a Rupture, by the King of Great Britain, and by the Stadtholder. More than a Century had then elapsed, since we had been engaged in Hostilities with the Dutch, under the profligate Reign of Charles the Second. During some Portion of the intermediate Time, the two Countries had been governed by one Prince; and one Soul might be said to animate their

Counsels after the Expulsion of James the Second, when their joint Efforts were directed to stem the Current of Louis the Fourteenth's Arms in the Netherlands. Even subsequent to King William's Decease, the United Provinces made common Cause with his Successor, against France, under Marlborough: but, the disgraceful Termination of that great Struggle, which lasted near ten Years, dissevered England and Holland. After the Peace of Utrecht, in 1712, no close nor cordial Union subsisted between the Cabinets of the Hague and of St. James's. The Dutch were, indeed, prevailed on to join George the Second, as Auxiliaries, though not as Principals, in the war of 1743, undertaken to preserve Maria Theresa on the Throne of her Father Charles the Sixth. Unfortunately, the English, Dutch, and Austrian Armies, which, while conducted by the great Talents of Eugene and Marlborough, had nearly driven Louis the Fourteenth to the last Extremities; when led by Konigseck, and by William, Duke of Cumberland, were every where defeated on the same Plains.

Marshal Saxe made himself Master of the

Barrier that protected Holland against the overwhelming Power of France; and only the Moderation or the Indolence of Louis the Fifteenth, which checked his Conquests, gave Peace to Europe in 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle. That Prince, had he been animated by the Ambition of his Predecessor, or by the Spirit of Conquest which impelled the French Republic in 1795, might have entered Amsterdam, and have subjected the Zuyder Sea to his Dominion. Having escaped from this imminent Peril, the Dutch remained neutral Spectators of the Contest which took Place between us and France in 1756, when Flanders, which for near a Century had constituted the Palæstra of Europe, by a singular Transition became a Country of Repose; and the House of Austria for the first Time joined her inveterate Foe, the House of Bourbon. It was reserved for the calamitous Æra of the American War, which familiarized us with Disgraces and Reverses, to witness Holland openly ranged against Great Britain, under the Banners of Louis the Sixteenth and Charles the Third. The Opposition exulted at the Declaration of Hostilities between the two Countries, as setting the Seal to Lord North's ministerial

Embarrassments. Nor could it be denied, that the Necessity for blocking the Mouth of the Texel, and probably engaging the Dutch Fleet at the Entrance of their own Ports, in the depressed, as well as inferior State to which the British Navy had then sunk; augmented the Difficulties under which the Administration laboured, while it encreased the Unpopularity of the Sovereign.

Yet never did any Government make greater Efforts to avert and avoid a Rupture, than were exerted by Lord North's Cabinet. Sir Joseph Yorke, who, by long Residence in Holland, had become in some Measure naturalized at the Hague, exhausted every art of Diplomacy, to stem the Current of French and American Politics. The Stadtholder, no less than the Majority of the People throughout the Seven United Provinces, nourished the warmest Partiality towards Great Britain: but, the Prince of Orange had lost the public Respect which his high Office ought to have excited; and the Nation, immersed in narrow Speculations of commercial Advantage, displayed no Spark of that public Spirit, or of those great Energies, which had operated such powerful Ef-

fects against Philip the Second and Third, Kings of Spain, during the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries. The Pensionary, Van Berkel, acting under the Impulse of Maurepas and of Vergennes, precipitated his Countrymen on War with England, by signing a Treaty with the American Insurgents; precisely as Madison, in the Summer of 1812, commenced Hostilities with us, by the Suggestions of his Corsican Director. Nor did Fox and Burke arraign more severely the Measures of Lord North, as having produced the Rupture that took Place with Holland; than the Leaders of Opposition in the House of Commons, inveighed against the line of Conduct adopted on the part of Ministers, which led to the late Contest with America. Both Wars arose principally from a similar Cause; the apparently desperate, or highly alarming Condition of England. In 1780, we appeared to be rapidly sinking under the Combination of European, Asiatic, and American Foes. In 1812, Bonaparte, Master of the Continent, from the Frontiers of Portugal to those of Russia, prepared to consummate the Subjugation of Europe, by a March to Moscow. To Van Berkel, and to Madison, the Occa-

sion seemed equally favorable for the Developement of their rancorous Enmity to the English Government. The Measures of the former Minister led, at no distant Period of Time, in the Space of about fifteen Years, to the Subjugation and Subversion of the Republic of Holland. Futurity will shew whether the Policy of Madison, if his base Subservience to Bonaparte can merit the Name, will prove more successful or beneficial to his Countrymen; and will prove how far the American President may justly challenge their future Gratitude, more than the Pensionary of Amsterdam merited the Support of the Dutch.

Nearly about the same time, Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, expired at Vienna, after a Reign of forty Years, during which she had exhibited a memorable Instance of the Vicissitudes of Fortune. Like Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, she acceded in 1740; and a great Portion of their Lives was passed in mutual Hostility. The Strength of her Mind, and the Tenacity of her Character, sustained her amidst Difficulties, which a Woman of inferior Resolution could not have surmounted. Since the Death

of Elizabeth, Queen of England, in 1603, Europe had not beheld any Female seated on the Throne, who united so many private Virtues, to so many great public Endowments. Maria Theresa manifested a masculine Mind, blended with feminine Qualities calculated to conciliate universal Affection. Elizabeth, however illustrious she appears when viewed in her kingly Capacity, wanted Softness, Sincerity, and all the gentler Qualifications that render Woman an Object of Attachment. Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth were both resuscitated in Her, though without the Avarice of her Grandfather, or the capricious and cruel Despotism of her Father. Maria Theresa resembled Her in this Point of View. As a Sovereign, she possessed far greater Constancy and Energy than had been exhibited by her Father, the Emperor Charles the Sixth, or by her Grandfather, Leopold the First. Charles, while resident in Spain during "the War of the Succession," displayed no Endowments of Character, and was twice driven out of Madrid in Consequence of his Delays or Incapacity. Leopold betrayed a Want of every Resource, when in 1683, at the Approach of the Grand Vizier Cara

Mustapha, he fled to Passau, leaving his Capital to be invested, and his Dominions to be ravaged, by the Turks. The Caution, Experience, and Moderation of Maria Theresa, increased by religious Scruples, imposed a Restraint on the pernicious Activity of her Son and Successor, Joseph the Second. His Accession to the Dominions of the House of Austria, and the Line of Policy that he embraced, constituted one of the many concurring Circumstances which eventually facilitated the Progress of the French Arms in the Netherlands, after the Revolution.

Though sinking under the accumulated Pressure of advancing Age, as well as of Disease and Infirmity, Maria Theresa retained the Possession of all her Faculties, nearly to the last Moments of her Life. Religion and Resignation smoothed its Close. Two of the Archduchesses, her Daughters, Maria and Elizabeth, who remained unmarried, constantly attended about her Bed; but I have been assured that they could not prevail on their Mother, though they earnestly entreated it, even a short Time preceding her Dissolution, to bequeath her Blessing to the Arch-

duchess Amelia, their Sister. That Princess, who had been married to Don Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, was supposed to have committed great Irregularities of every Kind. Only a short Time before Maria Theresa breathed her last, having apparently fallen into a Sort of Insensibility, and her Eyes being closed; one of the Ladies near her Person, in Reply to an Enquiry made respecting the State of the Empress, answered that her Majesty seemed to be asleep. "No," replied she, "I could sleep, "if I would indulge Repose; but I am sen- "sible of the near Approach of Death, and I "will not allow myself to be surprized by "him in my Sleep. I wish to meet my Dis- "solution, awake." There is nothing transmitted to us by Antiquity, more impressive than this Answer, which appears divested of all Ostentation. Voltaire himself, Cynic as he was, and always severe upon crowned Heads, unless when mollified by the flattering Letters or Presents of Catherine the Second, must have admired it. Even the great Frederic, who survived Maria Theresa near six Years; though he encountered the gradual Advances of Death with Philosophy and Fortitude, yet betrayed much Reluct-

ance, displayed some Peevishness, and perhaps manifested a little Affectation or Vanity, in the Preparations which he made for his Departure. We may see the Proofs of it, in his Conversations with Zimmerman. Neither Augustus, nor Vespasian, nor Adrian, though each of these Emperors seems to have contemplated Death with a steady Countenance, and almost with a smiling Look; yet manifested more perfect Self-possession in the last Act of Life, than did Maria Theresa. She was as much superior in Virtue to her Contemporary, Catherine the Second, as she fell beneath that Princess in Brilliancy of Talents. In the Arts of reigning, in Courage, in Benignity of Disposition, and in solid Endowments of Understanding, the Austrian may dispute for Superiority even with the Russian Czarina. Posterity will perhaps confer more Admiration on the latter Empress, but, must reserve its moral Approbation and Esteem for the former Sovereign.

END OF VOL. I.

J. M'Creery, Printer,
Black-Horse-Court, London.

HISTORICAL

MEMOIRS

OF

MY OWN TIME.

VOL. II.

PART THE SECOND.

HISTORICAL

MEMOIRS

OF

MY OWN TIME.

PART THE FIRST,

FROM 1772 TO 1780.

PART THE SECOND,

FROM JANUARY, 1781, TO MARCH, 1782.

PART THE THIRD,

FROM MARCH, 1782, TO MARCH, 1784.

By Sir N. WILLIAM WRAXALL, Bart.

Igitur ubi Animus requievit, non fuit Consilium Socordia atque Desidia bonum Otium conterere; neque vero Agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus Officiis intentum, Ætatem agere. Sed a quo incepto Studio me Ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui Res gestas carptim, ut quæque Memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a Spe, Metu, Partibus Reipublicæ, Animus liber erat. SALLUST.

THIRD EDITION,

REVISED AND CORRECTED.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1818.

J. M'Creery, Printer,
Black-Horse-Court, London.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

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VOLUME THE SECOND.

PART THE SECOND.

January, 1781.

I AM now arrived, in the Course of these Memoirs, at the Beginning of the Year 1781. Before, however, we enter on the political Events of that disastrous Period, it seems indispensable that we should survey the Character of the Sovereign, of the Cabinet Ministers, of the Leaders of Opposition, and the principal Persons in both Houses of the new Parliament. Great Britain did not then present the same august, majestic, and interesting Spectacle to Mankind, which we have since exhibited, even during the most calamitous Moments of the late Revolutionary War. The Empire, under Lord North's

Administration, was shaken and convulsed in almost every Quarter. Domestic Faction pervaded all the Departments of Government, infected the Navy, and manifested itself in every Debate of either House of Parliament. The English were discontented; the Scots were sullen; and the Irish had become clamorous for political, as well as for commercial Emancipation. A Ministry, the Members of which Body did not always act in Union, and still prosecuting a hopeless Contest with America; whatever Ability the Individuals composing it might separately possess, yet inspired no public Confidence in the Success of their future Measures. National Credit began to droop under the Expenses of a War carried on across the Atlantic, at an immense Distance; while the Commerce of the Country suffered at least in an equal Degree, from the Depredations of the Enemy. Nor had Lord North provided, as Mr. Pitt afterwards did in 1786, any *Sinking Fund* for the gradual Extinction of the Taxes which he annually imposed.

Amidst this Scene of Distress, the great Continental Powers of the North and East of Europe, looked on, either as unconcerned

Spectators, or as secret Enemies. Joseph the Second, Emperor of Germany, who had recently succeeded to the Bohemian and Hungarian Thrones; imitating in this Instance his Mother's Line of Policy, and occupied with domestic Reforms of various Kinds, took indeed no open Part. But, connected as he was with France, by his Sister's Marriage to Louis the Sixteenth, his Inclinations might be supposed to lean towards the House of Bourbon. The great Frederic, sinking in Years, as well as under the Pressure of Diseases and Infirmities; satiated with military Fame; attentive principally to the Improvement of his Dominions, and the Augmentation of his Revenue; always attached from Disposition, to the Manners, Language, and Crown of France; beheld with Satisfaction, the augmenting Difficulties of the English Government. He had never forgiven Lord Bute for retaining, when First Minister, the Subsidy claimed by Prussia in 1762; and he nourished a Dislike to the Country, which, as he perhaps justly conceived, had broken its Faith with him on so important a Point. Catherine the Second, ever anxious to throw a Veil of Glory over the tragical Circumstances which placed her

on the Russian Throne, by aggrandizing the Russian Empire; and availing herself with Ability of the Distress of England, then contending against so many Adversaries; set up Pretensions to a maritime Exemption from the Right of Search on the high Seas, claimed and exercised by Great Britain in Time of War. Placing herself at the Head of the Baltic Powers, in Union with the Courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, which on this Occasion made common Cause with her, she attempted to emancipate their Navies from any further Submission to the British Flag. Lord North, unable to resent, or to oppose the Policy of Catherine by open Force, temporized, and waited for more propitious Times. Portugal alone, amidst the general Hostility or Defection of Europe, ventured to manifest her amicable Disposition; and had the Generosity to refuse to form a Junction with the Baltic Confederacy, or to accede to the Armed Neutrality of the Northern States.

The King at this Period of his Reign, was far advanced in his Forty-Third Year. Though he came into the World at the term of Seven Months; a Fact which is indisputable,

as the late Duchess of Brunswic, his Sister's Birth, took place on the 11th of August, 1737; and that of His Majesty, on the 4th of June, 1738; yet Nature had conferred on him a sound and vigorous Frame of Body. He was born in Norfolk House, St. James's Square, where Frederic, Prince of Wales, then resided; who had been peremptorily ordered only a short Time before, to quit St. James's Palace, by George the Second. I saw, not much more than a Year ago, the identical Bed in which the Princess of Wales was delivered, now removed to the Duke of Norfolk's seat of Worksop in the County of Nottingham; and it forcibly proves the rapid Progress of domestic Elegance and Taste, within the last eighty Years. Except that the Furniture is of Green Silk, the Bed has nothing splendid about it; and would hardly be esteemed fit for the Accommodation of a Person of ordinary Condition in the present Times. A course of systematic Abstinence and Exercise, had secured to George the Third the Enjoyment of almost uninterrupted Health, down to the Time of which I speak. So little had he been incommoded by Sickness, or by Indisposition of any kind, from the Period of his Accession, till his memorable Seizure in 1788; that scarcely

was he ever compelled to absent himself on that Account, from a Levee, a Council, or a Drawing-room, during eight and twenty Years. One only Exception to this Remark occurred in the Autumn of 1765, when he was attacked by a Disorder that confined him for several Weeks; relative to the Nature and Seat of which Malady, though many Conjectures and Assertions have been hazarded, in Conversation, and even in Print, no satisfactory Information has ever been given to the World.

In the King's Countenance, a Physiognomist would have distinguished two principal Characteristics; Firmness, or as his Enemies denominated it, Obstinacy; tempered with Benignity. The former Expression was however indisputably more marked and prominent than the latter Sentiment. Fox, when addressing the House of Commons, did not hesitate to allude in very intelligible Language, to his Obstinacy. I remember, in January, 1782, on his moving for Papers, in Order to institute an Enquiry into Lord Sandwich's Conduct at the Head of the Admiralty, Fox observed, "It is said by the very Members of this Assembly who in case of a Division will vote in Favor of

the Earl of Sandwich, that there is *an Obstinacy somewhere*, which will oppose whatever Measure is suggested from this Side of the House."—" I cannot pretend to say whether such *a Spirit of Obstinacy* does, or does not exist: but, those Men who really believe the present first Lord of the Admiralty unfit for his Situation, and yet come down to vote for maintaining Him in Office, are unfit for the important Trust of Representatives of a free People." I believe, there was no Person present, so obtuse, as not to understand the Application of Fox's Expressions. The King seemed to have a Tendency to become corpulent, if he had not repressed it by habitual and unremitting Temperance. On this Subject I shall relate a Fact, which was communicated to me by a Friend, Sir John Macpherson, who received it from the great Earl of Mansfield, to whom the King himself mentioned it; forcibly demonstrating that Strength of Mind, Renunciation of all Excess, and Dominion over his Appetites, which have characterized George the Third at every Period of his Life. Conversing with William, Duke of Cumberland, his Uncle, not long before that Prince's Death, in 1764, His Majesty ob-

served, that it was with Concern he remarked the Duke's augmenting Corpulency. "I la-" ment it not less, Sir," replied he, "but it " is constitutional; and I am much mistaken " if Your Majesty will not become as large " as myself, before you attain to my Age." "It arises from your not using sufficient " Exercise," answered the King. "I use, " nevertheless," said the Duke, "constant " and severe Exercise of every Kind. But, " there is another Effort requisite, in order " to repress this Tendency, which is much " more difficult to practise; and without " which, no Exercise, however violent, will " suffice. I mean, great Renunciation and " Temperance. Nothing else can prevent " Your Majesty from growing to my Size." The King made little Reply; but the Duke's Words sunk deep, and produced a lasting Impression on his Mind. From that Day he formed the Resolution, as he assured Lord Mansfield, of checking his constitutional Inclination to Corpulency, by unremitting Restraint upon his Appetite: a Determination which he carried into complete Effect, in Defiance of every Temptation.

Perhaps no Sovereign, of whom History,

ancient or modern, makes Mention in any Age of the Earth, has exceeded him in the Practice of this Virtue. It is a Fact, that during many Years of his Life, after coming up from Kew, or from Windsor, often on Horseback, and sometimes in heavy Rain, to the Queen's House; he has gone in a Sedan Chair to St. James's, dressed himself, held a Levee, passed through all the Forms of that long and tedious Ceremony; for such it was in the way that he performed it; without leaving any Individual in the Circle, unnoticed: and has afterwards assisted at a Privy Council, or given Audience to his Cabinet Ministers and others, till five, and even sometimes till six o'Clock. After so much Fatigue of Body and of Mind, the only Refreshment or Sustenance that he usually took, consisted in a few Slices of Bread and Butter and a Dish of Tea, which he sometimes swallowed as he walked up and down, previous to getting into his Carriage, in order to return into the Country. His Understanding, solid and sedate, qualified him admirably for Business, though it was neither of a brilliant, lively, nor imposing Description. But his Manner did Injustice to the Endowments of his Intellect: and unfortu-

nately, it was in Public that these minute personal Defects or Imperfections became most conspicuous. Dr. Johnson, indeed, thought otherwise on the Subject: for, after the Conversation with which His Majesty was pleased to honor that great literary Character, in the Library at the Queen's House, in February, 1767, he passed the highest Encomiums on the elegant Manners of the Sovereign. Boswell, in Johnson's Life, speaking of this Circumstance, adds, "He said to Mr. "Barnard, the Librarian, 'Sir, they may "talk of the King as they will, but he is the "finest Gentleman I have ever seen.' And "he afterwards observed to Mr. Langton, "'Sir, his Manners are those of as fine a "Gentleman, as we may suppose Louis the "Fourteenth, or Charles the Second.'"

Independent of the Effect necessarily produced on Johnson's Mind, by so unexpected and flattering a Mark of royal Condescension, which may well be imagined to have operated most favorably on the Opinions of the Moralist; he was perhaps of all Men, the least capable of estimating personal Elegance of Deportment. His vast intellectual Powers lay in another line of Discrimination.

Had Johnson been now living, he might indeed witness the finest Model of Grace, Dignity, Ease, and Affability, which the World has ever beheld, united in the same Person. In *him* are really blended the Majesty of Louis the Fourteenth, with the Amenity of Charles the Second. But George the Third was altogether destitute of these ornamental and adventitious Endowments. The Oscillations of his Body, the Precipitation of his Questions, none of which, it was said, would wait for an Answer; and the hurry of his Articulation, afforded on the contrary, to little Minds, or to malicious Observers, who only saw him at the Drawing-room, (or, as the Duchess of Chandos called it, the *drawling* Room,) Occasion for calling in Question the Soundness of his Judgment, and the Strength of his Faculties. None of his Ministers, however, and Mr. Fox, *if possible*, less than any other, entertained such an Opinion. His whole Reign forms indeed, the best Answer to the Imputation. That he committed many Errors, nourished many Prejudices, formed many erroneous Estimates, and frequently adhered too pertinaciously to his Determinations, where he conceived, perhaps falsely, that they were founded in Reason, or in

Justice;—all these Allegations may be admitted. Nor can the injurious Effects to himself, and to his People, necessarily flowing in various Instances, from such Defects of Character and of Administration, be altogether denied. But, these Infirmities, from which no Man is exempt, cannot impugn his right to the affectionate Veneration of Posterity, for the inflexible Uprightness of his public Conduct. And as little can they deprive him of the Suffrages of the wise and good of every Age, who will bear Testimony to the Expansion of his Mind, and the invariable Rectitude of his Intentions.

It would, indeed, be difficult for History to produce an Instance of any Prince who has united and displayed on the Throne, during near half a Century, so many personal and private Virtues. In the Flower of Youth, unmarried, endowed with a vigorous Constitution, and surrounded with Temptations to Pleasure or Indulgence of every Kind when he succeeded to the Crown, he never yielded to these Seductions. Not less affectionately attached to the Queen, than Charles the First was to his Consort Henrietta Maria, he remained nevertheless altogether ex-

empt from the Uxoriousness which characterized his unfortunate Predecessor, and which operated so fatally in the Course of his Reign.

Wilkes, in the Papers of the "North Briton," and "Junius," always affected, by drawing Comparisons between the two Kings, to demonstrate the moral Resemblance that existed between them: but, the pretended Similarity was only external, in matters of mere Deportment, not of solid Character. It must be apparent to every impartial Person, who studies their respective Reigns and line of political Action, how superior was George the Third to Charles, on the three great Points that constitute the essential Difference between Men. The first of these Qualities was *Firmness of Mind.* To his Weakness, not even to give it a more severe Epithet, in abandoning Lord Strafford to the Rage of his Enemies, we may trace all the Misfortunes that accompanied Charles from that Time, down to the Close of Life: Misfortunes aggravated by the Reproaches of his own Conscience, for delivering up his Minister a Victim to popular Violence! His present Majesty neither deserted Lord Bute, when most

unpopular, in 1763; nor the Duke of Grafton, amidst the Tumults of March, 1769; nor Lord North in the more awful Riots of June, 1780. As little did he turn his Back on Lord George Germain, after the Defeats of Saratoga, or of York Town, amidst the Disasters of the American War. Far from recurring for Support to his Ministers he constantly extended it to them; and never shrunk from personal Risk, Responsibility, or Odium. His Conduct on the memorable seventh of June, 1780, both at the Council Table, and during the Course of that calamitous Night which followed, will best exemplify the Assertion. Charles, though personally brave in the Field, and perfectly composed on the Scaffold, was deficient in political Courage, Steadiness of Temper, and Tenacity of Determination. These Qualities formed the distinguishing Characteristics of George the Third, who seems, when assailed by Misfortunes, to have taken as his Motto, the Sentiment of the Roman Poet:

"Tu ne cede Malis; sed contra, audentior ito."

Nor does the Balance incline less in his Favor, when compared with his Predecessor of

the Stuart Line, on the Article of *Judgment*. If any Act of His present Majesty's Reign or Government, may seem to bear an Analogy to the intemperate, vindictive, and Pernicious Attempt of Charles, to seize on the five Members of the House of Commons; it was the Order issued by a *General Warrant*, to take Wilkes into Custody. Nor shall I undertake the Defence of that Proceeding, which I have always considered as the least justifiable Measure in every Sense, embraced since the King's Accession to the Throne. But, when he authorized it, in April, 1763, he had not completed his twenty-fifth Year. Charles the First was above forty, at the Time of his committing the rash Act in Question. That George the Third, if he had ever been reduced to take up Arms against his Subjects, might, from the Partialities of parental Affection, have committed an Error similar to that of Charles when he entrusted the Command of his Forces to Prince Rupert; I will even admit to be probable, reasoning from the internal Evidence afforded by the Campaigns of 1793, 1794, and 1799. But, no Man who has followed the whole Chain of Events from 1760 down to 1810, can hesitate in pronouncing, that under Circumstances

the most appalling to the human Mind, demanding equal Fortitude and intellectual Resources; he has displayed a Degree of Ability, that we would vainly seek in the Stuart King's unfortunate Administration, terminated by the Scaffold.

It is however in *moral Principle and good Faith*, that the Superiority of the one Sovereign over the other, becomes most irresistible, and forces the completest Conviction. "Charles the First," says *Junius*, "lived and "died a Hypocrite." However severe we may esteem this Sentence, we cannot contest that his Insincerity formed a prominent Feature of his Character, and eminently conduced to his Destruction. It was proved by a variety of Facts; and it unquestionably deterred Cromwell, as well as others of the Republican Leaders, from exhibiting or anticipating the Conduct of *Monk*. Unable to trust his most solemn Assurances, they found no Security for themselves, except in bringing him to the Block. But, George the Third exhibited a Model of unshaken Fidelity to his Engagements; even those most repugnant to his own Feelings, and most contrary to his own Judgment. I could adduce many

Proofs of the Fact. How magnanimous was his Reception and Treatment of Adams, in 1783; a Man personally obnoxious; when presented to Him at his Levee, as Envoy from the American States! In Terms the most conciliating, yet nobly frank, he avowed to that Minister, with what Reluctance he had consented to the Separation of the Trans-Atlantic British Colonies from his Dominion; "But," added he, "their Indepen-"dance being now consummated, I shall be "the last Man in my Kingdom to encourage "its Violation."

He acted in a similar manner, when the Preliminaries of Peace were signed in 1801, with France. No Measure of State in the Power of Ministers to adopt, could have been, under the existing Circumstances, less consonant to *his* ideas of Safety, Policy, and Wisdom: a Fact of which the Cabinet was so perfectly aware, that Lord Hawkesbury affixed his Signature to the Articles, not only without the King's Consent or Approbation, but, without his Knowledge. It took place, as is well known, on the first of October, just as he was about to return from Weymouth to Windsor. The Cabinet instantly

sent off a Messenger with the Intelligence, who met the King at Andover; and the Pacquet was brought to him as he stood in the Drawing-room of the Inn, engaged in Conversation with the late Earl of Cardigan, and two other Noblemen, one of whom is still alive. His Majesty, wholly unsuspicious of the Fact, and not expecting to receive any News of Importance, ordered them not to leave the Apartment, as they were preparing to do, in order that he might have Time to peruse the Dispatch. But, on inspecting its Contents, he betrayed so much Surprise, both in his Looks and Gesture, that they were again about to quit his Presence. The King then addressed them, and holding the Letter open in his Hand, "I "have received surprizing News," said he, "but it is no Secret. Preliminaries of Peace "are signed with France. I knew nothing "of it whatever; but, since it is made, I "sincerely wish it may prove a lasting "Peace."

Louis the Twelfth, King of France, surnamed in History, "the Father of his People," is said to have observed, that "if good Faith were banished from among Men, it

should be found in the Bosoms of Princes." This sublime Maxim or Sentiment, seems to have been inherent in the intellectual Formation of George the Third. His Coronation Oath was ever present to his Mind; and he dreaded the slightest Infraction of that solemn Compact made with his People, to which the Deity had been invoked as a Party, far more than the Loss of his Crown or Life. When Mr. Pitt, sustained by four of the Cabinet Ministers, made the Experiment of forcing him to violate it, on the 29th of January, 1801, relative to the Question of "Catholic Emancipation in Ireland;" they unquestionably did not expect nor intend to go out of Office, though they sent in their respective Resignations. But, having compelled the King no less than four times, in the Course of a few Years, to give way on Points where the Majority of his Cabinet differed from him; they erroneously assumed that he would act in the same Manner, where his Conscience was concerned. Sustained however by his Principles, he did not hesitate a Moment in accepting their Resignation, though he accompanied the Acceptance with the most flattering Testimonies under his Hand, of Esteem and personal Attach-

ment. Uninstructed by such a Warning, Lord Grenville, who had been one of the five Cabinet Members alluded to above, aided by Lord Grey, repeated the Attempt six Years later, after Fox's Decease, with similar Success. Charles the First did not manifest the same religious Respect for the Sanctity of his Oaths and Engagements. If his Enemies in Parliament, and in the Field, could have reposed the unlimited Confidence in him, which George the Third challenged from his Opponents, that unhappy Prince might have died in his Bed at Whitehall.

I will subjoin only one Anecdote more, on a Point so interesting, which vitally characterizes the present King. Towards the End of the Month of January, 1805, at a Time when he was much occupied in Preparations for the Installation of the Knights of the *Garter*, destined to take Place on the approaching Twenty-third of April; and while conversing on the Subject with some Persons of high Rank, at Windsor; one of them, the late Earl of Chesterfield, a Nobleman much distinguished by his Favor, said, "Sir, are not the new Knights, now meant "to be installed, obliged to take the Sacra-

" ment before the Ceremony?" Nothing could probably have been further from his Idea or Intention, than to have asked the Question in a Manner capable of implying any Levity or Irreverence. Nevertheless, His Majesty instantly changed Countenance; and assuming a severe Look, after a Moment or two of Pause, " No," replied he, " that religious " Institution is not to be mixed with our " profane Ceremonies. Even at the Time of " my Coronation, I was very unwilling to " take the Sacrament. But, when they told " me that it was indispensable, and that I " must receive it; before I approached the " Communion Table, I took off the Bauble " from my Head. The Sacrament, my Lord, " is not to be profaned by our Gothic Insti- " tutions."—The Severity of the King's Manner while he pronounced these Words, impressed all present, and suspended for a short Time, the Conversation. Never was any Prince more religiously tenacious of his Engagements or Promises. Even the temporary Privation of his Intellect, did not affect his regard to the Assurances that he had given previous to such Alienation of Mind; nor, which is still more wonderful, obliterate them from his Recollection. I

know, though I shall not particularize the Facts, that on his Recovery from the severest Visitations under which he has laboured, he has said to his Minister, in the first Moments of his Convalescence; "Previous to my "Attack of Illness, I made such and such "Promises; they must be effectuated." How deep a Sense of Honor, and how strong a moral Principle, must have animated such a Prince!

The Education of George the Third had not been conducted or superintended in many Respects, with as much Care, as his Birth, and the great Prospects to which he was Heir, should seem to have claimed from his Predecessor. He was only between twelve and thirteen Years of Age, when he lost his Father; and the late King did not extend any very enlightened or affectionate Attention to that important national Object. Even his Mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, appears to have been deeply sensible to the Inefficiency of the various Preceptors successively employed about her Son. Other Charges, of a still more serious Nature, were preferred against some of the Individuals entrusted with the Formation of his Princi-

ples, or who had constant Access to him; as if they endeavoured to imbue him with arbitrary Notions, and to put into his Hands, Authors known to have inculcated tyrannical Maxims of Government. These Accusations, destitute of Proof, and denied in the most peremptory Manner at the Time when they were made in 1752 or 1753, by the Princess Dowager, rest on no solid Foundations. If we wish to contemplate a Portrait of the young Prince of Wales at seventeen Years of Age, drawn by his own Mother in August, 1755, and communicated confidentially to a Friend, we have it in Dodington's "Diary." She said, that "he was "shy and backward; not a wild, dissipated "Boy, but good-natured and cheerful, with "a serious Cast upon the whole: that those "about him, knew him no more than if "they had never seen him. That he was "not quick; but with those he was acquainted, applicable and intelligent. His "Education had given her much Pain. His "Book-learning she was no Judge of, though "she supposed it small or useless: but, she "hoped he might have been instructed in "the general Understanding of Things." It is impossible to doubt the Accuracy and

Fidelity of this Picture, many Features of which, continued indelible throughout his whole Reign.

In modern History he was tolerably well instructed; particularly in the Annals of England and of France, as well as of Germany: but, in classical Knowledge, and all the Compositions of Antiquity, either of Greece or of Rome, historical, as well as poetic, he was little conversant. So slight or imperfect was his Acquaintance with Latin, that at Forty, it may be doubted if he could have construed a Page of Cicero, or of Ovid. He never delighted indeed in those Branches of Study, nor ever passed much of his Time in sedentary Occupations calculated to improve his Mind, after his Accession to the Crown. A Newspaper, which he commonly took up after Dinner, and over which, however interesting its Contents might be, he usually fell asleep in less than half an Hour, constituted the ordinary Extent of his Application. Nor ought we to wonder at this Circumstance, if we consider how numerous were his Avocations; and how little Leisure, the necessary Perusal of public Papers, Dispatches, and Letters, could have

left him for literary Research. If, however, he did not possess a very cultivated Understanding, he might nevertheless be justly considered as not deficient in Accomplishments befitting his high Station. He conversed with almost equal Fluency, as all those Persons who frequented the Levee or the Drawing-room could attest, in the English, French, and German Languages; nor was he ignorant of Italian. He wrote with Brevity, Perspicuity, and Facility. I have had Opportunities to see or hear various of his confidential Notes, addressed, during the Period of the American War, to a Nobleman high in Office, some of which were written under very delicate Circumstances. In all of them, good Sense, Firmness, Principle, Consistency, and Self-possession, were strongly marked through every Line. In Mechanics of all Kinds, he delighted and indulged himself; a Relaxation which seems, somewhat unjustly, to have excited much Animadversion, and still more Ridicule. But, it cannot be denied, that during this Period of his present Majesty's Reign, and down to a later Stage of it, the English People,—for I will not say, the Scotch,—viewed all the Failings of their Sovereign with a microscopic Eye,

while they did Injustice to his numerous Excellencies. They have, however, made him full Amends since 1783, for their preceding Severity.

For Painting and Architecture he shewed a Taste, the more admired, as his two immediate Predecessors on the Throne, altogether destitute of such a Quality, extended neither Favor nor Protection to Polite Letters. Since Charles the First, no Prince had expended such Sums in the Purchase of Productions of Art, or so liberally patronized Artists of every Kind. Music always constituted one of his favorite Recreations; and with the Predilection natural to a German, he manifested great Partiality for the Compositions of Handel. Towards this Time of his Life he began likewise to take a Pleasure in Hunting, for which Diversion he had not betrayed in his Youth, so much Inclination. But, another Occupation or Passion, which, from its beneficial Tendency and Results, as well as from the tranquil Enjoyments annexed to it, might seem peculiarly analogous to his Character and Disposition, employed much of his Thoughts, and no inconsiderable Portion of his Leisure. I mean,

Farming, and Agricultural Pursuits. He may be said to have shewn the Way, and to have set the Example, which has been since imitated by the late Duke of Bedford, Mr. Coke, Lord Somerville, Sir John Sinclair, and so many other distinguished Persons. Even this Inclination, however productive of public Benefit, and laudable in all its Results, yet exposed him to satirical Reflections, which Malignity or party Spirit embodied in the Form of Caricatures.

Satisfied with the legitimate Power entrusted to him by the British Constitution, and deeply impressed with the Sanctity, as well as Inviolability of the Oath administered to him at his Coronation, George the Third did not desire to pass the Limits of his rightful Prerogative. "The King," said Lord North frequently, "would live on Bread "and Water, to preserve the Constitution "of this Country. He would sacrifice his "Life to maintain it inviolate." I know that such was his Opinion of his Sovereign, and Lord North could not err in forming a Judgment on the Point.—But, equally tenacious of his just Pretensions, and firm in resisting popular Violence or Innovation, he

never receded from any Point, or abandoned any Measure, under the Impulse of personal Apprehension. His Courage was calm, temperate, and steady. It was constitutional and hereditary; but, it was always sustained by Conviction, Sense of public Duty, and Religion. These Sentiments inspired, accompanied, and upheld him, in the most distressing Moments of his Reign. Though he had not, like George the First, commanded Armies, and made Campaigns, in Hungary, or on the Rhine; nor had he proved his Valor in the Field, like George the Second, who fought at Oudenarde in his Youth, and at Dettingen in his Age; yet he possessed no less Bravery than his Ancestors: while he joined to personal Steadiness, a Quality still more rare, political Resolution. After the Attempt made to assassinate him in 1787, by Margaret Nicholson; an Attempt which only failed from the Knife being worn so thin about the middle of the Blade, that it bent with the Resistance of the King's Waistcoat, instead of entering his Body, as it would otherwise have done; he immediately held his Levee with the most perfect Composure. No Person who was present on that Day at St. James's, could have supposed that he

had just escaped from so imminent a Danger.

On the 29th of October, 1795, when the Pebble was thrown or discharged into the State Coach, in which he was proceeding to Westminster, to open the Session of Parliament; while surrounded by a most ferocious Mob, who manifested a truly Jacobinical Spirit; he exhibited a Calmness and Self-possession prepared for every Event. Few of his Subjects would have shewn the Presence of Mind, and Attention to every Thing except himself, which pervaded his whole Conduct, on the Evening of the 15th of May, 1800, at the time that Hadfield discharged a Pistol over his Head, in the Theatre, loaded with two Slugs. His whole Anxiety was directed towards the Queen, who not having entered the Box, might, he apprehended, on hearing of the Event, be overcome by her Surprise or Emotions. The dramatic Piece, which was about to be represented, commenced in a short Space of Time afterwards, precisely as if no Accident had interrupted its Performance; and so little were his Nerves shaken, or his internal Tranquillity disturbed by it, that he took his accustomed Doze of three

or four Minutes, between the Conclusion of the Play, and the Commencement of the Farce, precisely as he would have done on any other Night. This Circumstance, which so strongly indicated his Serenity, did not escape the Notice of his Attendants; as I know from more than one of those Noblemen or Gentlemen who accompanied him on that Evening, to the Theatre.

He received during the Course of his Reign, innumerable anonymous Letters threatening his Life, all which he treated with uniform Indifference. A Nobleman, who, I lament, is now no more, and who during many Years was frequently about his Person, as well as much in his Confidence, the late Earl of Sandwich; assured me that he had seen several of them, which His Majesty shewed him, particularly when at Weymouth. While residing there during successive Seasons, he was warned in the ambiguous Manner already mentioned, not to ride out on particular Days, on certain Roads, if he valued his Safety: but, the King never failed to mount his Horse, and to take the very Road indicated in the Letter. Speaking on the Subject, to that Nobleman, he said, "I very well

" know that any Man who chooses to sacri-
" fice his own Life, may, whenever he pleases,
" take away mine; riding out, as I do con-
" tinually, with a single Equerry and a
" Footman. I only hope that whoever may
" attempt it, will not do it in a barbarous or
" brutal Manner." When we reflect on his Conduct under these Circumstances, as well as during the Tumults of March, 1769, and the Riots of June, 1780;—and if we contrast it with the weak or pusillanimous Deportment of Louis the Sixteenth, in July, 1789, when the French Monarchy was virtually overturned; in October of the same Year, at the Time of his being carried Prisoner from Versailles to Paris; or, on the 10th of August, 1792, when he abandoned the Tuilleries, to seek Refuge in the National Assembly;—we shall perceive the leading Cause of the Preservation of England, and of the Destruction of France. To George the Third, considered in his Kingly Capacity, might well be applied the Assertion,

—" 'Tis the last Key Stone
" That makes the Arch."——

He seemed as if raised up by Providence, in its Bounty to Mankind, like an impreg-

nable Mound, to arrest the Fury of Revolution and Jacobinism. How can we wonder that such a Prince should prefer Pitt, notwithstanding the Inflexibilities of his Character, and the Intractability of his natural Disposition, for First Minister; rather than Fox, who was successively the Eulogist of Washington, of Laurens, of La Fayette, of Condorcet, and all the Saints or Martyrs of French and American Insurrection!

That George the Third did not display those great Energies of Mind, those Arts of condescending Popularity, and that Assemblage of extraordinary Endowments, which met in Elizabeth; and which rendered her at once the Terror of Europe, and the Idol of her own Subjects, must be admitted. That he could not, like Charles the Second, balance the Errors or the Vices of his Government, by the Seduction of his Manners; and induce his People, like that Prince, to love his Person, though they condemned his Conduct; we shall as readily confess. That he had not the Advantage of being brought up amidst Privations and Mortifications of every kind, like William the Third; nor was, like William, compelled, at his first

Entrance on public Life, to extricate his Country by Arms, from a powerful foreign Invader:—that he did not nourish the profound Ambition, or develope the deep Policy and active military Spirit, of that illustrious Sovereign; cannot be disputed. But, if he was less distinguished by Talents than William, he exhibited greater Virtues. He resembled, indeed, in the leading Features of his Character, more the two Antonines, than Trajan or Augustus; and excited greater Respect, than he awakened Admiration. But, Ages may probably elapse, before we shall again behold on the Throne, a Prince more qualified on the whole to dispense Happiness, and more justly an Object of universal Affection, blended with Esteem.

"Quo nihil majus meliusve Terris,
Fata donavere bonique Divi,
Nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
Tempora priscum."

If we compare him, as it is natural to do, either in his public Capacity, or in his private Conduct, with his two immediate Predecessors, who may nevertheless justly be considered, on a fair review of their Characters, as amiable and respectable Sovereigns; the

Comparison is highly flattering to George the Third. He possessed indeed some Advantages not enjoyed by either of those Princes. His Birth, which took Place in this Island; and that complete Assimilation with the People of England, which can only result from the joint Effect of Habits, Language, and Education; gave him a Superiority over them, and placed him upon higher Ground. The two preceding Kings were Foreigners, who acceded, or were called to the Throne, at an advanced Period of Life. George the First had attained his fifty-third, and George the Second his forty-fourth year, at their respective Accession. They naturally and necessarily considered Hanover as their native Country, though Fortune had transported them to another Soil. Even their Policy, their Treaties, their Wars, and all their Measures, were warped by foreign Predilections, to which they too often sacrificed the Interests of Great Britain. From these Prejudices, the King, who had never visited his Electoral Dominions, nor knew Germany except by Description, was exempt in a great Degree. Less impetuous and irascible than his Grandfather, he possessed likewise a more capacious Mind, more Command of

Temper, and better Talents for Government. In Moderation, Judgment, and Vigor of Intellect, he at least equalled George the First: while in every other Quality of the Heart, or of the Understanding, he exceeded that Monarch. In his private Life, as a Husband, a Father, and a Man, he was superior to either. The Conduct of George the First in these Relations, will not indeed bear a severe Inspection. His Treatment of the unfortunate Sophia of Zell, his Wife, whom he immured during the greater Part of her Life, in a solitary Hanoverian Castle; cannot be easily reconciled to the Feelings of Justice, or even of Humanity. As little did he consult Decorum, or public Opinion and Morals, in bringing over with him from Hanover to this Country, his two German Mistresses; Sophia, Baroness Kilmanseck, and Melesina, Princess of Eberstein; whom he respectively created, the one, Countess of Darlington, and the other, Duchess of Kendal. We may see in Mr. Walpole's "Reminiscences," how openly they were received here in that Character. Charles the Second could not have observed less Secrecy, with respect to Lady Castlemaine, or the Duchess of Portsmouth; nor have manifested less Scruple

about raising them to the Dignity of the British Peerage. Even at sixty-seven Years of Age, George the First, it appears, was about to have formed a new Connexion of the same Nature, with Miss Brett, when he was carried off by an apoplectic Stroke.

His Son and Successor displayed indeed the utmost Affection for his Queen, with whom he not only lived on Terms of conjugal Union, but, whose Loss he deplored with Tears, and cherished the warmest Respect for her Memory. Yet he did not on that Account, restrain his Inclinations for other Women. Mrs. Howard, who became afterwards Countess of Suffolk; and Madame de Walmoden, better known as Countess of Yarmouth; the one previous, and the other subsequent, to Queen Caroline's Decease; were both avowedly distinguished by the strongest Marks of royal Favor. The latter is accused by popular Report, of having made on more than one Occasion, a most unjustifiable Use, or rather Abuse, of her Interest with the King. Even Peerages were said to be sold and distributed for her pecuniary Benefit; a Charge that has been revived from the Treasury Bench, by a Man high in

Office, in our Time. George the Third exhibited a Model of Self-Command and of Continence, at twenty-two, than which Antiquity, Greek or Roman, can produce nothing more admirable, in the Persons of Alexander, or of Scipio. It is well known that before his Marriage, he distinguished by his Partiality Lady Sarah Lenox, then one of the most beautiful young Women of high Rank in the Kingdom. Lord Holland, who had espoused her elder Sister, was supposed, from obvious Motives of interested Ambition, to lend every Facility in his Power, to the young King's meeting Lady Sarah, as he passed near Holland House frequently during his Morning Excursions on Horseback. In the Hay Season of the year 1761, she might often be seen in the Fields bordering on the high Road near Kensington. Edward the Fourth, or Henry the Eighth, in his Situation, regardless of Consequences, would have married her, and placed her on the Throne. Charles the Second, more licentious, would have endeavoured to seduce her. But, the King, who, though he admired her, neither desired to make her his Wife nor his Mistress, subdued his Passion by the Strength of his Reason, his

Principles, and his Sense of public Duty. When we reflect on these Circumstances, we may say with Horace, addressing Ourselves to the British Nation,

"Quando ullum inveniet Parem?"

After having thus faithfully pourtrayed, though in the seeming Language of Panegyric, the Character of George the Third; it is impossible, nevertheless, without violating Truth, to deny that at this Time, far from being popular, he was not even an Object of general Affection. We may justly question whether Charles the Second, though one of the most unprincipled, profligate, and licentious Sovereigns who ever reigned in this Country; destitute of Morals; sunk in dissolute Pleasures; who tamely beheld his Fleet burned by the Dutch, in his own Harbours; a Pensioner of France; insensible to national Glory; and regardless of the Subjection of the Continent to Louis the Fourteenth;—yet was ever so unpopular at any Period of his Reign. In order to explain this seeming Paradox, and to shew how a Prince, who apparently, from his many private Virtues, should have possessed the Attachment

of his Subjects; was nevertheless considered by a very large Proportion of them, with contrary Sentiments; we must review the principal Features of his Government. That Retrospect will fully account for the Circumstance, while it elucidates the Events which followed the Commencement of the Year 1781.

To the confined Plan of Education, and sequestered Life which the King led, subsequent to the Death of his Father, before his own Accession to the Crown, may be justly traced and attributed, at least in Part, many of the Errors, as well as the Misfortunes, that mark the Portion of the British Annals, from 1760 down to the Close of the American War. During near ten Years which elapsed between the Demise of Frederic, Prince of Wales, early in 1751, and the Decease of George the Second; a period when the human Mind is susceptible of such deep Impressions; he remained in a State of almost absolute Seclusion from his future People, and from the World. Constantly resident at Leicester House, or at Carlton House, when he was in London; immured at Kew, whenever he went to the Country;

perpetually under the Eye of his Mother and of Lord Bute, who acted in the closest Unity of Design; he saw comparatively few other Persons: and those, only chosen Individuals of both Sexes. They naturally obtained, and long preserved, a very firm Ascendant over him. When he ascended the Throne, though already arrived at Manhood, his very Person was hardly known, and his Character was still less understood, beyond a narrow Circle. Precautions, it is well ascertained, were even adopted by the Princess Dowager, to preclude as much as possible, Access to him: Precautions which, to the Extent of her Ability, were redoubled after he became King. It will scarcely be believed, but it is nevertheless true, that in Order to prevent his conversing with any Persons, or receiving any written Intimations, anonymous or otherwise, between the Drawing Room and the Door of Carlton House, when he was returning from thence to St. James's Palace, or to Buckingham House, after his Evening Visits to his Mother, she never failed to accompany him till he got into his Sedan Chair. "*Junius*," in May, 1770, after invidiously comparing Edward the Second and Richard the Second, (two

of the weakest or most misguided Princes who ever reigned in this Country,) with George the Third; adds, when summing up the leading Features of his Character, " Se-
" cluded from the World, attached from his
" Infancy to one set of Persons, and one set
" of Ideas, he can neither open his Heart to
" new Connexions, nor his Mind to better In-
" formation. A Character of this Sort, is
" the Soil fittest to produce that obstinate
" Bigotry in Politics and Religion, which
" begins with a meritorious Sacrifice of the
" Understanding, and finally conducts the
" Monarch and the Martyr to the Block."

A Prince who had been endowed by Nature with great Energies of Mind, would, no doubt, have soon liberated himself from such Fetters. Yet we may remember that Louis the Fourteenth, who, whatever Faults he committed in the Course of his long Reign, must nevertheless always be considered as a Sovereign of very superior intellectual Attainments; remained under the Tutelage of his Mother and his Minister, of Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin, till even a later Period of Life than twenty-two. Nor did he then emancipate himself. It was

Death, that by carrying off the Cardinal, allowed the King to display those Qualities, which have rendered so celebrated his Name and Reign. A Prince, on the other Hand, of a gay, social, dissipated, or convivial Disposition, would equally have burst through these Impediments. But, Pleasure of every Kind, in the common Acceptation of the Term, as meaning Dissipation, presented scarcely any Attractions for him, even previous to his Marriage. Stories were indeed generally circulated, of his Attachment to a young Woman, a Quaker, about this Time of his Life; just as Scandal, many Years afterwards, whispered that he distinguished Lady Bridget Tollemache by his particular Attentions. The former Report was probably well founded; and the latter Assertion was unquestionably true: but, those Persons who have enjoyed most Opportunities of studying the King's Character, will most incline to believe, that in neither Instance did he pass the Limits of innocent Gallantry, or occasional Familiarity. As little was he to be seduced by the Gratifications of the Table, of Wine, or of Festivity. To all these Allurements he seemed disinclined from natural Constitution, moral, and physical. His Bro-

ther, Edward, Duke of York, plunged on the contrary very early, into every Sort of Excess. But the Example, however calculated to operate it might seem, produced no Effect on a Prince, modest, reserved, continent, capable of great Self-Command, and seeking almost all his Amusements within a narrow domestic Circle.

Before he succeeded to the Crown, Lord Bute constituted in fact almost his only constant Companion and Confident. To him alone the Heir Apparent unbosomed his Thoughts: with him the Prince rode, walked, read, and conversed. They were on Horseback together, upon the 25th of October, 1760, not far from Kew, when the Intelligence of George the Second's sudden Death reached him; confirmed immediately afterwards by Mr. Pitt in Person, who then presided at the Head of His Majesty's Counsels, or formed at least the Soul of the Cabinet. On receiving the Information they returned to the Palace, where the new King remained during the whole Day, and passed that Night, not coming up to St. James's till the ensuing Morning. Mr. Pitt having presented him a Paper, containing a few Sent-

ences, which he suggested, it might be proper for His Majesty to pronounce on meeting the Privy Council; the King, after thanking him, replied that he had already considered the Subject of his intended Address, to which he made a very important Addition with his own Hand, commented on with acrimonious Pleasantry by Wilkes, on Account of its defective Orthography. I mean, the memorable Declaration of his Pride in the Name of "*Briton*," or as it was there written, "*Britain*." The Minister, who perceived that Lord Bute had anticipated him in the proposed Address, made the unavoidable Inference. It was indeed sufficiently obvious, that however his Administration might nominally continue for some Time, yet his Influence and Authority were eclipsed or superseded.

Lord Bute, though in his private Character, if not irreproachable in all Respects, yet at least decorous and correct; nor by any Means deficient in Abilities; appears to have been nevertheless a very unfit Governor for such a Prince. There exists even no Doubt that George the Second opposed and disapproved his Appointment to that important

Office; but, the Partiality and Perseverance of the Princess Dowager, prevailed over the old King's Repugnance. The Circumstance of Lord Bute's being a Native of Scotland, exposed him necessarily to malevolent Attacks of many Kinds; a Fact at which, we who live in the present Century ought not to wonder, when we reflect how few Years had then elapsed since the Rebellion of 1745. Wilkes and Churchill, the one in Prose, the other in Poetry, always levelled their keenest Shafts against the Mother, and against the Minister, of the young Sovereign. His very Virtues became Matter of Reproach, of Ridicule, or of Satire. "Junius," some Years later, improving upon these first Attempts to degrade him in the Estimation of his Subjects, condensed all the Powers of Declamation in his memorable "Letter to the King." Yet, the Nation at large, candid and just, appreciated him fairly on his own Merits. During the most gloomy Periods of his Reign, while they lamented or reprobated the Measures of his various Administrations, from Lord Bute down to Lord North inclusive, with little Variation or Exception; they admitted his personal Virtues to form no slender Extenuation of

his public Errors or Mistakes. His exemplary Discharge of every private Duty, balanced in their Estimate, the Misfortunes which his Pertinacity, Inflexibility, or injudicious Selection of his confidential Servants, had entailed upon the Country, and upon the Empire.

It was well known that George the Second and his Son, Frederic, Prince of Wales, during several Years previous to the Decease of the latter, lived on Terms of complete Alienation, or rather of Hostility. Scarcely indeed were any Measures observed, or was any Veil drawn before their mutual Recriminations. The Prince expired suddenly, in the Beginning of 1751, at Leicester House, in the Arms of Desnoyèrs, the celebrated Dancing-Master; who being near his Bedside, engaged in playing on the Violin for His Royal Highness's Amusement, supported him in his last Moments. His End was ultimately caused by an internal Abscess, that had long been forming, in Consequence of a Blow which he received in the Side from a Cricket Ball, while he was engaged in playing at that Game, on the Lawn at Cliefden House in Buckinghamshire, where he then

principally resided. It did not take Place however, for several Months subsequent to the Accident. A Collection of Matter having been produced, which burst in his Throat, the Discharge instantly suffocated him. The King, his Father, though he never went to visit him during the whole Progress of his Illness, sent however constantly to make Enquiries; and received Accounts, every two Hours, of his State and Condition. But he was so far from despairing altogether of Frederic's Recovery, that on the contrary, he considered such an Event as highly probable, down to the very Evening on which His Royal Highness actually expired:—for I know, that only a short Time before, the King being engaged in Conversation with the Countess of Yarmouth, when the Page entered, announcing that the Prince was better, "There now," said His Majesty, turning to her, "I told you that he would not die." On the Evening of his Decease, the 20th of March, George the Second had repaired, according to his usual Custom, to Lady Yarmouth's Apartments, situated on the Ground Floor in St. James's Palace, where a Party of Persons of Distinction of both Sexes, generally assembled for the Pur-

pose. His Majesty had just sat down to Play, and was engaged at Cards, when a Page, dispatched from Leicester House. arrived, bringing Information that the Prince was no more. He received the Intelligence without testifying any violent Emotion. Then rising, he crossed the Room to Lady Yarmouth's Table, who was likewise occupied at Play; and leaning over her Chair, said to her in a low tone of Voice, in German, "Fritz is dode." Freddy is dead. Having communicated it to her, he instantly withdrew. She followed him, the Company broke up, and the News became public. These Particulars were related to me by the late Lord Sackville, who made one of Lady Yarmouth's Party, and heard the King announce to her his Son's Decease.

Frederic seems never to have enjoyed from his early Youth, a distinguished Place in the Affection of his Father, whose Partiality was reserved for his youngest Son, William, Duke of Cumberland. During the last twelve Years of Frederic's Life, we know that he passed much of his Time, in Anticipations of his future Sovereignty; and in forming Administrations, which, like his own Reign,

were destined never to be realized. Among the Noblemen and Gentlemen who occupied a high Place in his Favor or Friendship, were Charles, Duke of Queensberry, the Patron of Gay, who died in 1778; Mr. Spencer, Brother to the second Duke of Marlborough, and commonly called Jack Spencer; Charles, Earl of Middlesex, afterwards Duke of Dorset, and his Brother, Lord John Sackville, together with Francis, Earl of Guildford. The personal Resemblance that existed between Lord North, (son of the last mentioned Peer, who was subsequently First Minister) and Prince George, was thought so striking, as to excite much Remark and Pleasantry on the Part of Frederic himself, who often jested on the Subject with Lord Guildford; observing, that the World would think one of their Wives had played her Husband false, though it might be doubtful, which of them lay under the Imputation. Persons who may be disposed to refine upon the Prince's Observation, will perhaps likewise be struck with other Points of physical Similarity between George the Third and Lord North; in particular, with the Loss of Sight, a Privation common to both in the Decline of Life.

Lady Archibald Hamilton formed during many Years, the Object of Frederic's avowed and particular Attachment. In order to be near him, she resided in Pall-Mall, in the House afterwards occupied by the late Lord Sackville, close to Carlton House; the Prince having allowed her to construct a Drawing-room, the Windows of which commanded over the Gardens of that Palace, and the House itself communicated with them. Towards Men of Genius, His Royal Highness always affected to extend his Protection. *Glover*, the Writer of "Leonidas," enjoyed his Confidence; though we may justly doubt how much of it was given to him as a Member of Parliament, the Friend of Pulteney and Pitt; how much was extended to him, as a Poet. The Prince shewed uncommon Deference for *Pope*, whom he visited at Twickenham; a Circumstance to which that Author alludes with natural Pride, when, after enumerating the great or illustrious Persons who honored him with their Regard and Friendship, he subjoins,

"And if yet higher the proud List should end,
"Still let me add, no Follower, but a Friend."

In Force of Character, Steadiness, Vigor of Mind, and the Qualities that fit Men for Government, even his Friends considered the Prince to be deficient. Nor was Economy to be numbered among the Virtues that he displayed; he having before his Decease contracted Debts to a large Amount, which were never discharged. Even through the Medium of Dodington's Description, who was partial to Frederic's Character and Memory, we cannot conceive any very elevated Idea of him. His Court seems to have been the Center of Cabal, the very Cave of Æolus, torn by contending Candidates for the Guidance of his future imaginary Reign. The Earl of Egmont, and Dodington himself, were avowedly at the Head of two great hostile Parties. In November, 1749, we find His Royal Highness, in a secret Conclave held at Carlton House, making all the financial Dispositions proper to be adopted on the Demise of the King, his Father; and framing a new Civil List. At the Close of these mock Deliberations, he binds the Three Assistants to abide by, and support his Plans; giving them his Hand, and making them take Hands with each other. The

Transaction, as narrated by Dodington, who was, himself, one of the Party, reminds the Reader of a similar Convocation commemorated by Sallust, and is not unlike one of the Scenes in "Venice preserved." It was performed, however, after Dinner, which may perhaps form its best Apology. The Diversions of the Prince's Court, appear to us equally puerile. Three times, within thirteen Months preceding his Decease, Dodington accompanied him and the Princess of Wales, to Fortune-tellers; the last of which Frolicks took place scarcely nine Weeks before his Death. After one of these magical Consultations, apparently dictated by Anxiety to penetrate his future Destiny; but, in Answer to which Enquiries, the Fortune-teller might have replied with Umbricius,

"Fanus promittere Patris
Nec volo, nec possum;"

the Party supped with Mrs. Cannon, the Princess's Midwife. Frederic used to go, disguised, to Hockley-in-the-Hole, to witness Bull-baiting. Either Lord Middlesex, or Lord John Sackville, Father to the late Duke of Dorset, were commonly his Com-

panions on such Expeditions. As far as we are authorized from these Premises, to form a Conclusion, his premature Death before he ascended the Throne, ought not to excite any great national Regret.

George the Second, who survived the Prince near ten Years, died at last not less suddenly than his Son, though at the advanced Age of Seventy-seven; a Period attained by no Sovereign in modern History, except Louis the Fourteenth. A Rupture in some of the Vessels, or in the Membrane of the Heart, carried him off in a few Minutes. During his whole Life, but, particularly for a number of Years before his Decease, he had been subject to such constant Palpitations about the Region of the Heart, especially after Dinner, that he always took off his Cloaths, and reposed himself for an Hour in Bed, of an Afternoon. In order to accommodate himself to this Habit or Infirmity, Mr. Pitt, when, as Secretary of State, he was sometimes necessitated to transact Business with the King during the Time that he lay down, always knelt on a Cushion by the Bed-side; a Mark of Respect which contributed to render him not a little ac-

ceptable to His Majesty. At his rising, George the Second dressed himself completely a second Time, and commonly passed the Evening at Cards, with Lady Yarmouth, in a select Party. His Sight had greatly failed him, for some Time preceding his Decease. I have heard Mr. Fraser say, who was during many Years, Under Secretary of State, that in 1760, a few Months before the King died, having presented a Paper to him for his Signature, at Kensington, (probably at a Time when the Secretary of State was prevented by Indisposition from performing that Duty, or by some other indispensable Cause, which Fraser did not explain;) George the Second took the Pen in his Hand; and after, as he conceived affixing his Name to it, returned it to Fraser. But, so defective was his Vision, that he had neither dipped his Pen in the Ink, nor did he perceive that of Course he had only drawn it over the Paper, without making any Impression. Fraser, aware of the King's Blindness, yet, unwilling to let His Majesty perceive that he discovered it, said, "Sir, I have given you so bad a Pen, "that it will not write. Allow me to pre-"sent you a better Pen for the Purpose."

Then dipping it himself in the Ink, he returned it to the King, who, without making any Remark, instantly signed the Paper.

He was unquestionably an honest, well-intentioned, and good Prince; of very moderate, but, not mean Talents; frugal in his Expenses, from natural Character: more inclined to Avarice than any King of England since Henry the Seventh; irascible and hasty, as well as capable of imbibing strong Prejudices of many Kinds; but, not vindictive in his Temper. Imbued with a strong Enmity to France, and as warm a Predilection for Germany, he never enjoyed such Felicity as when at Herenhausen, surrounded with his Hanoverian Courtiers and Subjects. William the Third in like Manner, seemed to taste much more Happiness, while hunting at Loo, amidst the sterile Sands of Guelderland, than at Whitehall, or at Hampton Court. At the Battle of Dettingen, in 1743, it is well known that George the Second's Horse, which was unruly, ran away with him to a considerable Distance. General Cyrus Trapaud, then an Ensign, by seizing the Horse's Bridle, enabled His Majesty to dismount in Safety. "Now "that I am once on my Legs," said he, "I

"am sure I shall not run away." Having enquired Trapaud's Name, the King always distinguished him afterwards in military Promotions. When incensed either with his Ministers, or with his Attendants, he was sometimes not Master of his Actions, nor attentive to preserve his Dignity. On these Occasions, his Hat, and it is asserted, even his Wig, became frequently the Objects on which he expended his Anger.

Queen Caroline, by her Address, her judicious Compliances, and her Activity of Character, maintained, down to the Time of her Decease in 1737, a great Ascendant over him. She formed the chief conducting Wire between the Sovereign and his First Minister. It is a Fact, that Sir Robert Walpole and Her Majesty managed Matters with so much Art, as to keep up a secret Understanding by Watch-words, even in the Drawing-room, when and where George the Second was present. According to the King's Temper, Frame of Mind, or Practicability on the Points which Sir Robert wished to carry, the Queen signified to him whether to proceed, or to desist, on that particular Day. This Communication was so well preconcert-

ed, and so delicately executed, as to be imperceptible by the By-standers. Sir Robert lost a most able and vigilant Ally, when Queen Caroline died. Her Decease was indeed a Misfortune to her Husband, to her Children, and to the Nation. She sacrificed her Life to the Desire of concealing her Complaint; a Rupture of the Bowels, which might have been easily reduced, if she had not delayed the Disclosure of it, till a Mortification took Place. We have not possessed since Elizabeth's Death, a Queen of more Talent, Capacity, and Strength of Understanding, than Caroline of Brandenburgh Anspach. Anne of Denmark, Wife of James the First, was a Woman of mean Endowments, deficient in Judgment, and of doubtful moral Character. Henrietta Maria of France, possessed great personal Beauty, Charms of Conversation, and Graces of Deportment: but, she was violent, bigotted in her Attachment to the Catholic Faith, and conduced by her imprudent Counsels, to accelerate the Ruin of Charles the First. Catherine of Braganza, though a Woman of Virtue, wanted every Attraction of Mind or of Body; and Mary of Modena, James the Second's Queen, however agreeable in her Person, as

well as correct in her Conduct she might be, was superstitious to Excess; and from that Circumstance unfit for the Throne of England, though she might have adorned a little Italian Court, Mary, Consort of William the Third, approached the nearest to Queen Caroline, but, did not equal her in mental Endowments. The last Princess of the Stuart Line, Anne, though in private Life amiable, virtuous, and blameless, cannot enter into any Competition with Caroline of Brandenburgh Anspach.

At the time of his Decease, George the Second certainly enjoyed great and universal Popularity: but, to Mr. Pitt, afterwards created Earl of Chatham, he was eminently indebted for this gratifying Distinction at the Close of Life, when Victory was said to have erected her Altar between his aged Knees. The Misfortunes and Disgraces which preceded Pitt's Entrance into Office, had in fact forced him upon the King; who, notwithstanding that Minister's recognized Talents, did not employ him without the utmost Reluctance. The inglorious naval Engagement that took Place in the Mediterranean, between Byng and La Galissoniere; for his

Conduct during which Action, the former of those Admirals suffered Death; the consequent Loss of Minorca; the Defeat of General Braddock in Carolina; the Repulse sustained before Ticonderago; the ignominious Capitulation of William, Duke of Cumber-Land, at Closter-Seven, afterwards eluded or violated; and the disgraceful Expedition against Rochfort;—these ill-concerted, or ill-executed Measures, at the Commencement of the War of 1756, had not only brought the Administration into Contempt, but, had much diminished the National Affection borne towards the Sovereign. From the Period of Pitt's Nomination to a Place in the Cabinet, Success almost uniformly attended on the British Arms. Though only occupying the Post of Secretary of State, he directed, or rather he dictated the Operations, at Home and Abroad. The Treasury, the Admiralty, the War Office, all obeyed his Orders with prompt and implicit Submission. Lord Anson and the Duke of Newcastle, sometimes, it is true, remonstrated, and often complained; but, always finished by Compliance. In the full Career of Pitt's ministerial Triumphs, George the Second died; an Event which it is impossible not

to consider as having been a great national Misfortune, when we reflect on the Nature of the Peace which took place little more than two Years afterwards, in November, 1762. Mr. Pitt, we may be assured, would have dictated far different Terms to the two Branches of the House of Bourbon. The new King did not indeed immediately dismiss so able and popular a Statesman; but, it was soon suspected that his Administration, though it might languish, or continue for a few Months, would not prove of long Duration. Lord Bute had already secured the exclusive Regard and Favor of the young Monarch.

The late Mrs. Boscawen, Widow of the Admiral of that Name, so distinguished in our Naval Annals, whose Connexions enabled her to collect many curious Facts in the course of a long Life; has often assured me, that Lord Bute's first personal Introduction to the Prince of Wales, originated in a very singular Accident. That Nobleman, as is well known, married the only Daughter of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague, by whom he had a very numerous Family. She brought him eventually like-

wise a large landed Property: but, as her Father, Mr. Wortley, did not die till the Year 1761; and as her Brother, the eccentric Edward Wortley Montague, lived to a much later Period; I believe, down to 1777; Lord Bute, encumbered with a Number of Children, found his patrimonial Fortune very unequal to maintaining the Figure befitting his Rank in Life. After passing some Years in profound Retirement, on his Estate in the Isle of Bute, he re-visited England, and took a House on the Banks of the Thames. During his Residence there, he was induced to visit Egham Races, about the Year 1747. But, as he either did not at that Time keep a Carriage, or did not use it to convey him to the Race Ground, he condescended to accompany a medical Acquaintance; in other words, the Apothecary that attended His Lordship's Family, who carried him there in his own Chariot. Frederic, Prince of Wales, who then resided at Cliefden, honored the Races on that Day, with his Presence; where a Tent was pitched for his Accommodation, and the Reception of the Princess, his Consort. The Weather proving rainy, it was proposed, in order to amuse his Royal Highness before his return Home, to make

a Party at Cards: but a Difficulty occurred about finding Persons of sufficient Rank to sit down at the same Table with him. While they remained under this Embarrassment, somebody observed that Lord Bute had been seen on the Race Ground; who, as being an Earl, would be peculiarly proper to make one of the Prince's Party. He was soon found, informed of the Occasion which demanded his Attendance, brought to the Tent, and presented to Frederic. When the Company broke up, Lord Bute thought of returning back to his own House: but his Friend the Apothecary had disappeared; and with him had disappeared the Chariot, in which his Lordship had been brought to Egham Races. The Prince was no sooner made acquainted with the Circumstance, than he insisted on Lord Bute's accompanying him to Cliefden, and there passing the Night. He complied, rendered himself extremely acceptable to their Royal Highnesses, and thus laid the Foundation, under a succeeding Reign, of his political Elevation, which flowed originally in some Measure from this strange Contingency.

Lord Bute, when young, possessed a very

handsome Person, of which Advantage he was not insensible; and he used to pass many Hours every Day, as his Enemies asserted, occupied in contemplating the Symmetry of his own Legs, during his solitary Walks by the side of the Thames. Even after he became an Inmate at Cliefden, and at Leicester House, he frequently played the Part of "Lothario," in the private Theatricals exhibited for the Amusement of their Royal Highnesses, by the late Duchess of Queensbury. To this Fact Wilkes alludes with malignant Ridicule, in his memorable Letter of the "15th of March, 1763," addressed to the Earl of Bute, where He says, "In one *Part*, which was remarkably *humane* and *amiable*, you were so great, that the general Exclamation was, *here you did not act*. In another *Part*, you were no less perfect: I mean, in the famous Scene of *Hamlet*, where you pour *fatal Poison into the Ear* of a good unsuspecting King." Besides so many external Accomplishments, he possessed a cultivated Mind, illuminated by a Taste for various Branches of the fine Arts and Letters. For the Study of Botany he nourished a decided Passion, which he gratified to the utmost; and in the Indul-

gence of which Predilection, he manifested on some Occasions, a princely Liberality. Dr. Hill, commonly denominated *Sir John* after he received the Swedish Order of *Vasa* from Gustavus the Third, was one of the Objects of his Bounty. Nor did He fail in extending his Protection and Patronage to Men of Letters: but it cannot be denied that he manifested some national Partiality in their Selection. *John Home*, the Author of "Douglas," a Tragedy which attained a Reputation superior to its Merits; as well as *Mallet*, or *Malloch*, (for his Name was differently written,) and *Murphy*, all partook of the ministerial Favor. So did *James Macpherson*, who ushered into the World some of the Poems of Ossian, under the immediate Auspices of the first Lord of the Treasury.

Of a Disposition naturally retired and severe, Lord Bute was not formed for an extensive Commerce with Mankind, or endowed by Nature with Talents for managing popular Assemblies. Even in the Interior of his Family he was austere, harsh, difficult of Access, and sometimes totally inaccessible to his own Children. In the House of Lords he

neither displayed Eloquence, nor Graciousness of Manners. But he proved himself likewise deficient in a Quality still more essential for a First Minister, Firmness of Character. Yet, with these political Defects of Mind, and of personal Deportment, he undertook to displace, and he aspired to succeed Mr. Pitt, at a Moment when that Minister had carried the Glory of the British Arms to an unexampled Height, by Sea and Land. We cannot sufficiently regret that George the Third should not have contented himself with heaping Honors and Dignities on him, carefully excluding him from any political Employment. Few Princes, however, of whom History preserves any Record, have manifested at Twenty-three, a Judgment so superior to the natural Partialities of Youth. Even Elizabeth, though She placed Cecil at the Head of her Councils, yet committed her Armies successively to the Conduct of her two Favourites, the Earls of Leicester and Essex.

After an Administration of about two Years, passed either in the Post of Secretary of State, or as First Lord of the Treasury; during which Time he brought the War with

France and Spain to a Conclusion; Lord Bute abandoning his royal Master, quitted his Situation, and again withdrew to private Life. No Testimonies of national Regret, or of national Esteem, accompanied him at his Departure from Office. His magnificent House in Berkeley Square, though scarcely completed, exposed him to very malignant Comments, respecting the means by which he had reared so expensive a Pile. His Enemies asserted that he could not possibly have possessed the Ability, either from his patrimonial Fortune, or in Consequence of his Marriage, to erect such a Structure. As little could he be supposed to have amassed wherewithal, during his very short Administration, to suffice for its Construction. The only satisfactory Solution of the Difficulty therefore, lay in imagining, however unjustly, that he had either received Presents from France, or had made large Purchases in the Public Funds previous to the Signature of the Preliminaries. "Junius," addressing the Duke of Bedford, who signed that Peace, in his Letter of the "19th September, 1769," written within Seven Years afterwards; charges the Duke in the most unequivocal Terms, with betraying and sel-

ling his Country. "Your Patrons," says he, "wanted an Embassador who would sub-"mit to make Concessions, without daring "to insist upon any honorable Condition for "his Sovereign. Their Business required a "Man, who had as little Feeling for his own "Dignity, as for the Welfare of his Country; "and they found him in the first Rank of "the Nobility. Belleisle, Goree, Gauda-"loupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fishery, "and the Havannah, are glorious Monu-"ments of your Grace's Talents for Negotia-"tion. My Lord, we are too well ac-"quainted with your pecuniary Charac-"ter, to think it possible that so many "public Sacrifices should have been made, "without some private Compensations. "Your Conduct carries with it an internal "Evidence, beyond all the legal Proofs of "a Court of Justice." Such an anonymous Charge, however fascinating or energetic may be the Language in which it is cloath-ed, certainly ought not to be considered as Proof; but, no Answer was ever made to it either by the Duke, or by any of his Friends, if we except Sir William Draper's vague and unauthorized Letter of the "7th of October, 1769."

Dr. Musgrave, an English Physician, who practised Medicine at Paris in 1763, and whose Name has been known in the Republic of Letters, by the Publication of some Tragedies of Euripides; did not scruple to assert publicly, that the Princess Dowager of Wales and Lord Bute received Money from the French Court, for aiding to effect the Peace. I am acquainted with the Individuals, Gentlemen of the highest Honor and most unimpeached Veracity, to whom Dr. Musgrave himself related the Circumstance, at Paris, in 1764, almost immediately after the Treaty of Fontainbleau. And if I do not name them, it is only because they are still alive. Dr. Musgrave did not retract his Accusation, when he was examined at the Bar of the House of Commons, some Years afterwards, in the Month of January, 1770, upon the same Point. He maintained on the contrary, his original Assertion, which he supported by Facts or Circumstances calculated to authenticate its Truth; though the House thought proper to declare it "Frivolous, and unworthy of Credit." "Junius," writing in the Month of May, 1770, says, "Through the whole Proceed-"ings of the House of Commons in this

" Session, there is an apparent, a palpable " Consciousness of Guilt, which has pre- " vented their daring to assert their own " Dignity, where it has been immediately " and grossly attacked. In the Course of " Dr. Musgrave's Examination, he said " every Thing that can be conceived morti- " fying to Individuals, or offensive to the " House. They voted his Information fri- " volous; but, they were awed by his Firm- " ness and Integrity, and sunk under it." Dr. Musgrave resided in this Country, during the last Years of his Life; and died, I believe, at Exeter, in the Summer of the Year 1780.

Similar Reflections indeed, at different Periods of our History, have been thrown not only upon Ministers, but, even upon Kings. Lord Clarendon, when Chancellor, under Charles the Second, having, like Lord Bute, undertaken to build a magnificent House in London, soon after the Sale of Dunkirk to Louis the Fourteenth, about 1664; it was named by the People " Dunkirk House," on the Supposition of its having been raised by French Money. No Person can doubt of Charles the Second

himself having received large Sums from the Court of Versailles, for Purposes inimical to the Interests of his People. So did his Successor, James the Second. Bribes were even confidently said and believed to have been given to various of the Courtiers or Favourites of William the Third, from the East-India Company, and other Corporate Bodies, in order to procure the Consent or Approbation of the Sovereign, to the Renewal of their Charters. The Duchess of Kendal, Mistress of George the First; as well as Craggs, Father of the Secretary of State of the same Name, and himself at the Time, Post Master General; together with other Individuals about the Court or Person of that Monarch, were either known or supposed to have been implicated in the Transactions of the memorable South Sea Year, 1720, when such immense Sums were gained and lost in that ruinous Speculation. Malignity did not spare the King himself, who, it was asserted, became a Sharer in the Acquisitions. Lord Bute, at the distance of half a Century, is still believed by many Persons to have rendered the Treaty of Fontainbleau subservient to his private Emolument: a Supposition which, however un-

just or unmerited it may be, was again renewed Twenty Years later, at the Conclusion of the Peace of 1783, against Lord Shelburne, with greater Virulence, and with bolder Affirmations! Such were the unfortunate Results of the Earl of Bute's Ministry, which must be considered as having given the first Blow to the Popularity enjoyed by the King, at his Accession to the Throne.

It is an indisputable Fact that Lord Bute, terrified or disgusted at the Indications of Resentment shewn towards him by the Nation, forsook his Master; and that he was not dismissed or abandoned by the Sovereign. He was the first, though not the last Minister, who in the Course of the present Reign, exhibited that example of Timidity, or Weariness, or Desertion. But, his ostensible Relinquishment of Office, by no Means restored to the King, the Confidence or the Affections of his Subjects. Even when nominally divested of Power, Lord Bute was still supposed to direct, unseen, the Wheels of Government. However false and unfounded might be this Imputation, and such I have ever considered it, yet it operated with irresistible Force. A Cry of secret Influence

arose, more pernicious in its Effects on the Country at large, than even the open Accusations lately levelled against the Incapacity, or pretended Venality of the First Minister. The Grenville Administration, which succeeded, was stigmatized as being only a Machine, the Puppets of which were agitated by concealed Wires. It is obvious, that no Charge in the Power of Malevolence to invent and circulate, could be more calculated to prejudice the King in the Estimation of his People. But, it became further augmented by another Topic of Abuse and Declamation, founded on the extraordinary Degree of personal Favor enjoyed by Lord Bute at Carlton House, and the Predilection with which he was known to be regarded by the Princess Dowager of Wales. Satirical Prints, generally dispersed throughout the Kingdom, in which her Royal Highness was not at all spared, inflamed the public Mind. Comparisons, drawn from English History, particularly from the Reign of Edward the Third, when the Queen Dowager Isabella, and Mortimer her Favourite, were known or supposed to have lived in a criminal Union;—these Allusions, which were disseminated in all the periodical Works of the Time, and

particularly in the "North Briton," made a deep Impression.

Even the filial Deference and Respect, manifested by his Majesty after his Accession, down to the last Moment of her Life, towards his Mother, was converted into a Subject not only of Censure, but of Accusation, as originating in unworthy Motives, or in culpable Subservience. It cannot however be denied that Lord Bute enjoyed a higher Place in that Princess's Favor, if not in her Affection, than seemed compatible with strict Propriety. His Visits to Carlton House, which were always performed in the Evening; and the Precautions taken to conceal his Arrival; though they might perhaps have been dictated more by an Apprehension of Insult from the Populace, to whom he was obnoxious, than from any improper Reasons; yet awakened Suspicion. He commonly made use on these Occasions, of the Sedan Chair and the Chairmen of Miss Vansittart, a Lady who held a distinguished Place in Her Royal Highness's Family. In order more effectually to elude Notice, the Curtains of the Chair were close drawn. The Repartee of Miss Chudleigh, afterwards better

known as Duchess of Kingston, at that Time a Maid of Honor at Carlton House; when reproached by her royal Mistress, for the Irregularities of her Conduct, obtained likewise much Publicity. "*Votre Altesse Royale sait,*" replied she, "*que chacune a son But.*" As the King was accustomed to repair frequently of Evenings to Carlton House, and there to pass a considerable Time, the World supposed, tho' probably with great Injustice, that the Sovereign, his Mother, and the Ex-Minister met, in Order to concert, and to compare their Ideas; thus forming a sort of interior Cabinet, which controuled and directed the ostensible Administration.

That after having so precipitately thrown up the ministerial Reins in 1763, Lord Bute felt desirous of again resuming his political Power, I know from good Authority. And that he was aided in the Attempt by the Princess, with all her Influence, is equally matter of Fact; but their joint Efforts proved unavailing to effect the Object. A Nobleman, who was accustomed at that Time to form one of the Party which met at Carlton House, and who usually remained there

while his Majesty stayed; assured me that every Measure had been concerted between her Royal Highness and Lord Bute, for the purpose of bringing him again into Ministry. As the first necessary Step towards its Accomplishment, they agreed that he should endeavour to obtain Permission to see the Dispatches, which were often sent to the King from the Secretary of State, while he continued with his Mother. On those Occasions, when the green Box containing Letters or Papers, arrived, he always withdrew into another Room, in order to peruse them at his Ease. Lord Bute, as had been pre-arranged, upon the Messenger bringing a Dispatch, immediately took up two Candles, and proceeded before the King to the Closet; expecting that his Majesty, when they were alone together, would communicate to him its Nature; and that he should thus begin again to transact Business. But, the King, unquestionably aware of the Intention, and probably disgusted at the want of Firmness which his Minister had formerly-shewn, or from other unascertained Causes, extinguished at once the Hopes entertained from this Project. When he came to the Door of the Room, he stopped, took the Candles out

of Lord Bute's Hand, and then dismissing him, shut the Door; after which he proceeded to examine the Dispatches, alone. Lord Bute returned to the Company, and the Experiment was never repeated.

If the Selection of that Nobleman for the Office of First Minister, and the Dismission of Mr. Pitt, deprived the King of the Affections of many loyal Subjects; the Terms upon which the Treaty of Fontainbleau was concluded, early in 1763, by Lord Bute, excited the strongest Sensations of general Disapprobation throughout the Country. I am old enough to remember the Expressions of that Condemnation, which, it is impossible not to admit, were well founded. When we reflect that the Navy of France had been nearly annihilated, as early as 1759, by Sir Edward Hawke, in the Action which took Place at Quiberon; that Spain could make little or no Opposition to us on the Ocean; and that we were Masters of Quebec, Montreal, together with all Canada; Cape Breton, Pondicherry, Goree, Belleisle, the Havannah, and a large Part of Cuba; besides the Islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe; not to mention the Capture of Manilla, which,

on Account of its remote Position in the Eastern Seas, was not then known:—while, on the other Hand, the Enemy, though they probably would have effected the Conquest or Reduction of Portugal, in the Course of the ensuing Campaign, yet had taken nothing from us, which they had retained, except Minorca;—when we consider these Facts, what shall we say to a Peace, which restored to the two Branches of the House of Bourbon, every Possession above enumerated, except Canada?—for, as to Cape Breton, tho' it was ceded to us, yet, when dismantled, it became only an useless Desart. Accepting, as we did, in Exchange for so many valuable Colonies or Settlements in every Quarter of the Globe, the Cession of the two Floridas from the Crown of Spain, together with the Restitution of Minorca by France. At the Distance of more than half a Century, when the Passions and Prejudices of the Hour have ceased, we cannot consider such a Treaty without Astonishment and Concern. Scarcely indeed does the Peace of Utrecht justly awaken warmer Feelings of Indignation; for concluding which Pacification, its Authors were impeached imprisoned, or compelled to fly their Country. If

Lord Bute escaped the Fate of Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, he has not been more exempt than were those Ministers, from the Censures of his Contemporaries and of Posterity. Nor did Queen Anne perhaps sustain a greater Loss of Reputation and Popularity, by signing the Treaty of Utrecht, than George the Third suffered by concluding that of Fontainbleau. Its Impolicy appears not less glaring, nor less obvious, than its Defects of every other Kind. The Expulsion of the French from Canada, and of the Spaniards from Florida, by liberating the American Colonies from all Apprehension of foreign Enemies, laid the inevitable Foundation of their Rebellion; and effected their subsequent Emancipation from Great Britain, within the space of twenty Years. This necessary Result of such Measures, perfectly foreseen at the Time, was pointed out by Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, as well as by others. The House of Bourbon, soon recovering from the Wounds inflicted by Pitt, contested anew, with better Success, for the Empire of the Sea. Neither the Havannah, Belleisle, nor Manilla, have ever passed a second Time under the Power of the English. If we weigh these Circum-

stances, we shall not wonder that Motives unworthy of an upright Minister, or of an able Statesman, were attributed to Lord Bute. Nor shall we be surprized, that the Incapacity or Errors of the Administration, diminished in no small Degree the Respect justly inspired by the private Virtues of the Sovereign.

The injudicious Persecution of Wilkes, completed the Unpopularity, which Lord Bute's Person and Measures had begun to produce throughout the Nation. Whatever might have been the Misconduct of Wilkes; and however deficient he might have appeared in those moral Qualities which entitle to public Respect, or even to individual Approbation: yet, from the Instant that he became an Object of Royal or Ministerial Resentment, on account of his Attachment to the Cause of Freedom, he found Protectors in the Public. Neither his Wit, his Talents, nor his Courage, could have raised him to political Eminence, if he had not been singled out for severe, not to say unconstitutional, Prosecution. The two Secretaries of State, and the Lord Steward of the Household, had they been hired by his

worst Enemies, to injure their Royal Master in the Esteem of his People; and to throw, as it were, upon *him*, the Odium of *their* Violence, or Incapacity, or Ignorance; could not have done it more effectually, than by the Line of Action which they adopted. Lord Talbot is consigned to eternal Ridicule, (as Pope says that Cromwell is "Damned to everlasting Fame;") in that incomparable Letter written by Wilkes to the late Earl Temple, on the 5th of October, 1762; descriptive of the entertaining Duel fought at Bagshot only two Hours before, where the Lord Steward appears in the most contemptible Point of View. The Earls of Egremont and Halifax, by issuing a General Warrant for the Seizure of Wilkes, and taking his Person into Custody; while they compromized the Majesty of the Crown, trampled on the Liberties of the Subject, and violated the Essence of the English Constitution. Men who commented with Severity on these Measures of impolitic Resentment, arraigned them as more characteristic of the vindictive Administration of James the Second, than becoming the mild Government of George the Third. Wilkes, nevertheless, wounded in a Duel, repeatedly menaced with Assassi-

nation, pursued by the House of Commons, and outlawed by the Court of King's Bench; withdrew into France, where he insensibly sunk into Oblivion. His very Name, and his public Merits, as well as his private Sufferings, seemed to be equally forgotten by the Nation, during two or three Years.

But, the Duke of Grafton, who had become first Minister, after the Extinction of the short and feeble Administration of Lord Rockingham, appeared as if desirous to improve upon the Errors, and to renew the most unpopular Acts of his Predecessor, Lord Bute. Instead of wisely extending the Pardon of the Crown to Mr. Wilkes, or treating him with magnanimous Contempt, when he returned from Paris; the Duke, in Defiance of their past Intimacy and Familiarity, put in Force the Penalties of his Sentence of Outlawry; thus rendering him a second Time, the Object of general Compassion and Protection. Rejected as a Candidate to represent the City of London, he was elected Member for the County of Middlesex. Tumultuous or disorderly Assemblies of the People in St. George's Fields, whom it was esteemed necessary to repress

by a military Force; and in performing which Service, some Individuals who apparently had taken no part in the Riots, were killed or wounded; exasperated the Nation against the Authors of such Severities. The House of Commons adopting the Principles, as well as the Enmities of the Administration, expelled Wilkes from his Seat, declared him ineligible to sit among them, and placed Colonel Luttrell in his Room. While the Pardon of the Crown was extended to Persons convicted of the most sanguinary Outrages and Violence during the Election at Brentford; by Measures of consummate Incapacity, a popular Individual was singled out for the whole Vengeance of the Government and the Legislature. The Tumults of London in March, 1769, which menaced with Insult or Attack, even the Palace of the Sovereign, bore no feeble Resemblance to the riotous Disorders that preceded the Civil Wars, under Charles the First. A Hearse, followed by the Mob, was driven into the Court Yard at St. James's, decorated with Insignia of the most humiliating or indecent Description. I have always understood that the late Lord Mountmorris, then a very young Man, was

the Person who on that Occasion personated the Executioner, holding an Axe in his Hands, and his Face covered with a Crape. The King's Firmness did not however forsake him, in the midst of these trying Ebullitions of Democratic Rage. He remained calm and unmoved in the Drawing-room, while the Streets surrounding his Residence, echoed with the Shouts of an enraged Multitude, who seemed disposed to proceed to the greatest Extremities. But, the Duke of Grafton did not manifest equal Constancy, nor display the same Resolution as his Master. It seemed to be the Fate of George the Third to be served by Ministers, as much his Inferiors in personal and political Courage, as in every other moral or estimable Quality.

Another Opponent, still more formidable than Mr. Wilkes, had arisen amidst these Convulsions of the Capital and the Country; who, from the Place of his Concealment, like Paris in the "Iliad," inflicted the severest Wounds, and who seems to have eluded all Discovery, down to the present Hour. It is obvious that I mean "Junius." This celebrated Writer, whom the obtrusive

and imprudent Vanity of Sir William Draper, even more than his own matchless Powers of Composition, originally forced upon the Notice of the Public, first appeared in January, 1769. His opening Letter, addressed to the Printer of the "Public Advertizer," then a popular Newspaper, depictures in the blackest Colours, the Situation of the Country; dishonoured, as he asserts, in the Eyes of foreign Nations; disunited, oppressed, and ill-administered at Home. Like Satan, when invoking his stupified and fallen Associates, he seems to exclaim, while endeavouring to rouse the English Nation from their political Apathy,

"Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen!"

The Conclusion of his opening Address, operated with amazing Effect, and can hardly be exceeded in Energy. "If," says he, "by the immediate Interposition of "Providence, it were possible for us to "escape a Crisis so full of Terror and "Despair, Posterity will not believe the "History of the present Times.—They will "not believe it possible that their Ances-"tors could have survived or recovered from

" so desperate a Condition, while a Duke " of Grafton was Prime Minister; a Lord " North, Chancellor of the Exchequer; a " Weymouth, and a Hillsborough, Secre- " taries of State; a Granby, Commander " in Chief; and Mansfield, Chief Criminal " Judge of the Kingdom." After transfixing with his keenest Shafts, the Commander in Chief of the Forces, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Duke of Bedford, he fastened, like a Vulture, on the First Minister. With an Acrimony and Ability that have perhaps never been equalled by any political Writer, he endeavoured to point the Public Indignation equally against the Person and the Measures of the Duke of Grafton. Superior in Beauty of Diction, and all the Elegance of literary Composition, to Lord Bolingbroke; not inferior to Swift, in Closeness, as well as Correctness of Style, and in force of Satire; the Letters of " Junius" will be read as long as the English Language endures. Nor did his Pen, after exposing the Want of Spirit and Energy in the Government, respect even the Majesty of the Throne. In his memorable " Letter to the King;" dated the 19th of December, 1769, which cannot

be perused without a Mixture of Admiration and Indignation, he too successfully labours to render even the Virtues of the Sovereign, suspicious and odious; while he attempts to degrade the Royal Character, in the Opinions of his Subjects. The Avidity with which these Publications were then sought after and perused, is difficult to be conceived at the present Time, and never was exceeded at any Period of our History. "Junius" may indeed justly be reckoned among the leading Causes which drove the Duke of Grafton from the Helm of Affairs.

I have been assured by Persons of Honor and Veracity, who were in the Habits of continually seeing Mr. Bradshaw, then Secretary of the Treasury, and of knowing his private Sentiments; that he made no Secret to them, of the Agony into which the Duke of Grafton was thrown by these Productions. Such was their Effect and Operation on his Mind, as sometimes utterly to incapacitate him during whole Days, for the ministerial Duties of his Office. There are nevertheless, many who believe and assert, that his sudden Resignation was not so much produced by the Attacks of "Junius,"

as it originated from another Quarter. It has been pretended that the Princess Dowager of Wales, highly indignant at the Mention made of her Name, in the Examination and Depositions of Dr. Musgrave at the Bar of the House of Commons; remonstrated strongly with the King, on the Supineness of his first Minister, in permitting, or rather in not suppressing such parliamentary Enquiries. However the Fact may be, it is certain that at a Moment when such an Event was least expected, in January, 1770, he resigned his Office; giving, as Lord Bute had done before, another Instance of Ministerial Dereliction, but not the last of the Kind which has occurred in the Course of the present Reign. Lord North, who succeeded to his Place, inherited likewise a considerable Portion of his Unpopularity.

Having mentioned the Subject, and the Productions of "Junius," it seems impossible to dismiss them without making some Allusion to their Author. I have always considered that Secret, as the best kept of any in our Time. It was, indeed, on many Accounts, and for many Reasons, a Secret of the most perilous Nature. For, the

Offences given, and the Wounds inflicted by his Pen, were too deep, and too severe, to admit of Forgiveness, when we reflect that living Sovereigns and Ministers formed the Objects selected for his Attack. I have been assured that the King riding out in the Year 1772, accompanied by his Equerry, General Desaguliers, said to him in Conversation, "We know who *Junius* is, and he "will write no more." The General, who was too good a Courtier to congratulate upon such a Piece of Intelligence, contented himself with bowing, and the Discourse proceeded no further. Mrs. Shuttleworth, who was General Desaguliers's Daughter, believed in the Accuracy of this Fact; but I nevertheless report it with becoming Doubt. If, however, the King had penetrated to the Secret, I do not believe that the Duke of Grafton, or the first Lord Mansfield, had arrived at any Certitude on the Point, though their Suspicions might be strongly directed towards some one Individual. It is certain that Sir William Draper died in Ignorance of his Antagonist; and that he continued to express, down to a very short Time before his Decease, which took place at Bath, his Concern at the Prospect of

going out of Life, uninformed on the Subject. Lord North either did not know, or professed not to know, his Name. The late Lord Temple protested the same Ignorance. He must nevertheless have lain within a very narrow Circle; for, every Evidence, internal and external, proves him to have been a Person of pre-eminent Parts, admirable Information, high Connexions, living almost constantly in the Metropolis, and in good Company; ignorant of nothing which was done at St. James's, in the Two Houses of Parliament, in the War Office, or in the Courts of Law; and personally acquainted with many Anecdotes or Facts, only to be attained by Men moving in the first Ranks of Society. I do not speak of his classical Attainments; because those might have been found among mere Men of Letters. "Junius" was a Man of the World. Henry Sampson Woodfall, who printed the Letters themselves, was ignorant of the Name or Quality of the Writer, and remained so during his whole Life. Who then, we repeat, was He?

Many Individuals have become successively Objects of Suspicion, or of Accusa-

tion. Lord *George Germain*, Father of the present Duke of Dorset, was named among others. I knew him very intimately, and have frequently conversed with him on the Subject. He always declared his Ignorance of the Author, but he appeared to be gratified and flattered by the Belief or Imputation lighting on himself. As far, however, as my Opinion can have any Weight, though, in common with Mankind at large, I estimated very highly Lord George's Talents, I considered them as altogether unequal to such literary Productions. And I possessed the best Means, as well as Opportunities of forming my Judgment, from his Conversation and Correspondence, both which I enjoyed for several Years. Indeed, I apprehend it is unnecessary to waste much Time in attempting to disprove such a Supposition, which has few Advocates or Supporters. Those Persons who originally suggested, or who continue to maintain it, found the Opinion principally on the Attack of Lord Granby, contained in "Junius's" first Letter. But, if we examine that Composition, we shall see that the Marquis is by no means singled out for Animadversion. He only attracts his Portion of Satire, as a

constituent Member of the Cabinet; and it was Sir William Draper's officious Vanity which rendered him unfortunately more conspicuous than the Duke of Grafton, or Lord Mansfield. "It is you, Sir William Draper," says Junius, "who have taken care to re-" present your Friend in the Character of a " drunken Landlord, who deals out his " Promises as liberally as his Liquor, and " will suffer no Man to leave his Table " either sorrowful or sober." And in a subsequent Letter he observes, "I should " justly be suspected of acting upon Mo-" tives of more than common Enmity to " Lord Granby, if I continued to give you " fresh Materials, or Occasion for writing " in his Defence." If, indeed, Lord George Germain was "Junius," his Powers of Composition had suffered a Diminution between 1770 and 1780, and no longer continued as powerful at the latter Period, as they had been ten Years earlier in Life. But, no Man preserved at near Seventy, the Freshness and Strength of his Faculties in every Branch, more perfect or undiminished than that Nobleman. Nor, from the Knowledge which I possessed of his Loyalty, and Attachment to the Person of his Sovereign, do

I believe that any Motives or Feelings could ever have induced him to address to His Majesty, the "Letter of *Junius* to the King."

As little do I conceive *Wilkes* to have been the Man. I knew him likewise well, though not with the same Intimacy as I did the last named Nobleman. It must be owned that Wilkes possessed a Classic Pen, keen, rapid, cutting; and capable, as we have seen in the "North Briton," no less than in other political Productions, of powerfully animating, or inflaming the public Mind. His Injuries were great; his Feelings, acute; his Spirit, undaunted; and his Compositions, full of Talent. But it was not "Junius." Wilkes's two memorable Letters, the one addressed to Lord Temple, in October, 1762, from Bagshot, immediately after his Duel with Lord Talbot; and the other, written from his House, in Great George Street, on the 19th December, 1763, to Dr. Brocklesby, subsequent to his Duel with Martin; may vie in Wit, Pleasantry, and Powers of Ridicule, with any Compositions in the English Language. His Letter, dated from "Paris, 22d October, 1764," appealing to the Electors of Aylesbury, against

the Treatment which he met with from both Houses of Parliament, and from Lord Mansfield, challenges equal Admiration. Lastly, his Address to the Duke of Grafton, written likewise from "Paris, on the 12th of December, 1766," containing the animated Relation of his Arrest, followed by his Interview with the Earls of Egremont and Halifax, which took Place at the Residence of the former Nobleman in Piccadilly, now Cholmondeley House; can hardly be exceeded in Energy, Severity, and Powers of Reasoning. They charm, perhaps as much as the Writings of "Junius;" but, the Difference between the two Productions cannot be mistaken by any Man who allows his Reason fair Play. Wilkes himself, who instead of shrinking from the Avowal, on the contrary would have gladly assumed the Fame attending on it, at whatever personal Risk, always disclaimed any Title to such a Distinction. "*Utinam scripsissem!*" Would to Heaven I could have written them! was his Reply, when charged with being the Author.

Hugh Macauley Boyd, a Gentleman who accompanied or followed Lord Macartney

to Madras, in 1781, where he died a few Years afterwards; has been named, and his Pretensions have been strongly maintained, in Print, as well as in private Society. It has been attempted, both in his Case, and in that of Wilkes, to prove from Facts of various kinds, and Anecdotes, either true or imaginary, their respective Right to the Works of "Junius." But, I never could discover in the avowed Writings of Boyd, any Similarity, and still less any Equality, with the Letters of the unknown and immortal Person in Question. Nor would it seem, as far as we are able to judge, that Boyd had, or could have, Access to the Information profusely exhibited through almost every Page of "Junius," and which very few Individuals were competent to attain. Boyd did not live in the Circle where alone such Materials were to be found, or to be collected.

I have heard the Reverend *Philip Rosenhagen* pointed out as "Junius." But the Opinion never, I believe, had many Supporters, nor did I ever regard it as entitled to serious Refutation. I knew him as an Acquaintance, between 1782 and 1785. He

appeared to me to be a plausible, well informed Man, imposing in his Manner, of a classic Mind, and agreeable Conversation; living much in the World, received on the most intimate footing at Shelburne House, and possessing very considerable Talents. There is, however, a wide Interval between such Abilities, however eminent, and those displayed by the Writer under Examination.

A more probable, or at least, a better concerted Story, confidently circulated at the Time, and which has been lately revived, was, that Mr. *William Greatrakes*, a Native of Ireland, who lived with the Earl of Shelburne, and acted as his private Secretary, composed the Letters. The Materials were said to have been furnished by Lord Shelburne, and worked up by his Secretary. It was added, that he died in August, 1781, at Hungerford in Berkshire, not very far from that Nobleman's Seat, of Bow Wood; and lies buried in Hungerford Church-yard, with a plain Stone over his Remains, together with a short Inscription, terminated by the three Latin Words,

"Stat Nominis Umbra;"

the Motto, usually, or always prefixed to Junius's Letters. I have never considered this Narration, however plausible it appears, as worthy of Credit, or as meriting Attention.

It has been recently attempted to prove that *Glover*, the distinguished Author of "Leonidas," was "Junius;" and the Confirmation of the Assertion has been sought, in the "Memoirs of a celebrated Literary and Political Character," lately published. But though every Line of those "Memoirs," bespeaks the Writer to have possessed equal Ability and Integrity; living in a high Circle, himself a Member of the House of Commons during many Years;—though the same ardent Spirit of Freedom which animates *Glover* as a Poet, is diffused over this Production; and though various Passages in it, may seem to bear a Degree of Resemblance, or Analogy to the animated Apostrophés of "Junius;"—yet, no Person who has perused attentively the Work in Question, can for an Instant persuade himself of the Identity of the two Men. If however these Grounds of Belief, drawn from the internal Evidence contained in the respective Compositions,

should fail in producing a decided Opinion, I can adduce better Proof. Mr. Glover, Son of the Author of "Leonidas," and, whom to name, is sufficient to stamp the Authenticity of all that he asserts; assured me only a short time ago, in answer to my Enquiries on the Subject, that "he had not "the least Reason to suppose, or to believe, "that his Father composed the Letters of "Junius:" an Admission far outweighing any real or fancied Similarity between those Writers. Still more recent Attempts have been made in Favor of a Foreigner, *De Lolme;* but, however speciously supported on some Points, they rest on no solid Foundation.

During many Years of my Life, notwithstanding the Severity with which *Wedderburn* is treated by "Junius," I nourished a strong Belief, approaching to Conviction, that the late Earl of Rosslyn, then *Mr. Wedderburn,* was himself the Author of those Letters. His Abilities were eminent, his Opportunities of Information, great; and his political Connexions between January, 1769, and January, 1772, the two extreme Periods of the Appearance of the Compositions in

Question, favour the Conjecture. Though Churchill calls Wedderburn,

"A pert, prim Prater of the Northern Race,"

his Talents of every Kind entitled him to high Admiration; and he particularly possessed the Legal, Jurisprudential, as well as Parliamentary Knowledge, lavishly exhibited in various Parts of "Junius." I have heard Men assert, who were entitled to Respect and Credit, that they had seen several of the Originals, in the Possession of Woodfall; and that they recognized the Hand-writing to be that of Mrs. Wedderburn, his first Wife, with which manual Character they were perfectly acquainted. If this Fact indeed were to be admitted, it might seem decisive: but, such Assertions, however apparently well sustained, are frequently made on erroneous or mistaken Foundations. Perhaps I ought to add, that the Persons in Question, were Natives of Scotland; and national Vanity or Partiality might mislead their Judgment on such a Point.

All Circumstances fully weighed, my own Conviction is, that the Letters of "Junius" were written by the Right Honorable *Wil-*

liam Gerard Hamilton; commonly designated by the Nick Name of "Single Speech Hamilton," from the Report, generally, though falsely circulated, that he never opened his Mouth more than once in the English Parliament. He was during many Years, Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland, and likewise a Member of the British House of Commons, while I sat in it: but I had not the Honor of his Acquaintance; and my Opinion is founded on the general prevailing Sentiment of those Persons, who, from their Situation, Rank, and means of Information, are entitled to almost implicit Belief. Throughout the various Companies, in which, from 1775, down to the present Time, I have heard this mysterious Question agitated, the great Majority concurred in giving to *Hamilton*, the Merit of composing the Letters under Examination. Various Noblemen or Gentlemen, who lived on Terms of intimate Friendship, and of almost daily Intercourse with him, during the Period of their Appearance or Publication; in particular, Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, and the late Earl of Clermont; have protested in my Hearing, that they traced or recollected in Junius's Letters, the "*ipsissima*

Verba," the precise Words and Expressions of Hamilton, which had recently fallen from his Lips in Conversation. His Pen is universally admitted to have been most elegant, classical, correct and nervous. This Opinion, nevertheless, by no means amounts to Demonstration, or approaches to Certainty; and it is possible, that as the Secret has not been divulged from Authority, during the Lapse of so many Years, Posterity may never attain to any absolute Proof upon the Subject, and must rest satisfied with Conjecture.

If "Junius" could be supposed still alive, obvious Motives for his concealing himself, drawn from the strongest Principles of human Action, will suggest themselves to every Man's Mind. On the other Hand, if he be no more, what Reasons sufficiently powerful can be produced, to account for the voluntary Renunciation of that posthumous Fame, which after his Decease might have been reclaimed, without Apprehension of any injurious Consequences to himself? This Argument or Consideration, long induced me to suppose that "Junius" must be living; and that his Death, whenever it

took Place, would infallibly remove the Veil which conceals his Name. On more mature Reflection, nevertheless, very strong Causes for continuing to preserve his Incognito beyond the Grave, may present themselves. If he left behind him lineal Representatives, he might dread exposing them to the hereditary Animosity of some of those, whom he designates as "the worst, and "the most powerful Men in this Country." Even should he have left no Descendants, it is possible that he might dislike the Comparison between his Actions and his Writings, which must have been involuntarily made by Mankind. If, for instance, it would have been proved that he accepted an Office, a Pension, or a Peerage, from the Sovereign and the Minister whom he had recently accused as Enemies to their Country, or as having betrayed its Interests;—would not the moral Aversion or Contempt, excited towards his Memory by such a Disclosure, have overbalanced the Meed of literary Fame obtained from the Labors of his Pen? Should we admit the Validity of this Reasoning, we shall be led to infer, that "Junius" may remain as unknown to Posterity, a Century hence, as he continues to be now in 1815.

There is still another Circumstance applicable to the present Times, which did not exist when *Burnet*, or *Bulstrode*, or *Reresby*, wrote their "Memoirs;" and which Fact must be supposed to have had its due Operation on "Junius." Between 1660 and 1714, a Period of little more than Fifty Years, three Families in Succession reigned over this Country: whereas from 1760, down to 1814, only one Prince has occupied the Throne, who still lives, though we lament that he no longer reigns. Under William the Third, who had expelled his Father-in-law, and who could not feel any Esteem for Charles the Second; "Junius," had he then flourished, and had levelled his Shafts against those Kings, might have unmasked, and boldly avowed his Writings. When the two Houses of Nassau, or of Stuart, no longer swayed the Sceptre, and when George the First was called to the Crown; the severest Attacks made on the preceding Sovereigns or Ministers, could have excited only a feeble Degree of Resentment, if they did not even give Rise to opposite Emotions. But, the Case is widely different with respect to "Junius," and might justly challenge from him another Line of Conduct. Not only the same Fa-

mily, but the same Individual, remains, at least nominally, King. And that Individual, whatever Errors of Judgment he may have committed, or however unpopular he was, almost from the Period of his Accession down to 1783, has been since that Time embalmed in the Affections of his People. I must leave the Degree of Solidity contained in these Observations, to the Decision of every Man's Judgment, as elucidatory or explanatory of the Question respecting "Junius."*

In addition to so many *domestic* Causes which weakened the Veneration felt towards the King, two *foreign* Events had likewise occurred, productive of national Dissatisfaction. The first arose from the Line of Policy, or rather of Conduct, adopted by Great Britain relative to Corsica. That Island,

* Since I wrote the preceding Observations, a Perusal of the Work lately published, denominated "The Identity of Junius with a distinguished living Character established," leaves little or no Doubt on my Mind, that those celebrated Productions are to be attributed to Sir Philip Francis.

which in later Times has attained a degree of odious Celebrity, by giving Birth to a Man, whose vast military Talents, and insatiable Ambition, aided by the Progress of the French Revolution, enabled him to overturn and to trample under his Feet, during many Years, the ancient System of Europe; was, after a long Series of Insurrections against the Genoese Government, ultimately transferred by Genoa to France. Choiseul, a Minister of an elevated Mind, and of ambitious Designs; anxious to raise the French Name, as well as the Reputation of Louis the Fifteenth, from the State of Humiliation into which both were fallen by the ill Success of the preceding War; undertook, and at length effected, the Reduction of Corsica. It may however be justly questioned, whether the Conquest has really augmented the Strength or Resources of France. But, the Generosity characteristic of the English Nation, the Sympathy felt towards a Race of brave, oppressed, and unfortunate Islanders, contending for Freedom; when added to the jealous Susceptibility natural to a State, always apprehensive of the Aggrandizement of its Rival;—these Feelings or political Opinions, produced a powerful Effect on

the public Mind. They were sustained by Publications, calculated to rouse the Country from its Apathy or Indifference to the Fate of Corsica. Pascal Paoli, Chief of the Insurgents, was depictured in them, as another Gustavus Vasa, or William Tell, struggling against Tyranny and Oppression: while the English Ministry, it was said, pusillanimously looked on, regardless of the Event, and inattentive to so important an Accession of Power acquired by our natural Enemy.'

Scarcely had the Impression made by the *French* Conquest of Corsica, ceased to operate, and sunk into a Degree of Oblivion, when another Occurrence awakened and exasperated the Nation, against the *Spanish* Branch of the House of Bourbon. The immediate Cause of this Dispute arose from the Possession taken of the Falkland Islands by England; but, the Court of Madrid had always evaded or refused Payment of the Sum due for the Ransom of Manilla. Never, perhaps, was any Object in itself, abstractedly considered, less valuable, nor less worthy of public Attention, than the Falkland Islands: yet, the Manner in which Spain acted on the Occasion, displayed so much

Arrogance, as to compromise the Honor of the British Crown, and to demand a Reparation no less public than the Affront. The Islands in Question, situated in a most inclement Latitude, in the other Hemisphere, not far removed from Cape Horn; abandoned by Nature to Seals and to wild Fowl; scarcely covered with a scanty Vegetation; could hardly merit from their intrinsic Consequence, commercial or political, that any Blood should be spilt in order to acquire, or to retain, their Possession. But, the jealous Policy with which the old Spanish Government always beheld even the slightest Approach of any foreign Power towards that vast Continent of South America, over which, though they could neither colonize, nor subject it, they nevertheless claimed a Dominion; impelled the Court of Madrid to commence its Operations, in a Manner no less hostile, than insulting to us. An English Frigate was detained in the Harbour of Port Egmont, by Force. It must be owned, that the Vigor, or rather Audacity of such a Proceeding, could scarcely have been exceeded by Cardinal Alberoni himself, when he presided in the Spanish Counsels, under Philip the Fifth. The Act was indeed only com-

mitted ostensibly by an Individual, Buccarelli, who commanded the Forces of Charles the Third in that Quarter of the Globe: but the Government avowed, justified, and supported him.

Lord North, on whom had recently devolved the first Place in Administration; while he appeared deeply to feel the Indignity offered to his Sovereign, manifested likewise a Disposition to resent it in the most effectual Manner. Neither the State of the English Navy, nor the Preparations made in our Ports for the immediate Equipment of a powerful Fleet, were said however to be such as the Exigency obviously demanded, and the public Honor unquestionably required. A mitigated Compromise, by which Spain, though she consented to cede the *Possession* of Falkland Islands to Great Britain, yet refused to admit or recognize our *Right* to them; was, after long Discussions, accepted by Ministers. It prevented a War, but it gave no general Satisfaction; more especially, as any Mention of the Manilla Ransom was studiously omitted in the Convention. Assuredly, the Moment seemed favorable to have imposed almost any Conditions on the

Spanish Crown. Louis the Fifteenth, sinking in Years, and still more sunk in the general Estimation of his Subjects; disgusted at the ill Success of the former War, and determined not to engage again in Hostilities against England; having dismissed the Duke de Choiseul from Office, and lost to every Sense of public Duty, or national Glory; would, it was well known, have disregarded "the Family Compact," and would have abandoned the other Branch of the House of Bourbon in the Contest.

But, Lord North, who preferred pacific Measures; besides the ordinary Modes of Negotiation, had recourse to Expedients not usually adopted, in order to avert a Rupture. The late Sir William Gordon, whom I well knew, and who at that Time filled the Post of British Envoy at the Court of Brussels, was selected by Ministers, to undertake the Commission of preventing a War. For this Purpose, he received private Instructions to repair in the most secret, but, expeditious Manner, to Paris; and there to use every possible Exertion for prevailing on Louis the Fifteenth, and the new First Minister, the Duke d'Aguillon, to compel the Spanish

Court to accommodate the Points in Dispute. Gordon, who found in the French Sovereign and his Cabinet, the warmest Disposition to preserve Peace, succeeded completely in the Object of his Mission. He told me, that as a Recompense for his Service, he received from Lord North, a Pension of Three Hundred Pounds a Year; and from His Majesty, the further Sum of One Thousand Pounds, as a Present: but, the Convention by which Peace was made, excited universal Disapprobation; and afforded to the Pen of "Junius," an Occasion which he did not lose, of pointing the public Censure with inconceivable Severity against the King himself personally, no less than against the Administration.

Even after the Interval of four Years, which elapsed between the Termination of this Dispute, and the Commencement of the American Rebellion; though the Nation enjoyed profound Peace, together with all the Advantages of a flourishing Commerce, augmenting Opulence, and progressive Prosperity, yet the Sovereign was by no means popular. New Sources of Discontent, and imaginary or doubtful Subjects of Complaint,

were ingeniously discovered. Lord Bute had, indeed, disappeared from the Theatre of public Life; and the Princess Dowager of Wales, whose supposed Influence over her Son, rendered her always an Object of Attack, was no more. She expired in 1772, of a most painful Disease, which she supported with uncommon Firmness. But, other Names and Figures succeeded to their pretended Influence behind the Curtain of State. *Bradshaw*, surnamed "the Cream-coloured Parasite," and *Dyson*, gave place to the superior Ascendancy of *Jenkinson*, who was accused of directing, unseen, the Resolutions of the Cabinet, and of possessing the interior Secret, as well as Confidence, of the Crown. A Prince, distinguished by almost every domestic Virtue, animated by the noblest Intentions, and by the warmest Affection for his People; was represented as despotic, inflexible, vindictive, and disposed to govern by unconstitutional Means or Engines. His very Pleasures, his Tastes, and his private Recreations, were traduced or satirized, as bearing the same Stamp and Impression. Poetry lent her Aid to expose these personal Weaknesses, if such they were, to public Animadversion or Ridicule.

The " Heroic Epistle to Sir William Cham-" bers," (commonly, tho' perhaps erroneously attributed to one of the finest poetic Writers of the Period, *Mason;)* rivalled " Junius" in Delicacy of Invective, in its insulting Irony, and in the Severity of its Imputations. Such appeared to be the State of public Opinion, and such the Prejudices generally entertained against the King, throughout the Nation, at the Period when, in the Summer of 1775, Hostilities began on the American Continent.

That George the Third, from a very early Period of his Reign, had imbibed a deeply rooted Opinion of the parliamentary Right inherent in the Mother Country, to tax her American Colonies, and of the Practicability, or rather the Facility, of the Attempt, if made; no well-informed Man can entertain a Doubt. I have been assured by a Nobleman now alive, that as early as 1764, His Majesty, conversing with Mr. George Grenville, then First Minister, on the Subject of the Finances, which, after the Close of the triumphant " Seven Years War," demanded Economy, no less than Ability, to re-establish; mentioned to him as one great pecu-

niary Resource, the Measure of taxing America. Mr. Grenville replied, that he had frequently revolved, and thoroughly considered the Proposition, which he believed to be not only difficult, but, impracticable; and pregnant, if undertaken, with the most alarming Consequences to the Sovereign himself. These Apprehensions, far however from intimidating or discouraging the King, made no Impression on his Mind; and in a subsequent Conversation with the same Minister, His Majesty gave him plainly to understand, that if he wanted either Nerves or Inclination to make the Attempt, others could be found who were ready to undertake it. The Words produced their full Effect upon the Person to whom they were addressed; and Mr. Grenville preferred endeavouring to realize the Experiment, however hazardous he might esteem it, rather than allow it to be committed to other Hands. It failed at that Time, but was revived ten Years later, with more serious national Results, under Lord North's Administration.

I have always considered the *Principle* upon which that War commenced, and pe-

culiarly as affecting the King, to have been not only defensible, but, meritorious. It was not a War of Prerogative, but, a Contest undertaken for maintaining the Right of Parliament to impose Taxes on British America. If George the Third would have separated the Interests of his Crown, from those of the Legislature, he might have made advantageous Terms with his trans-Atlantic Subjects: but he disdained any Compromise by which he must have dissevered himself from his Parliament. Nor have I ever esteemed the political and military Conductors of the American Revolution, as other than successful Rebels of unquestionable Courage, Constancy, and Ability; whatever Eulogiums were conferred on them in the House of Commons, by Fox and Burke. I well know that the Names of Franklin and of Washington, have been consecrated by a very numerous part of the Inhabitants of Great Britain. The former, if considered as a natural Philosopher, a Philanthropist, and a man of Genius, doubtless may lay claim to universal Esteem. Nor are the abstract Pretensions of Washington less conspicuous, when contemplated as a General, and a Citizen of America. In both Capacities he

may rank with Cincinnatus, or with the younger Cato. But, in the Estimation of all who regard the parliamentary Supremacy of the Mother Country over Colonies, which had been not merely planted, but likewise preserved, by the Expenditure of British Blood and Treasure, as constituting an immutable Principle; a Sovereign who would not have maintained that Supremacy, must have been unworthy of the Sceptre.

The whole Life of William the Third, from his Attainment of Manhood, down to the last Moments of his Existence, was passed in a continual Struggle to preserve the Liberties of his own Country, or those of England, against arbitrary Power. His Name will ever be connected with Constitutional Freedom, and as such, is cherished in our Remembrance. But, does any Person suppose, that if William had reigned over the British Isles, at the Period of the American Rebellion; whatever Love of Civil Liberty might animate him as a Man, he would on that Account have relinquished the Rights of his Parliament, and his Crown? Or that He would have tamely acquiesced in the Refusal of his American Subjects, to contribute by

indirect Taxation, to the general Wants of the Empire? Those who venture to form such a Conclusion, must, as it seems to me, have very imperfectly studied the Character, or appreciated the Actions, of that illustrious Prince.

The *Wisdom* and *Policy* of the American War, may perhaps appear more doubtful. The Attempt in the first instance to tax, and afterwards to reduce by Force, a vast Continent, separated from Great Britain by an immense Ocean, inhabited by a People who were individually indebted many Millions to the Mother Country, ardent for Emancipation, and sufficiently unanimous in their Resistance to the Parent State, to be able to call out into Action nearly all the Persons capable of bearing Arms;—such an Experiment, even if speculatively considered, would doubtless have impressed any wise Statesman, as hazardous in itself, and of very uncertain Issue. In the Case before us, all these Impediments acquired additional Strength, from other concurring Circumstances. A large Proportion of Society here at Home, regarded the American Rebellion with favorable Eyes, and secretly wished

Success to the Cause; because they dreaded lest the British Constitution itself would not long survive the Encrease of Power and Influence, that the Crown must necessarily derive from the Subjugation of the Colonies beyond the Atlantic. In both Houses of Parliament, a numerous, active, and encreasing Party, openly maintained and justified the Insurrection, rejoiced in their Triumphs, and reprobated in Theory, no less than in Practice, the Attempt to subjugate the revolted States. Even those who did not approve such political Principles, yet saw in the War, if it should prove unsuccessful, a means of overturning the Administration.

The Inability of Great Britain to levy and to send from her own Population, a military Force sufficiently numerous for reducing to Obedience so many Provinces, extending from the Frontiers of Canada, to the Borders of Florida; compelled the Government to obtain additional Troops, by Application to various of the German Powers. From the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel in particular, who had married a Daughter of George the Second, many Thousands were

procured. These Stipendiaries, though perhaps not more justly Objects of moral or political Condemnation, than were the Swiss and Grison Regiments permanently retained in the Service of France, or the Scotch Corps then serving in the Pay of Holland; yet encreased the popular Cry, and furnished to the Opposition, Subjects of Obloquy, or of Declamation. That France must, sooner or later, interfere in Favor of the Americans, became likewise obvious; because the French Ministry, listening only to the narrow Suggestions of national Rivality, did not, or would not perceive, that it could never be the wise Policy of a despotic Government, to aid the cause of Revolt, by sending Forces out of the Country, to imbibe Principles of Freedom and Resistance among Rebels. It is an unquestionable Fact, that the late unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth possessed Enlargement of Mind, and sound Discernment sufficient to feel this Truth. He even objected strongly to the Policy of detaching French Troops to the Assistance of Washington; and he was only overruled in his Opposition to the Measure, by his Deference for the Counsels of Maurepas and Vergennes. France has since dearly

paid, under Robespierre and Bonaparte, for her Deviation from the Dictates of Wisdom, as well as of Magnanimity, in thus supporting Insurrection.

It is however in the *Conduct* of that unfortunate Contest, that we must principally seek for the Cause of its ill Success. Near three Years elapsed from the Time of its Commencement, before the Court of Versailles ventured openly to interpose as an Enemy. But, the *Howes* appear to have been either lukewarm, or remiss, or negligent, or incapable. Lord North's Selection of those two Commanders, for the Purpose of subjecting America, excited, at the Time, just Condemnation; however brave, able, or meritorious, they might individually be esteemed, as professional Men. Their Ardor in the Cause itself was doubted; and still more questionable was their Attachment to the Administration. Never, perhaps, in the History of modern War, has an Army, or a Fleet, been more profusely supplied with every Requisite for brilliant and efficient Service, than were the Troops and Ships sent out by Lord North's Cabinet in 1776, across the Atlantic. But, the Efforts abroad, did not correspond

with the Exertions made at home. The Energy and Activity of a *Wellington*, never animated that torpid Mass. Neither Vigilance, Enterprize, nor Co-operation, characterized the Campaigns of 1776, and 1777. Dissipation, Play, and Relaxation of Discipline, found their way into the British Camp. New York became another *Capua*, though the Genius and Resources of *Hannibal*, were not displayed by Sir William Howe. The Defeat at Trenton, which was critically unfortunate, rescued the Congress from the lowest State of Depression. After Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga, little rational Probability of Success remained; and when Clinton succeeded to the Command of the Army at New York, by the Recall of Sir William Howe, the French were on the point of declaring in Favor of the Americans. The Loyalty and Courage of Sir Henry Clinton were besides more distinguished, than were his military Talents. Even the British Troops, engaged in a species of Civil War, did not manifest the same Eagerness or Alacrity, as when opposed to a foreign Enemy, though they displayed in every Engagement, their accustomed Steadiness and Valor. The Service itself, from the Nature of the Coun-

try, became severe, painful, and discouraging. Lakes, Swamps, Morasses, and almost impenetrable Forests, presented at every Step, Obstacles not easily overcome by the bravest Soldiers. And though the Scene of Hostilities was successively shifted, from Boston to New York; thence to the Banks of the Chesapeake and the Delaware; finally, to the Southern and Central Provinces of Carolina and Virginia; yet the Results, however promising they might be at the Commencement, proved always ultimately abortive. We have recently witnessed similar Consequences flowing from nearly the same Causes, during the Progress of our second Contest with America.

At Home, a gradual and encreasing Discontent overspread the Kingdom, pervaded all Classes, and seemed to menace the Administration with the Effects of popular, or national Resentment. The Navy, divided into Parties, no longer blocked the Enemy's Ports, or carried Victory wherever it appeared, as it had done in the Commencement of His Majesty's Reign. Our distant Possessions, unprotected by superior Fleets, fell into the Hands of France or Spain. Even

our Commerce was intercepted, captured, and greatly diminished. Each Year seemed to produce new foreign Adversaries, and to augment the public Embarrassments or Distress. Ministers who were neither vigorous, nor fortunate, nor popular, holding even their Offices by a precarious Tenure, inspired no Confidence in their Measures. The Opposition, though diminished by the Exertions which Government had made to secure a Majority in the Lower House, on the Convocation of a new Parliament; was numerous, confident, able, and indefatigable. They saw, or believed they saw, the Object of their Grasp, at no great Distance. Futurity presented to all Men, a most discouraging Prospect; and Peace appeared to be not only distant, but unattainable, except by such Sacrifices of national Revenue, Territory, and Honor, as could not be contemplated without a Degree of Dismay. America might be considered as lost to Great Britain; while our Possessions in the East Indies seemed to be menaced with total Subversion. Those who remember the Period to which I allude, will not think the Colors of this Description, either heightened, or overcharged. At no Moment of the Revolu-

tionary War which we almost unintermittingly sustained against the French, from 1793 to 1814; neither in 1797, during the Mutiny in the Navy; nor in 1799, after the unsuccessful Expedition to the Helder; nor in 1805, subsequent to the Battle of Austerlitz; nor in 1806, when the Prussian Monarchy fell at Aüerstadt; nor in 1807, at the Peace of Tilsit; nor when Sir John Moore was compelled, early in 1809, to re-embark at Corunna, and the whole Pyrenean Peninsula seemed to lie prostrate at the Feet of its Corsican Master;—though each of these Æras unquestionably presents Images of great national Depression, did a deeper Despondency prevail among all Ranks of Society, than existed towards the Close of the American Contest, as the Administration of Lord North drew to its Termination.

In the midst of so universal a Dejection, the King remained altogether unmoved. Neither Defeats, nor Difficulties, nor the Number of his foreign Enemies, nor domestic Opposition, unhinged his Mind, or shook his Resolution. Convinced that he could not abandon the Struggle in which he was engaged, however arduous or doubtful might

be the Result, without renouncing his own Birth-right, the Interests of his Crown, the Supremacy of Parliament, and the best Portion of the British Empire; he never vacillated, nor shewed for a single Moment, any Disposition to dismiss his Ministers. Whatever Irresolution, Difference of Opinion, or Apprehension, might pervade the Cabinet itself, at certain Moments, none of these Sentiments agitated the Sovereign. He only desired to abide the Issue, and to maintain the Contest. It is perhaps for Posterity to decide on the Degree of Approbation or of Blame, political and moral, which such a Character and Conduct, under such Circumstances, may justly challenge: but, even if we should incline to censure, or to condemn, we cannot help in some Measure respecting and admiring it. As however, his Majesty's Opinions and Wishes were universally known or understood throughout the Country, a proportionate Degree of Unpopularity fell personally on him; and he was regarded as the vital Principle which animated, sustained, and propelled, the Administration. When we consider this Fact, in Addition to all the preceding Statements given of his Measures since he acceded to the Throne; we shall no

longer wonder, that in Defiance of so many Claims to the affectionate Veneration of his People, he was nevertheless, at this Period of his Reign, by no Means an Object of general Partiality or Attachment.

Lord North, who had already occupied the Posts of first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, during eleven Years, was then in the full Vigor of his Faculties, having nearly accomplished the Forty-ninth Year of his Age. His Head and Face exceedingly reminded the Beholder, of the Portraits of Pope Leo the Tenth. In his Person he was of the middle size, heavy, large, and much inclined to Corpulency. There appeared in the Cast and Formation of his Countenance, nay even in his Manner, so strong a Resemblance to the Royal Family of England, that it was difficult not to perceive it. Like them, he had a fair Complexion, regular Features, light Hair, with bushy Eyebrows, and grey Eyes, rather prominent in his Head. His Face might be indeed esteemed a Caricature of the King; and those who remembered the Intimacy which subsisted between Frederic, the late Prince of Wales, and the Earl, as well as Countess of

Guildford, Lord North's Father and Mother; a Circumstance to which Allusion has already been made; found no Difficulty in accounting, though perhaps very unjustly, for that Similarity. He possessed an Advantage, considered in his ministerial Capacity, which neither of his two immediate Predecessors, the Marquis of Rockingham, or the Duke of Grafton, could boast; and, in which, his three immediate Successors in Office, Lord Rockingham, Lord Shelburne, and the Duke of Portland, were equally deficient. I mean, that being, not a Member of the House of Peers, but a Commoner, he had attained in the Course of Years, that intimate Knowledge of the lower House, its Formation, Composition, and the Modes of conducting or influencing it as a Body, which nothing can confer, except long Habits of Debate, and the Necessity of daily personal Attendance. His natural Affability rendered him besides so accessible, and the Communicativeness of his Temper inclined him so much to Conversation, that every Member of the House found a Facility in becoming known to him. Never indeed was a first Minister less intrenched within the Forms of his official Situation. He seemed on the contrary,

always happy to throw aside his public Character, and to relapse into an Individual.

His Tongue being rather too large for his Mouth, rendered his Articulation somewhat thick, though not at all indistinct. It is to this Peculiarity or Defect in his Enunciation, that "Junius" alludes in one of his Letters, written in January, 1770, when he says, after mentioning the Duke of Grafton's Resignation, "The Palm of Ministerial "Firmness is now transferred to Lord North. "He tells us so, himself, with the Plenitude "of the *Ore rotundo*." He did not however bedew his Hearers while addressing his Discourse to them, as Burnet tells us, the Duke of Lauderdale, so well known under Charles the Second's Reign, always did, in consequence of the faulty Conformation of his Tongue. In Parliament, the Deficiency of Lord North's Sight, was productive to him of many Inconveniences. For, even at the Distance of a few Feet, he saw very imperfectly; and across the House, he was unable to distinguish Persons with any Degree of Certainty or Accuracy. In speaking, walking, and every Motion, it is not enough to say that he wanted Grace: he was to the last

degree awkward. It can hardly obtain Belief, that in a full House of Commons, he took off on the Point of his Sword, the Wig of Mr. Welbore Ellis, and carried it a considerable Way across the Floor, without ever suspecting, or perceiving it. The Fact happened in this Manner. Mr. Ellis, who was then Treasurer of the Navy, and well advanced towards his Seventieth Year, always sat at the lowest Corner of the Treasury Bench, a few Feet removed from Lord North. The latter having Occasion to go down the House, previously laid his Hand on his Sword, holding the Chafe of the Scabbard forward, nearly in a horizontal Direction. Mr. Ellis stooping at the same Instant that the First Minister rose, the Point of the Scabbard came exactly in contact with the Treasurer of the Navy's Wig, which it completely took off, and bore away. The Accident, however ludicrous, was wholly unseen by Lord North, who received the first Intimation of it, from the involuntary Bursts of Laughter that it occasioned in every Quarter of the House. Mr. Ellis, however, without altering a Muscle of his Countenance, and preserving the most perfect Gravity in the midst of the general Convul-

sion; having received back his Wig, re-adjusted it to his Head, and waited patiently till the House had recovered from the Effect of so extraordinary, as well as ridiculous an Occurrence.

In addition to his Defect of Sight, Lord North was subject likewise to a constitutional Somnolency, which neither the animated Declamations of Fox, nor the pathetic Invocations of Burke, nor the hoarse Menaces of Barré, could always prevent. It attacked him even on the Treasury Bench, sometimes with irresistible Force. Nor was he altogether exempt from its Influence when in private Society. Having called on a Lady of Condition, one Evening, the Charms of whose Person and Conversation were universally acknowledged at the Time of which I am writing, but, whom I forbear to name, he found her engaged in a violent Altercation with her Sister-in-law. Lord North, with his characteristic good Humor, attempted to interpose his Mediation, and to accommodate the Quarrel: but, he found this Negotiation more difficult than that of the Falkland Islands, and they were not to be pacified without recurring to legal Assist-

ance. He consented therefore to wait, till the Lady of the House should return from her Solicitor's Chambers in Lincoln's Inn, which she promised to do without Delay. Seating himself in an Arm-chair before the Fire, he soon fell into a profound Sleep, from which he was not awakened by the Entrance of one of the Maid Servants; who seeing a corpulent Man, with a blue Ribband across his Breast, asleep in her Mistress's Drawing Room, and being unacquainted with the first Minister's Person, ran down into the Kitchen, to give the Alarm. Yet in Defiance of all these physical Infirmities, whenever he rose to reply in the House of Commons, he displayed no want of Recollection, Presence of Mind, or Accuracy. He seldom, or never, took Notes; trusting to his Memory for retaining the principal Facts which occurred during the preceding Discussion. Sir Grey Cooper, however, who commonly sat on his left Hand, supplied on particular Occasions, that Deficiency.

Lord North was powerful, able, and fluent in Debate; sometimes repelling the Charges made against him, with solid Argument; but, still more frequently eluding or blunting the

Weapons of his Antagonists, by the Force of Wit and Humour. Fox, conscious of the first Minister's Superiority in exciting a Laugh, and irritated at being often the Object of his Talent for Ridicule, more than once endeavoured to silence Him by Severity of Animadversion. I remember, soon after I came into Parliament, towards the Close of 1780, during the Debate which arose upon Sir Hugh Palliser's Nomination to the Government of Greenwich Hospital; Lord North having exhibited his Talents in that Line of Defence, Fox exclaimed, "There may be Ingenuity, and there doubtless is Wit in the noble Lord's Reply, but "there is no Judgment. A Joke constitutes "a poor Consolation for so many gallant "Admirals as have been forced out of the "Service. The prime Minister is satisfied "if he can only raise a Laugh. He hopes, "that if the Opposers of his Measures can- "not approve his Reasoning, they may still "be compelled to say, '*O quàm belle con-* "*cionaris!*'" Mr. Thomas Townsend, alluding about the same Time, in the House of Commons, to Lord North's unequalled Powers of that Nature; expressed his Astonishment at the Facility with which, while

the Empire was convulsed in every Quarter, the first Lord of the Treasury could summon to his Aid, all the Weapons of Wit and Levity. "Happen what will," said he, "the "noble Lord is ready with his Joke. Amidst "the Calamities of the War, and the Ruin "of the Country, while the State of public "Affairs renders every other Person serious, "he is prepared to treat Events the most "distressing, as Subjects of Merriment, of "Gaiety, and of Repartee! Such is his luxu-"riant Fancy, and sportive Elasticity of "Character." These Observations, however acrimonious, were not destitute of Truth; but it was impossible to resist the Effect of Lord North's Talents for Ridicule. They never forsook him; not even on the Night of the seventh of June, 1780, when London was blazing round him; nor on the 18th of March, 1782, only forty-eight Hours before he resigned, when he jested in the House of Commons, on the Tax which he meant to impose upon Hair-dressers:—such was the Formation of his Mind. Sir Thomas More, Chancellor under Henry the Eighth, one of the greatest, wisest, and most virtuous Ministers that England ever saw, displayed the same Facetiousness throughout every Stage

of his Life, and exhibited it even on the Scaffold, during his last Moments.

Lord North rarely rose to Sublimity, though he possessed vast Facility and Command of Language. If necessary, he could speak for a long Time, apparently with great Pathos, and yet disclose no important Fact, nor reveal any Secret. I have heard Fox himself, while inveighing in the strongest Manner against Lord North, yet bear a sort of reluctant Testimony to his Ability in this Respect. When the Subject of opening a Treaty with the American Colonies, was agitated in the House of Commons, towards the Conclusion of the Session of 1781; the first Minister having opposed on general Grounds, the Motion then brought forward by Opposition, Fox, in the Course of a long and very animated Speech, observed, "The noble Lord prefers speaking indefinitely on the present Question. "It is frequently inconvenient for him to "answer directly to Matters of Fact, and he "therefore amuses Parliament with general "Ideas or Propositions. For, there exists "not within these Walls, nor in the King-"dom, a more complete Master of Language "than the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor

" one who can more plausibly discourse on " any Subject." The Sincerity, as well as the Justice of this Recognition, could admit of no Dispute. Then adverting to Lord George Germain's well known fair or unguarded Mode of Expression, Fox added, " The noble Lord who sits near the first " Lord of the Treasury, is less accustomed " to entertain his Audience with general " Speeches, and commonly comes directly " to the Fact." An unalterable Suavity and Equality of Temper, which was natural to Lord North, enabled him to sustain, unmoved, the bitter Sarcasms and severe Accusations, levelled at him from the Opposition Benches. They always seemed to sink into him, like a Cannon Ball into a Wool Sack. Sometimes, the coarse Invectives of Alderman Sawbridge, or the fiery Sallies of George Byng, roused him from his seeming Apathy; and effected the Object, which the delicate Irony, or laboured Attacks of more able Adversaries, had failed to produce. Once, and only once, during the Time that I sat in Parliament, I witnessed his rising to a Pitch of the most generous Indignation. Barré attracted this Storm on himself, by the Reproaches which he made the first Minister, for oppressing the People with

Taxes; or as he coarsely termed it, "scourg-
"ing them to the last Drop of their Blood:"
Reproaches, equally uncalled for by the Oc-
casion, as they were delivered with insulting
Asperity of Language.

The Incident happened after the Close of that memorable Debate, when General Conway, on the 22d of February, 1782, may be said to have terminated the American War; Administration only carrying the Question by a single Vote. Lord North alluding to this recent Triumph of the Opposition, said in Reply to Barré, that "he presumed the Di-
"vision of that Evening, had inflamed the Co-
"lonel's Valour to such intemperate Abuse," which he qualified with the Epithets of "in-
"solent and brutal." I scarcely ever recollect a Scene of greater Tumult and general Disorder, than took Place on his pronouncing the above Words. The First Minister had Time during the Uproar and Cries of *Order*, to recollect himself; and as soon as Silence was in some Measure restored, he apologized to the House for his Indiscretion; adding in a Manner the most good humoured, "To be sure, Mr. Speaker, it was wrong in
"me, who have been so long accustomed to
"Parliamentary Abuse, to be irritated at

" any Expressions. I can bear, I believe, " as much as any Man; and I am persuaded, " the House will give me Credit, when I re- " peat that I support Abuse as patiently as " any Individual." Several of the Opposition Members, among whom were Colonel Barré's Colleague, Dunning, and Mr. William Pitt; insisting that a personal Excuse or Apology was due to Barré himself, as well as to the House, Lord North submitted to the expressed Pleasure of the Assembly. But, the Colonel, " *cui Lumen ademptum*," by no means manifested the same Suavity and Complacency in accepting, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had exhibited in making, the required Apology. Getting up, he began a Speech of considerable Length, by observing that " though he in general " differed upon political Points with the " noble Lord, and despised him as a Mini- " ster, yet as a private Gentleman, he esteem- " ed Lord North." He then proceeded to demonstrate that every Member possessed a Right to use with Impunity, the most severe Epithets towards a public Functionary, the Servant of the State, though that Right was not reciprocal. He would even have again recapitulated the Particulars of the whole Transaction, if *Cornwall* had not very pro-

perly interposed from the Chair, and imposed Silence on him. Thus terminated the Business. Pitt did not then foresee that a Day would arrive, when he should stand precisely in the Predicament of Lord North. No doubt, Pitt and Tierney, when they met on Putney Common in 1798, exchanged Shots for less Provocation: but, a Duel between Lord North and Barré, would have excited a sort of Ridicule; the former seeing very imperfectly with both Eyes, and the latter possessing only one defective Eye. Besides, the Emotions of Anger and Resentment appeared to be foreign to Lord North's Nature, and as if only put on occasionally in Order to serve a particular Purpose. He was indeed incapable of retaining Enmity, though he felt, and sometimes expressed Contempt for those Individuals, who abandoned him from mean and mercenary Motives. The best Proof of his Placability was exhibited by himself, several Years afterwards, accompanied with that Wit and Pleasantry which characterized him on every Occasion. Barré and he meeting on the Pantiles at Tunbridge Wells, where great Civilities took Place between them; "Colonel," said Lord North, "notwithstanding all that may have passed formerly in Parliament, when we were

on different Sides, I am persuaded that there are not two Men in the Kingdom, who would now be more happy to see each other." They were both at that Time totally deprived of Sight, and led about by their Attendants.

Baited, harassed, and worried as he always was in Parliament, during the latter Years of his Administration, he never manifested any Impatience for the Termination of the Session: on the contrary, Doubts were entertained among those Persons who knew him best, whether he did not derive a Gratification from keeping the House of Commons sitting. That Assembly presented in fact a Theatre on which he acted the first Personage, where he attracted almost all Attention, and where his Abilities rendered him hardly less conspicuous, than his Ministerial Situation. In opening *the Budget*, he was esteemed peculiarly lucid, clear, and able. On that Account it constituted a Day of Triumph to his Friends and Supporters, who exulted in the Talent which he displayed, whenever he exhibited the State of the national Finances, or imposed new pecuniary Burthens. I was twice present at his Performance of this arduous Task; first, in 1781, and afterwards, in the following Year,

when he executed it for the last Time. Each Performance appeared to me, very deserving of the Encomiums lavished on it; and if compared with the incapable Manner in which *the Budget* was opened by his Successor, Lord John Cavendish, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1783, I still continue of the same Opinion. But, Lord North could sustain no Competition with the late Mr. Pitt, who on those, as on all other Occasions, manifested a Perspicuity, Eloquence, Recollection, and Talent, altogether wonderful; which carried the Audience along with him in every Arithmetical Statement, left no Calculation obscure or ambiguous, and impressed the House at its Close, with tumultuous Admiration.

Lord North could descend without Effort, I might say, with Ease and Dignity, from the highest Offices of his public Situation in the House of Commons, to the lowest Duties of a private Member. In the Spring of the Year 1781, when "the Secret Com-"mittee for enquiring into the Causes of "the War in the Carnatic," was appointed by Ballot, I was named one of the Scrutineers, to examine the Names of the Persons chosen to compose it. The House

being about to break up, we were standing round the Table, when some Voices called out the Name of Lord North for a Scrutineer. Far from declining to engage in such an Occupation, which he might easily have done, on account of his Official Business and Employments, he instantly repaired with the Members nominated, to one of the Committee Rooms. We sat till a late Hour before the Scrutiny was finished, and dined together up Stairs. And if he made the worst Scrutineer, he was certainly the pleasantest and best Companion, during the whole Time. He possessed a classic Mind, full of Information, and always enlivened by Wit, as well as sweetened by good Humour. When young, he had travelled over a considerable Part of Europe, and he knew the Continent well: he spoke French with Facility, and was equally versed in the great Writings of Antiquity. It was impossible to experience Dullness in his Society. Even during the last Years of his Life, when nearly or totally blind, and labouring under many Infirmities; yet his Equanimity of Temper never forsook him, nor even his Gaiety, and Powers of Conversation. I have frequently seen him display the utmost

Chearfulness, under those Circumstances so trying to human Nature.

As a Statesman, his Enemies charged him with Irresolution: but he might rather be taxed with Indolence and Procrastination, than with want of Decision. He naturally loved to postpone, though when it became necessary to resolve, he could abide firmly by his Determination. Never had any Minister purer Hands, nor manifested less Rapacity. In fact, he amassed no Wealth, after an Administration of twelve Years. When he quitted Office, his Circumstances were by no means Opulent, and he had a numerous Family. I well remember that when Powis accused Him, (in the Course of that memorable Speech which made so deep an Impression on the House, pronounced in December, 1781;) of Insensibility to the Calamities of the Country, and of clinging to Employment, from unworthy Motives of an interested or pecuniary Nature; Lord North repelled the Imputation with the Calmness and Dignity of conscious Integrity. "I do not desire," said he, "to "make any affected Display of my personal "Purity or Disinterestedness. I will how-

" ever declare, that with Respect to my In-
" come, I would most cheerfully give it
" all; not only the Part which I derive from
" the public Purse, but, my own private
" Fortune, if I could thereby accelerate
" an honorable, speedy, and advantageous
" Peace!" There was not, I believe, a Man on the opposite Side of the House, without even excepting George Byng or Sawbridge, though both were bitter Enemies to the Minister, who doubted either his Sincerity or his Veracity. His Adversaries reproached him likewise, that though incapable of personally descending to unworthy Means of enriching himself, he allowed Peculations or Abuses to be practised by those employed under him. Sawbridge, when speaking in his Place, as a Member of Parliament, alluding to this Accusation, exclaimed with Cato,

" Curse on his Virtues, they've undone his Country!"

A similar Charge was made against the late Mr. Pitt, who, after having been first Minister during almost his whole Life, left only Debts behind him. But it never entered into any Man's Mind, however inimical he might be, to accuse either Lord North or Mr. Pitt, of making undue Purchases in the public Funds, or of turn-

ing their Ministerial Information to private Purposes of pecuniary Emolument. They were known to be upright and disinterested. The great Defect of Lord North's Government arose from the Easiness of his natural Temper, which sometimes perhaps induced him to adopt, or to defend Measures, that had not always the Sanction of his Judgment. Another, and perhaps a greater Evil, arising from his Facility and Want of Energy, was, that he did not, like the great Earl of Chatham, sufficiently coerce the other Members of the Cabinet; each of whom, under Lord North, might be said to form a sort of independent Department. They were in fact, rather his Co-equals, than his Subordinates, as they ought to have been; and the public Service often suffered, as I well know, from their Want of Union, or from their clashing Interests, and private Animosities. Dundas himself, while making the Panegyric of his Friend the first Minister, yet avowed this constitutional Defect in his Formation of Mind. It happened on the 12th of December, 1781, during one of the Debates in the House of Commons previous to the Termination of the American War. "The noble Lord in the blue Ribband," said Dundas, "is actuated in all his Mea-

" sures, by the most disinterested Zeal for " his Country. He wants only one Quality " to render Him a great and distinguished " Statesman; I mean, a more *despotic* and " *commanding Temper.*" Burke affected to treat with contemptuous Ridicule, these Eulogiums of the Lord Advocate on the Chancellor of the Exchequer. " The Splen- " dor of the *noble* Lord's public Character " and Administration," observed He, " can " only be equalled by the Sincerity of the " *learned* Lord's Praises." But, whatever Motives might be imputed to Dundas, the Fact was indisputable. Lord North excited Affection, as well as Respect; and awakened Admiration at his Variety of Talents and Attainments. But, he knew not how to inspire Terror, like the first Mr. Pitt; of whom Wilkes says, that " the keen Light- " nings of his Eye spoke the haughty, fiery " Soul, before his Lips had pronounced a " Syllable." Even his Son, the late first Minister, though He wanted the Features of the Father, inherited no inconsiderable Portion of " the Lightnings of his Eye."

Want of political Courage cannot be justly attributed to Lord North. If we reflect that his Administration equalled in Dura-

tion, the aggregate Period occupied by the five preceding Ministers, namely, Mr. Pitt, Lord Bute, Mr. Grenville, Lord Rockingham, and the Duke of Grafton;—and if we consider how critical, as well as perilous, were the Times, particularly during the Reverses of the American War, and throughout the Riots of June, 1780, which last Convulsions might have appalled the stoutest Mind; we shall not refuse him a just Claim to the Praise of ministerial Firmness. Even his ultimate Resignation in 1782, I am convinced, arose more from Disgust and Weariness, added to Despair, than from personal Fear, or from any Defect of Nerves. How well aware he was of the precarious Tenure by which he held his Power during the four or five last Years of the American War, and how suddenly he might be compelled to quit his official Residence in Downing Street, may be inferred from a single Circumstance. He had a House at the South East Angle of Grosvenor Square, which from its Situation in so elegant and fashionable a Quarter of the Town, would easily have found a permanent Tenant. But, Lord North, conscious on how frail a Basis his Administration reposed, would never let it for a longer Period than one Year. In Consequence of this

Principle, it annually changed its Possessors; and being frequently taken by newly married Couples, it obtained the Name of *Honey Moon Hall.* To the House of which I speak, Lord North repaired at the Termination of his Ministry, and continued to reside in it while inhabiting London, down to the Time of his Decease in 1792. I have often paid my Respects to him there of Evenings, between his last Dismission from Employment in December, 1783, and the Close of his Life; never without Sentiments of Admiration and Respect. Though not unguarded in private Conversation, or in Debate, he was careless in many Respects, to a Degree hardly credible. I have heard a Member of his Cabinet say, that it was dangerous to trust him with State Papers, which he perpetually mislaid or forgot. A Letter of the first political Importance, addressed to him by the King, which he had lost; after a long Search, was found lying wide open in the Water-closet. A strong and mutual Affection subsisted between His Majesty and him, as was natural, after the many heavy Storms that they had weathered together, for so many Years. This Attachment on the Part of the former, though

shaken and interrupted when Lord North joined Mr. Fox in 1783, yet revived in the royal Bosom at a subsequent Period, on Lord North becoming blind; a Circumstance at which, when made known to him, His Majesty expressed the deepest Concern and Sympathy. He did not then probably foresee that he should himself be visited with the same Affliction; a point of Similarity between them, which is not a little remarkable.

Besides his Ministerial Offices, Lord North was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Lady North enjoyed the Rangership of Bushy Park. It was there, that having escaped from the "*Fumum et Opes* "*Strepitumque Romæ,*" surrounded by his Family, he appeared peculiarly an Object of Esteem, and of Attachment, divested of all Form or Ostentation; lively and playful as a Boy, yet never without Dignity; diffusing Gaiety and good Humor round him. Even those who opposed the *Minister*, involuntarily loved the *Man*. I have had the Honor to visit him at Bushy Park, to dine with him when no other Stranger was present, and to participate of the Scene that I here

describe. As *Pope* asserts of Sir Robert Walpole, so may I on this Subject say,

"Seen him I have, but in the social Hour
"Of private *Converse*, ill exchanged for Power."

The Earl of Guildford, Lord North's Father, attained to a very advanced Age: I believe, to eighty-six, and had nearly survived his Son, only dying about two Years before him. So that Lord North, like his Predecessor, Sir Robert Walpole, remained a Member of the House of Commons, during almost his whole Life. Lord Guildford had been three Times married; Dr. North, the present Bishop of Winchester, being his Son by the second Wife. Lord North sprung from his first Marriage. The Minister secured the Reversion, if I may so term it, of the Bishoprick of Winchester, for his Brother, by a Piece of Address. For, the Archiepiscopal See of York having become vacant on the Decease of Dr. Drummond; Lord North, who knew that the King had destined that high Ecclesiastical Promotion for Dr. Markham, then Bishop of Chester, determined nevertheless to ask it for Dr. North, Bishop of Worcester. Conscious that he should meet with a Refusal, for which he was prepared, he ably made it

subservient to the Attainment of his real Object, Winchester; a Mitre that might be reasonably expected soon to drop, from the Age and Infirmities of its Possessor, Dr. Thomas. When Lord North preferred his Request, the King replied, that it was impossible to gratify him, as the Archbishoprick of York must be conferred on the Bishop of Chester. The First Minister insisted: but the Sovereign remained firm, recapitulated the Obligations which he owed to Dr. Markham, for his Care of the Prince of Wales's Education, and left no Prospect of effecting any Change in his Resolution. "Your Majesty then," said Lord North, "will, I hope, have no Objection to give my "Brother, the See of Winchester, whenever "it may become vacant?" "Oh, by all "means," answered the King, "You may "rely on it:" a Promise, which soon afterwards received its Accomplishment.

I will conclude the Subject of Lord North, on which I dwell with Complacency, by observing, that though he cannot be esteemed a great Statesman in the most comprehensive Sense; tho' he neither possessed those vast Energies of Character and

extraordinary Talents, which have immortalized the first Mr. Pitt; nor that Assemblage of Qualities fitted for the Conduct of a popular Government, which distinguished the second Mr. Pitt;—tho' Lord North was even a very unfortunate, as well as a most unpopular Minister, during the far greater Part, or the whole Course of his Administration; yet he possessed distinguished Claims to national Esteem. The American War formed the Weight which dragged him down: a Load that would have sunk the great Lord Chatham himself, if he had attempted to lift it, notwithstanding his Endowments of Mind, sustained by popular Favor. In the Year 1758, when that eminent Statesman was called to the Direction of public Affairs, not by the Sovereign, but by the Nation, he had only to conduct and point the Resources of the Country, against France. His Son, in 1793, beheld himself placed, as the Champion of Order, Morals, Religion, and monarchical Government, in Opposition to the most sanguinary and detestable Republic, (if a fierce Democracy, whose Sceptre was the *Guillotine*, could be with Justice entitled to that Denomination;) which ever arose among Men. Both Ministers were in some Measure sus-

tained and impelled by the very Contest. But, Lord North, who derived little Support from his Countrymen, and none from the Nature of the War, could only look to the Crown for Protection against public Clamor, in, and out of Parliament. In the Distribution of Honors and Dignities, he was far more sparing than his Successor; a Fact of which we shall be convinced, if we compare the List of Peerages created between 1770 and 1782, with those made by Mr. Pitt, when first Minister, within the same Portion of Time, during any Period of his Administration. Nor was Lord North equally profuse of the Public Money, as Mr. Pitt proved himself, whatever Severity of Censure he underwent for his Extravagance or Negligence, in the Management and Expenditure of the Finances. No Impeachment of any subordinate Minister, or of any Member of his Cabinet, ever took place, for Defalcation, or Misapplication of Sums which passed through his Hands, as we witnessed in 1805. Yet the Opposition in the Lower House of Parliament, during the whole Progress of the American War, exceeded in Numbers, and at least equalled in Virulence, the Minority which impeached Lord Melville.

As a Man, considered in every private Relation, even in his very Weaknesses, Lord North was most amiable. Under that Point of View, his Character will rise on a Comparison with any first Minister of Great Britain, who existed during the Course of the Eighteenth Century; not excepting Lord Godolphin, Mr. Pelham, or the Marquis of Rockingham. The two former Individuals were justly accused of a Passion for Play, which accompanied them through Life; a Vice from which Lord North was wholly exempt. *Burnet*, who recounts the Fact relative to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, says, "He loved Gaming the most of any "Man of Business I ever knew; and gave "one Reason for it; because it delivered "him from the Obligation to talk much." Dodington, when relating Mr. Pelham's Attachment to the same ruinous Gratification, adds, that he studiously concealed it with the utmost Care. Lord North possessed better intellectual Resources in himself. He possessed likewise the highest Sources of Enjoyment in his Family, surrounded by his numerous and amiable Children. The Marquis of Rockingham, however personally estimable, was childless; and Lord Bute's Fire-side was not characterized by

the same Expansion of the Heart, the same Emancipation from all Severity of Form, or the same Ebullitions of Fancy and Intellect. His immediate Predecessor, the Duke of Grafton, respecting whom "Junius" observes, when speaking of his domestic Qualities, "Your Grace has now made the com-" plete Revolution of the political Zodiac, " from the *Scorpion* in which you stung " Lord Chatham, to the Hopes of a *Virgin* " in the House of Bloomsbury;"—the Duke could support no Competition with Lord North, in the endearing Charities of Life, where the Minister becomes merged in the Father, the Husband, and the Individual. If we would try to find his Equal in these Endowments and Virtues, we must remount to Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, or to Hyde, Earl of Clarendon,—Every Beholder, while contemplating the Monument where rest the Remains of the great Earl of Chatham, or of the Second Mr. Pitt, erected to their Memory by national Gratitude, must be penetrated with Emotions of Admiration and Respect: but, all those who personally knew Lord North, or had ever mixed with him in Society, when regarding his Tomb, would involuntarily find their Eyes suffused in Tears.

The Post of Secretary of State for the *Northern* Department, was at that Time filled by Lord Stormont; a Nobleman who having passed great Part of his Life in a diplomatic Capacity, on the Continent, principally at the Courts of Dresden and Vienna, necessarily possessed a considerable Knowledge of the Interests and Politics of Europe. He had nevertheless manifested no great Vigilance, nor displayed any superior Penetration, during his recent Embassy at Paris; where, it was commonly believed, he had been deceived by the Protestations, or duped by the Artifices, of Maurepas and of Vergennes, previous to the open Interference of France in the Affairs of America. I well remember, *Powis*, when speaking of him, on the 8th of March, 1782, in the Course of a Speech which made a deep Impression on the House of Commons; observed, "Lord "Stormont fills the Post of one of the Se- "cretaries of State. But, what Treaties "has he ever signed? In what Instance has "he ever displayed the Talents of a States- "man or a Politician? Perhaps he may "have received at his Office, and notified to "the King in due Form, Accounts of the "Birth, the Marriage, or the Death of fo-

" reign Princes. But, all his Politics seem " there to terminate. How far he can be " regarded as a proper Minister to nego- " tiate Peace with the American Colonies, " we may infer from one of his Answers " to them."—" His Majesty's Ministers re- " ceive Applications from Rebels, only when " they sue for Pardon." Yet, what other Reply could Lord Stormont then make, representing, as he did, the King, whose Embassador he was at the Court of Versailles? Decorated with the Insignia of the Order of the Thistle, his Person, noble and imposing, presented the Appearance of a Man of Quality: but, his Manners, destitute of Amenity, stiff and constrained, were not calculated to ingratiate, or to seduce. His Enemies accused him of Parsimony; and his greatest Admirers admitted that he bore no Resemblance to *Timon*, either in his Household, his Table, or his general Expense. His near Alliance to the Earl of Mansfield, of whom he was the Nephew and collateral Heir, if it conferred no Claim to popular Favor, unquestionably conduced to render him more acceptable at St. James's. Even his Opponents admitted him to possess Judgment, as well as Application; and

whenever he rose in the House of Peers, he displayed a thorough Acquaintance with the Subject on which he spoke, together with great Precision of Language, and Force of Argument.

The Earl of Hillsborough, who held the *Southern* Department, was a Man of elegant Manners, and wanted neither Ability, nor Attention to public Business: but, his natural Endowments, however solid, did not rise above Mediocrity. He had owed his political, as well as personal Elevation in Life, more to his good Sense, Penetration, Suavity, and Address, than to any intellectual Superiority. At St. James's he was more at Home, than at Westminster; and might rather be esteemed an accomplished Courtier, than a superior Minister. His Mind was indeed highly cultivated, but, it seemed to be rather the Information of a Gentleman, than the Knowledge of a Statesman. I have seen him much embarrassed and disconcerted in the Session of 1781, when called on officially in the House of Lords, to explain, or to justify, the Measures adopted in Bengal:—an Embarrassment which arose from his Ignorance of

Names, Places, and Circumstances in that Quarter of the Globe, with which, as Secretary of State for the East Indies, he ought to have been acquainted. We must however recollect that very few Persons, except such as were locally connected with India, had then attained any accurate Information respecting the Company's Territories, Revenues, and Affairs. Of this Assertion I could adduce many Proofs. In February, 1782, when Lord Shelburne, while speaking in the House of Peers, made Allusion to "a King, "or Supreme Rajah of the Mharattas," he felt himself compelled to explain to their Lordships, the Nature and narrow Limits of that nominal Sovereignty; with which, as well as with the Office of "Peshwa," or efficient Ruler of the Mharatta Empire, nine-tenths of his Audience were utterly unacquainted. I recollect the Astonishment, not unmixed with some Degree of Ridicule, excited in the House of Commons, on Governor Johnstone's first Mention and Description of the Harbour of Trincomalé in the Island of Ceylon; a Bay, which probably, till that Occasion, had never been heard of by the greater Part of the County Members. Though the Irruption of Hyder

Ally into the Carnatic in 1780, powerfully awakened and attracted the national Attention to the Subject; it was Fox's memorable "Bill," followed at a short Interval, by Hastings's Trial, that diffused over the whole Kingdom, an Eagerness for Oriental Knowledge.

But, Lord George Germain, who presided over the American Department, excited from a variety of Causes, far more public Consideration, while he presented a fairer Mark for parliamentary Attack, or for popular Declamation, than either of the other Secretaries of State. His recognized Abilities, the Circumstance of his being a Member of the House of Commons; not, like his two Colleagues, removed from the front Ranks of Warfare, by their Situation in the upper House of Parliament; even the Events of his former Life, when commanding the British Forces in Germany; and above all, the Object of the War in which we were engaged; a War, that at the Commencement of 1781, still professed to be the Subjugation of the revolted Colonies;—these united Circumstances rendered him, after Lord North, the most prominent Person in Administra-

tion. As I had the Honor to enjoy a Place in his Friendship, and to live with him during the latter Years of his Life, on Terms of great Intimacy, I may pretend to have known him well. Nor will I deny that I am partial to his Memory: but, that Partiality will never induce me to pervert, or to misrepresent any Fact; though I am aware that it may unintentionally bias my Opinions. He had completed his Sixty-fifth Year, at this Time; but, a Frame of Body naturally robust, and a vigorous Constitution, secured him almost uninterrupted Health, together with the Enjoyment of all his Faculties; among which, his Memory was conspicuous. In his Person, which rose to near six Feet, he was muscular, and capable of enduring much bodily, as well as mental, Fatigue. Though his Features were strongly pronounced and saturnine, yet, considered together as a whole, their Effect by no means displeased. An Air of high Birth and Dignity, illuminated by strong Sense, pervaded every Lineament of his Face. His Countenance indicated Intellect, particularly his Eye, the Motions of which were quick and piercing. On first Acquaintance, his Manner and Air impressed

those who approached him, with an Idea of proud Reserve; but no Man, in private Society, unbent himself more, or manifested less Self-importance. In the midst of his Family;—for he rarely dined from home, except at the Cabinet Dinners; and in the Company of a few select Friends, he soon forgot the Toils annexed to public Life, the Asperities of Debate, and the Vexations of Office. Even after the latest Nights in the House of Commons, he always sat down to a delicately served Table, drank a Pint of Claret, unbent his Mind, and passed in Review the Incidents of the preceding Evening. It was then that his Conversation became most entertaining; seasoned with curious Anecdotes collected during the Course of a long Life, passed in the highest Circles, amidst the greatest Affairs, in England, Ireland, Scotland, and on the Continent, where he had served; embracing the Secret History of the present, and of the two late Reigns. Nor was his Information limited to the Accession of the Hanoverian Line, but extended to the preceding Sovereigns. The Duchess of Dorset, his Mother, had been a Maid of Honor to Queen Anne; and his Father, the Duke, remembered William

the Third. When Lord George entered on the Events of those Times, he might be said to raise the Curtain that concealed from vulgar Eyes, the Palaces of Whitehall, of St. James's, of Kensington, and of Hampton Court. The private Adventures, all the minute Recitals calculated to awaken, as well as to gratify Curiosity; many Particulars relative to the illustrious Persons of both Sexes who composed the Courts of William and of Anne; Particulars, which though the Gravity of History may disdain, yet which delight and instruct;—such were the frequent Subjects of his Discourse. Had I committed to Paper at that Period, the Materials which he profusely threw before me, I might have composed a Work of the highest Interest to the present Age, and to Posterity: but, mine are only Reminiscences.

Though Lord George Germain was so highly born, his Education did not altogether correspond with his Extraction, and he owed far more to Nature, than to Cultivation. He had, indeed, been brought up in the College of Dublin; but he possessed little Information derived from Books, nor had he improved his Mind by extensive

Reading, in the Course of subsequent Years. Even after his Retreat from public Employment, in the Decline of Life, when at Drayton, where he possessed a fine Library, he rarely opened an Author, except for a short Time on his Return from coursing, shooting, riding, or other favorite Exercises. He had visited Paris, when young, with his Father, the Duke of Dorset; and the French Language was familiar to him: but, with Horace, Tacitus, or Cicero, he had formed little Acquaintance. His Initiation into public Life, Politics, and Parliament, took place too early, to admit of storing his Mind with classic Images or Ideas. Though he was versed in English History since the Time of Elizabeth, during which Period of near two Centuries, some one of his immediate Ancestors had almost always sat, and sometimes presided, in the Councils of the Sovereign, he was not conversant in our Annals of an earlier Date. But, on the other Hand, he had witnessed much with his own Eyes, he had heard still more from others, he seized with Ease on whatever was submitted to his Understanding, and he forgot nothing.

In Business he was rapid, yet clear and ac-

curate; rather negligent in his Style, which was that of a Gentleman and a Man of the World, unstudied, and frequently careless, even in his official Dispatches. But, there was no Obscurity or Ambiguity in his Compositions. Capable of Application in Cases of Necessity, he nevertheless passed little Time at the Desk, or in the Closet: and while Secretary of State, under critical, as well as perilous Circumstances, when every Courier brought, or might bring, Accounts the most disastrous; no Man who saw him at Table, or of an Evening in his Drawing-room, would have suspected from his Deportment and Conversation, that the Responsibility of the American War reposed principally on his Shoulders. More than one Member of the Cabinet was supposed to enjoy a greater Degree of personal Acceptability with the King; but, none exercised the Privilege of speaking with more Freedom to him. Lord George seldom hazarded to ask Favors; but, when he undertook any Cause, he rarely receded till he had obtained the Object. Dr. Eliot, who then practised Physic with some Celebrity, and of whose medical Skill Lord George entertained a high Opinion; induced him to exert

his Interest at Court, for procuring the Doctor to be created a Baronet. The King, who disliked Eliot personally, and regarded his professional Talents with as little Partiality, displayed much Repugnance to grant the Request. Yielding however at last, "Well, my Lord," said he, "since you desire "it, let it be: but, remember, He shall not "be my Physician." "No, Sir," answered Lord George, bowing, "He shall be your "Majesty's Baronet, and my Physician." The King laughed, and Eliot was raised to the Baronetage.

In the House of Commons, down to the last Hour that Lord George remained a Member of that Assembly, he was constantly the Object of the severest, and most pointed Attacks of the Opposition; who always hoped to force from his Irritability, the Secret or the Fact, which they had vainly attempted to extort from the Apathy and Tranquillity of Lord North. In this Endeavour they frequently succeeded: for, Lord George, goaded by Reproaches, often fictitious, frequently unjust, and always exaggerated, generally started up sooner or later; repelled the Charges advanced; and in so

doing, sometimes put the Adversary in Possession of the very Matter which they sought to discover. I have continually witnessed the Fact to which I allude. Fox himself admitted this characteristic Feature of Lord George's Formation of Mind. I recollect, that during the Debate which took Place relative to the Capture of the Island of St. Eustatius, in the Session of 1781; Fox, while he censured most severely the Proceedings of our Commanders, in their Confiscation of the private Property there found, acknowledged "the unwary Frankness of "the Secretary of State, (Lord George,) as "a Quality for which he was sometimes "praised *in* the House of Commons, and "blamed *out* of it." A still more conspicuous Exhibition of this Merit, or of this Defect, in his Character,—for I am uncertain under which Class it ought to be ranked;—I witnessed only a few Days later in the same Session. Burke having brought forward a very pointed and serious Charge against Government, for Neglect in not supplying the Garrison of Gibraltar, then besieged by the Spaniards, with Gunpowder; in Consequence of which egregious Want of Precaution, Admiral Darby, when sent to the Relief of the Fortress, was reduced to the

Necessity of stripping his Fleet, in Order to leave two Thousand Barrels of Powder in the Magazine; Sir Charles Cocks, Mr. Kenrick, Sir Charles Frederick, and other Members of the Board of Ordnance, who were present, attempted to contradict the Story, as not authentic, or of which they had at least no Information. But, George Byng persisting in the Charge, and demanding a more satisfactory Answer, the American Secretary rose, and observed that though he could only speak from Rumor, and had no official, nor other Intelligence on the Point to communicate, yet that his own Opinion was, the Report had a Foundation in Truth. He added, that if it should so turn out, Admiral Darby had acted in a very meritorious Manner, by leaving for the Supply of the Garrison, whatever Quantity of Gunpowder he could spare, without endangering the Safety of his own Fleet. Lord North remained silent during this Avowal of Lord George, and took no Part whatever in the Debate.

Lord George spoke, as he wrote, without much Premeditation, from the Impulse of the Occasion; in animated, rather than in correct Language; with Vehemence, but,

not without Dignity. His Voice was powerful, and his Figure commanding; though he did not always thoroughly possess himself, nor display the Coolness demanded by so trying a Situation as that of American Secretary. His Opponents, who well knew, availed themselves of this Defect in his Formation of Mind. On the other Hand, the Keenness of his Sight gave him a prodigious Advantage over Lord North, when in the House of Commons. Lord George Germain had no sooner taken his Seat on the Treasury Bench, than he pervaded with a Glance of his Eye, the Opposition Benches; saw who attended, as well as who were absent; and formed his Conclusions accordingly on the Business of the Day. He used to say, that for those who were enabled to exercise this Faculty, every Thing was to be *seen* in the House; where, on the contrary, nothing except Declamation, was to be gained by the *Ear*. No Man better understood the Management of Parliament; the Prolongation or Acceleration of a Debate, according to the Temper or the Number of the Members present; and every Detail of official Dexterity or Address, requisite in conducting Affairs submitted to a popular Assembly.

To all these Arts of Government, he had served two long and severe Apprenticeships in Ireland, as Secretary to his Father, the Duke of Dorset, when successively Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom. In political Courage and Firmness he was not deficient. I have seen him in Circumstances which sufficiently put those Qualities to the Proof, towards the Close of the American War, when Intelligence arrived of Lord Cornwallis's Surrender at York Town: a Disaster of the most irreparable Nature, the Load of which fell almost exclusively on himself.

While summing up Lord George's Character, it is so impossible not to think of the Business at Minden, and consequently not to allude to it, that my Silence on this Subject, would seem to imply my Conviction of the Justice of the Sentence passed on him by the Court Martial. On the other Hand, I feel how delicate and invidious a Matter it is, on which to touch, even at the Distance of more than half a Century. Yet, as *personal*, and *political* Courage, though altogether dissimilar, are commonly considered to have an intimate Connexion; as we are even with Difficulty induced to allow, or duly to

estimate any Virtues, however eminent, in a Man whom we suppose to have been deficient in the former of those essential Qualities; as general Prejudice is certainly in Lord George's Disfavor, and as I may claim to possess some Information on the Subject; I shall enter briefly into the Disquisition.

I lay no Stress on Lord George Germain's illustrious Extraction, since we all know that the greatest Houses have produced the most degenerate Descendants; Instances of which in Point, to which, from Motives of Delicacy and personal Consideration I forbear alluding, have occurred in our own Times. Pope justly exclaims,

"What can ennoble Slaves, or Sots, or Cowards?
"Alas! Not all the Blood of all the Howards!"

It is nevertheless an Incentive to noble Achievements, when we descend from those who have performed such Actions. The memorable *Letter* of *Edward*, Earl of Dorset, describing his Duel with Lord Bruce, under the Reign of James the First, commemorated in the "Guardian;" and the celebrated *Song*, beginning,

"To all you Ladies now on Land,
"We Men at Sea indite,"

which was composed by *Charles*, Earl of Dorset, Lord George's Grandfather, as we are assured, on the Night before the Engagement between the English Fleet, and that of Holland, commanded by Opdam, under Charles the Second's Reign:—these two Productions, which are as universally known as the Language in which they are written, sufficiently attest that he drew his Lineage from Men of Courage. His maternal Grandfather, Marshal Colyear, Brother of the first Earl of Portmore, and Governor of Namur, with whom Lord George passed much Time in his Youth; had grown grey in all the Sieges and Battles of the Low Countries, under William the Third. As soon as England took a Part in the War occasioned by the Accession of Maria Theresa, in 1743, Lord George was sent to the Continent; where he served, if not with marked Distinction, certainly without the slightest Reproach, under the Command of Lord Stair, and of His late Britannic Majesty. In 1745, at the Battle of Fontenoy, where such a Number of our Officers fell, he received a Mus-

ket-ball in the Breast, and was thrown upon a Waggon, with many others. He had preserved the Uniform that he wore on that Day, which I have seen and examined; bearing on it the Mark of the Ball, corresponding to the Place where he was struck, and other Holes in the Skirts of the Coat, perforated by Bullets. During the domestic Rebellion that followed the Defeat of Fontenoy, being recalled to his own Country, he accompanied William, Duke of Cumberland, from the Commencement, to the Close, of the Insurrection in Scotland; where great Commendation was bestowed on his Services.

Among the Dorset Papers, which I have seen, were preserved a Series of Letters, addressed by him to the Duke his Father, containing many interesting Incidents of the Years 1745 and 1746, while he was serving in the Highlands, against the Rebels. On the breaking out of the War in 1756, he accompanied the late Duke of Marlborough, on those desultory Expeditions to the Coast of Normandy and Brittany, productive of little Benefit, and of still less Honor, when we bombarded St. Malo, and demolished

Cherburgh. After the Demise of the Duke, which took place at Munster, towards the Close of 1758, it is well known that Lord George commanded the British Forces during the ensuing Campaign; and in particular, at the Battle of Minden. That he did not advance at the Head of the Cavalry, on that Occasion, with the Celerity that might have been wished; and that his Delay is ever to be regretted on a *national* Account, because, if he had so advanced, the Defeat of the Enemy would have been much more complete; that consequently he became a just Subject of Blame or of Censure, if we judge by *the Result*, and not by *the Motive*;—all these Points must be conceded to his Accusers. But, the only Question is, whether he manifested any such Backwardness to lead on the Horse, after he received Prince Ferdinand's Orders for that Purpose, as justly rendered him liable to the Suspicion of Reluctance, or to the Imputation of Cowardice?

The Depositions of Lieutenant Colonels Ligonier, Sloper, and Fitzroy, would certainly seem to affix on him, either one or the other of these Charges. But, the Evidence

of Lieutenant Colonel Hotham, as well as the positive Testimony of Captains Lloyd and Smith, two of Lord George's Aid-du-Camps, appear as completely to exculpate him. There were even negative, if not positive Doubts, stated by Hotham and Smith, relative to the Accuracy, not to say the Truth or Existence, of the asserted Conversation held by Colonels Fitzroy and Ligonier with Lord George, when they successively delivered him Prince Ferdinand's Orders. Captain Smith, Sir Sidney Smith's Father, I very intimately knew; who was himself a Man of distinguished personal Courage, strictly conscientious, and incapable of asserting any Fact that he disbelieved. He never entertained an Idea that Lord George was withheld by unbecoming personal Motives, from advancing at Minden. Even on the Testimony of Fitzroy, Sloper, and Ligonier, it plainly appeared that either Prince Ferdinand's Orders were in themselves contradictory, or were misunderstood by the Aid-du-Camps, or were imperfectly delivered by them. Lord George displayed evident Irresolution under those Circumstances. He first halted, and afterwards did not cause the Cavalry to advance with the Rapidity

that would have ensured the Enemy's entire Defeat. Probably, similar Accidents happen in almost every great Engagement. But, the World, which pardons the Excesses of intemperate Courage, never forgives the slightest Appearance of Backwardness in the Field. Prince Rupert, who three Times ruined the Affairs of Charles the First; who by his impetuous Valor, lost him the three Battles of Edge Hill, of Marston Moor, and of Naseby, is pardoned by Posterity: while Admiral Byng and Lord George Sackville remain under Imputation. Such, however unjust it seems, will ever be the Lot of Military Men who venture to hold back, when they might go forward in Action.

It must nevertheless excite no small Surprize, that Prince Ferdinand, though he alludes in the General Orders issued on the Day following the Battle, to Lord George's supposed Misconduct; yet, in the first Dispatches sent to this Country, containing the Account of the Victory, made no public Mention whatever of it; and some Days elapsed, before the Prince preferred any formal Accusation against him. I have seen among the Dorset Papers, a Series of Lord

George's Letters to his Father, written from the Allied Army, during that Campaign, extending to within very few Days of the Action at Minden. And I have likewise perused the Notes addressed to Lionel, Duke of Dorset, from the Foreign Office of the Secretary of State here, on the Arrival of the official Intelligence of the Engagement; felicitating the Duke on the Result of a Battle so glorious to this Country, and in which he must necessarily feel so deep a personal Interest. Not a Word, nor a Hint, appears in these Notes, of Lord George's supposed want of Alacrity. How are we to explain this Line of Conduct in the Prince? It would seem as if the Charge should have instantly followed the Act.

George the Second, it must be remembered, was at this Time near Seventy-six Years old; strongly prejudiced, as we well know, in Favor of his Relative and Countryman, Prince Ferdinand; and naturally chagrined at an Event, which, even though it should have been publicly recognized as the mere Effect of Misconception or Mistake in the Orders sent by the Commander-in-Chief, yet equally afforded Subject for Re-

gret, on Account of its injurious public Consequences. Under these Circumstances the Court Martial took place, and the King's Sentiments respecting Lord George's Culpability, were universally known throughout the Country. It is a Fact that His late Majesty sent him a Message, acquainting him of his own Determination to put into Execution the Sentence of the Court, whatever it might be, without Delay or Mitigation. Lord George was tried in March, 1760. Had the late King died in October, 1759, instead of October, 1760; or if Lord George's Trial had taken Place in 1761, might not the Result, in all Probability, have been far less severe, or altogether different, under a new Reign, when the Clamour of the Hour had subsided?

Other Considerations come to the Aid of these Reflections. In 1759 and 1760, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic occupied a high Place in the Admiration of the English Public; by whom he was considered as only inferior in the Field, to *the Protestant Hero*, as he was then absurdly denominated; Frederic, King of Prussia. But his Popularity, I mean, Prince Ferdinand's, proved of very

short Duration. As early as January, 1761, we may see "in Dodington's Diary," how low the Prince had fallen in general Estimation, and what serious Accusations were brought against him. Dodington, relating the Particulars of a Conversation which he had at that Time with the Earl of Bute, says, I told him, "that I thought Prince "Ferdinand was become as unpopular in "the Army, as he was once popular: that "he was accused of three great Heads of "Malversation. The first was, that he had "exacted complete Pay for uncomplete "Corps: the second, that not One Shilling "of all those devastating Contributions, had "been carried to the public Account: the "third, that he had received good Money, "and had paid the Troops in bad, to a very "great Amount, and at a great Discount." These Charges do not appear to have ever been refuted. The Precedent of Admiral Byng, shot very unjustly, on an Accusation of Cowardice, was recent. If the Members of the Military Tribunal who tried Lord George, believed that he had committed the same Crime as the one imputed to that unfortunate naval Commander, why did they not pass on him the same Sentence? There

can be only one Answer. The Evidence brought forward, fell short of Proof; and under those Circumstances, they doubtless were not convinced that he merited Death. But, still, as the Prejudices, or prevailing Opinions of the Time, hardly admitted on the other Hand, of his Acquittal, they cashiered him. It is for Posterity to revise, perhaps to reverse, that Sentence: not juridically, but as a Court of Opinion, deciding in the last Resort, on all human Actions submitted to their Censure or Approval. I have endeavoured fairly to state the leading Circumstances, on which they may found a Judgment.

Lord George's Duel with Governor Johnstone, is a well known Fact. On that Occasion, even by his Adversary's Admission, he exhibited perfect Self-possession; presenting so fair and erect a Mark, while he calmly waited for the Governor's Fire, that it extorted from him an involuntary Testimony to Lord George's Courage. The late Lord Sydney, then Mr. Thomas Townsend, who was his Lordship's Second, equally witnessed and attested his Coolness. How can we believe or conceive that such a Man, on

such a Field as Minden, before so many Spectators, would, from personal Fear, have at once covered himself with Ignominy? As little is it proved, whatever we may suspect, that Motives of personal Animosity to Prince Ferdinand, with whom we know he was on bad Terms, operated on Lord George's Mind, and impelled him to delay moving forward with the Cavalry, to complete the Victory. It is evident, on the calmest and most dispassionate Review of the Transaction, which has obtained such a melancholy Celebrity in our Military Annals under George the Second; that an Ambiguity in Prince Ferdinand's Orders to Lord George, or a Contradiction in them, produced the whole Misfortune. We may indeed assert, or believe, that the British Commander intentionally misunderstood them. But, where was the Proof adduced of that Fact? Captain Ligonier brings an Order for *the whole* Cavalry to advance. Colonel Fitzroy, almost in the same Moment, orders only the *British* Cavalry to advance. On receiving these opposite Messages, Lord George halts the Cavalry, while he gallops up to Prince Ferdinand, in order to receive his personal Instructions. There might be Error in this

Delay, and public Injury might accrue from it, as Prince Ferdinand asserts did actually ensue, when in his "General Orders" above alluded to, he says, that if "the Marquis of "Granby had been at the Head of the Ca- "valry of the Right Wing, he is persuaded, "the Decision of that Day would have been "more complete and more brilliant." Still there is no Proof of Lord George's voluntary Misconstruction of the Orders, or of his Reluctance to execute them; and the Error might have originated in Mistake, as well as in Volition. How easily would the whole Misfortune have been rendered impossible, if Prince Ferdinand had, like Prince Eugene of Savoy, whom he might have copied on this Point; only sent *one* of his successive Orders written *in Pencil?* Prince Eugene expressly says in his "Memoirs," "I de- "rived much Benefit from always carrying "in my Pocket a Pencil, to write in the "Officer's Memorandum Book, the Order "which I gave him to carry." Such was the constant Practice of that illustrious Commander, when in the Field; a Practice peculiarly demanded in the Instance before us, if Prince Ferdinand thought that he had any Reason to doubt Lord George's prompt and

ready Obedience. I return from this Digression.

The Earl of Sandwich, who had presided during ten Years at the Head of the Admiralty, was universally admitted to possess eminent Talents, great Application to the Duties of his Office, and thorough Acquaintance with Public Business. Like Lord George Germain, he was tall, of a vigorous Frame, apparently designed for Longevity; and his Physiognomy full of Expression: but Conviviality, rather than Forethought or profound Reflection, characterized his Features.. A distinguished Votary of Wit, Conviviality, and Pleasure, like Wilmot, the licentious Earl of Rochester, from whom he lineally descended, he had nevertheless been early initiated into political Life; and was sent by Mr. Pelham, then First Minister, as one of the Plenipotentiaries in 1748, at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In all his official Functions he displayed Perspicuity, as well as Dispatch. No Naval Officer who stated his Demand to the first Lord of the Admiralty, with becoming Brevity, ever waited for an Answer; and he was accustomed to say, "If any Man will draw up his Case,

" and put his Name at the Foot of the first
" Page, I will give him an immediate Reply.
" Where he compels me to turn over the
" Sheet, he must wait my Leisure." How laconically, yet forcibly he could write, with what Conciseness and Severity blended, he exhibited in his memorable Note to Mr. Eden, afterwards created Lord Auckland. That Gentleman, when he quitted his political Friends in 1786, in order to join Mr. Pitt, who sent him over to Paris, for the purpose of negotiating the Commercial Treaty; addressed a circular Letter to them, endeavouring to explain and to justify his Line of Conduct. Lord Sandwich, in Answer to the Letter that he received on the Occasion, instantly wrote back these Words. " Sir,
" your Letter is before me, and it will pre-
" sently be behind me. I remain, Sir, your
" most humble Servant." For the Accuracy of this Anecdote, I think I may answer, having received it from the late Earl of Sandwich, his Son; though the " Quarterly Review" has had the Impudence and Folly to assert that " the Joke was the Pro-
" perty of Lord North." Polite, accessible, and endowed with great natural Capacity, it might have been expected that as first Lord

of the Admiralty, he would acquire the public Favor, in no less a Degree than he enjoyed the Confidence of his Sovereign. But, many Causes conduced to render him an Object of popular Dislike or Disapprobation; some of which were personal, others political. At an early Period of His Majesty's Reign, Wilkes and Churchill combined their Powers, in order to expose his Character to universal Condemnation. The former, in his "Letter to the Electors of "Aylesbury," written from Paris, in October, 1764, designates Lord Sandwich, as "the most abandoned Man of the Age:" while Churchill, in his Poem of the "Candidate," speaking of him, says,

> "Vice, bold substantial Vice, puts in her Claim,
> And stamps Him perfect in the Books of Shame.
> Observe his Follies well, and you would swear,
> Folly had been his first, his only Care.
> Observe his Vices, you'll that Oath disown,
> And swear that he was born for Vice alone.
> Search Earth, search Hell, the Devil cannot find
> An Agent like *Lothario* to his Mind."

However unjust or exaggerated might be these Accusations; yet we must own that the Part he took in denouncing the "Essay on

Woman," to the House of Peers, laid him open to the Charge of Breach of Confidence; and attracted towards him the severest Animadversions of the Author, whose Pen inflicted the most incurable Wounds. Though he had already attained at this Time, his sixty second Year, his licentious Mode of Life seemed more befitting a Minister of Charles the Second, than a confidential Servant of George the Third. His Fortune, which did not altogether correspond with his high Rank, and Habits of Gratification or Expense, was supposed to lay him open to Seduction; or at least to render him capable of listening to Propositions, that a more independent Man might have disdained. Even his warmest Adherents reluctantly admitted that the Unanimity and Concord, which previous to his being placed at the Head of the Admiralty, characterized the British Navy, was become extinct under his Administration. I well recollect, the Honorable Captain John Luttrell, who in January, 1782, when Fox attacked Lord Sandwich, defended him with great Zeal and no ordinary Ability, in the House of Commons; yet did not attempt to deny this Feature of the Time. "At present," said

he, "the Navy is torn to Pieces by Dissensions. Officers scarcely ever see each other, except on Duty. Nor have they any longer Access to the Tables of their Superiors, as formerly, when an *Anson*, a *Boscawen*, a *Hawke*, a *Saunders*, and a *Keppel* commanded the Fleets of England. Then, all was Cordiality, Ardor, and Affection. The Commanders took a Pride in teaching the inferior Orders their professional Duties. Now, Party, Disunion, mutual Jealousy, and Want of Confidence, are universal." It would however be unjust to attribute so deplorable a Change, to the Character, System, or Conduct of the Minister who presided at the Head of the naval Department. It originated in the Nature and Spirit of a civil Contest, which unhappily divided in Sentiment the whole Nation; and like the Wars under Charles the First, tho' not in so extended a Degree, pervaded the Island from one Extremity to the other; tearing asunder in many Instances, the closest Connexions of Friendship, or even of Consanguinity. Ambition and Self-Interest, two of the most powerful Impulses to human Action, were not always Proof to political Opinions, during the Course of the Ame-

rican War, as we witnessed in various Instances.

Lord Sandwich's Enemies, who were numerous and violent, maintained that even Official Appointments were sometimes conferred, under Conditions not honorable to the first Lord of the Admiralty. Naval Commanders, sent to important Stations, on which great Emoluments might be naturally expected to arise from Captures, were asserted to have a fellow Feeling with their Patron, and even to divide with him a certain Proportion of their pecuniary Acquisitions. However improbable or unproved were these Assertions, which doubtless originated in party Malevolence; yet, as Names and minute Particulars were added or invented, they obtained general Credit, and made a deep Impression. All the Eloquence of Fox in one House of Parliament, and all the laborious Pertinacity of the Duke of Richmond in the other, had been employed during successive Sessions, not without Effect, in impressing the public Mind with unfavourable Sentiments towards him. Palliser was represented as the Object of his Partiality; Keppel, as the Victim of his

Persecution. During the Riots of the preceding Summer, in June, 1780, he had been marked out by the Mob, as a Sacrifice, and narrowly escaped the Effects of their blind Animosity.

There can remain no reasonable Doubt in the Mind of any impartial Man, that when Lord Sandwich succeeded Sir Edward Hawke in that great Office, the Admiralty; on the able and vigorous Administration of which, the Consequence, Power, and Grandeur of Britain so eminently depend; he found the Navy in a State of Decline and Depression. An injudicious, narrow System of Economy, had reduced the Fleet to such a Point, during the seven Years subsequent to the Peace, that in 1770, when we were menaced with a Rupture, on the Business of Falkland Islands, it was found impossible speedily to fit out a Force competent to impose the Law on Spain. Lord Hawke, great on the Element of the Water, where he had triumphed over, and nearly annihilated the French Fleet in 1759, made a very inefficient first Lord of the Admiralty. I believe, this Fact was not contested by the warmest Admirers of that illustrious

Commander, though Admiral Keppel, in a Speech pronounced towards the Close of the American War, when every Species of Obloquy was heaped on Lord Sandwich, with a View to drive him out of Office; alluding to Sir Edward Hawke, denominated him "the Father of the English Navy, whom it "was now the Fashion to revile." But, Lord Mulgrave, rising immediately in Reply, observed, "I love and revere the Me-"mory of that gallant Seaman so much, that "I cannot sit here, and allow him to be de-"graded by unmerited Praise. He was in-"deed so great and so able a Seaman, that "he was not formed for the Details and civil "Duties of Office: nor did I ever consider "him as a great naval Minister." Lord Sandwich was unquestionably industrious, zealous, indefatigable, enlightened, and in every Point of View adequate to the Duties of his Station; but he could not surmount the augmenting Pressure of War and Calamity, which between 1775 and 1782, pressed upon this Country. Yet scarcely had he been driven from the Admiralty for pretended Neglect or Want of Exertion, than the Fleet which he had just sent out to the West Indies, obtained the most glorious and decisive Victory over the Enemy.

With consummate Ability, Lord Sandwich had constructed a Species of political Citadel within the Ministerial Trenches, which acknowledged hardly any other Commander or Comptroller than himself. The India House constituted this Fortress, of which he was supposed to possess the secret Keys. Many of the leading Directors, among whom were the two Chairmen, looked for Orders, as it was commonly believed, not so much to Lord North, as to the first Lord of the Admiralty. The Influence, necessarily conferred by such a Source of Power, at a Time when the East India Board of Control had no Existence, cannot easily be estimated. He was not wanting in Endeavours to sustain his Interest in Leadenhall-Street, by every possible means; and well aware of its Importance, he contrived to distribute among his chief Adherents in that Quarter, some of the minor Honors of the Crown. On all great Occasions, when the concealed Springs of that complicated Machine, denominated the *East India Company*, were necessary to be touched, Application was made to Lord Sandwich. Even the Intimations sent from the Treasury, often remained inefficient, till confirmed by him; and when the first Minister, towards the

Close of the Year 1780, was prevailed on to recommend Lord Macartney for Governor of Madras, as Successor to Rumbold, he found that no serious Attention was paid to his Wishes, before the Admiralty lent its Co-operation. So vast a Field of exclusive Patronage and Favor, rendered its Possessor not only independent of his Colleagues in the Cabinet, but, formidable to them; and he might justly be accounted one of the most powerful, as he was certainly one of the most able, Members of the Administration.

Fox, in Order to render Lord Sandwich odious, did not hesitate to enumerate his commanding Interest in Leadenhall-Street, as one among his political Crimes. On the 23d of January, 1782, when Fox moved for a Number of Papers, preparatory to the proposed Enquiry into the Administration of the Admiralty under that Nobleman; he observed, that "of all the Members of the Ca-"binet, there was not one more formidable "from Influence, if so formidable, as the "Earl of Sandwich. As first Lord of the "Admiralty, he could influence a whole "Profession. As a Minister, he must of

"Course be sustained by the Influence of "his Colleagues in Office. But," added he, "independent of these two Sources of "Influence, Lord Sandwich possesses a "third, which, though not equal to the "Power of the Crown, forms a material Ad- "dition to it; and when conjoined with it, "is sufficient to crush any Individual who "shall venture to bring forward Charges "against him. The Influence to which I "allude, *he derives from the East India "Company.*" Lord Mulgrave, who with very considerable Ability and great Zeal defended Lord Sandwich; after animadverting severely on the *Calumnies* and *Invectives* in which Fox had indulged himself against the first Lord of the Admiralty; demanded, "What Connexion there was between the "supposed Influence possessed by the Earl "of Sandwich in the India House, and his "official Conduct at the Head of the naval "Department?" Fox proceeded so far on the Occasion to which I allude, as to denominate Lord Sandwich, "*this faithful Ser- "vant of the King of France.*" Pulteney treated Sir Robert Walpole in a similar Manner. Adverting to the Capture made by the Spaniards in 1780, when Captain

Moutray's Convoy fell into their Hands, Fox observed, that "the Circumstances attending it, augmented the Suspicion occasioned "by many other Acts of the first Lord of "the Admiralty; that *He was desirous to "perform good and faithful Service to his "Masters of the House of Bourbon.*" Not that Fox lent the slightest Faith to these calumnious Imputations, of which he well knew the Falsehood and Absurdity: but they were necessary towards attaining the great Object, of overturning Lord North's Administration. We cannot however reflect without Amazement, that a House of Commons should allow such Epithets to be used, and such Charges to be made, by one of its own Body, against a great Nobleman, an Earl of ancient Family renowned for Loyalty, holding one of the highest Employments, and himself a Member of the Cabinet. The Fact itself eloquently proves how low the Ministry was fallen in public Respect and Estimation, during the last Weeks that Lord North continued at the Head of Affairs.

With Lord Amherst, who had already passed his sixty-third Year, I was well acquaint-

ed. In his Person he was tall and thin, of an adust Habit, with an aquiline Nose, and an intelligent Countenance. His Manners were grave, formal, and cold. As Commander-in-Chief, or to speak more accurately, as commanding-in-Chief the Forces, he enjoyed a Place in the Cabinet. To Lionel, Duke of Dorset, he owed his first Entrance into the Army. From the Situation of a private Gentleman, descended of a good Kentish Family in Holmesdale, but, of very slender Fortune; his military Talents, and his Success in America, had deservedly elevated him to the British Peerage. Selected by the discerning Eye of the Earl of Chatham, he had been sent out as the Companion of *Wolfe*, whose brilliant Conquest of Quebec, was confirmed by Amherst's subsequent Reduction of Montreal and Upper Canada. Under the Shade of these Laurels so honorably earned, which had likewise been remunerated with the Order of *the Bath*, he seemed to challenge the National Esteem, not to say their Gratitude. Individually, he possessed both: but in his official Character, at the Head of the Army, he did not escape Censure on various Points, materially affecting the Discipline and the Honor of the Service. Not that I

would be understood, when speaking of Lord Amherst, to make the same Assertion which *Junius* does of the Marquis of Granby, in his first memorable Letter, dated 21st January, 1769: a Letter which fortunately for the Fame of "Junius," induced Sir William Draper to become Lord Granby's Defender, and thus attracted public Notice towards the Production. He there charges that Nobleman with "degrading the Office "of Commander-in-Chief, into a Broker of "Commissions." But, though Lord Amherst was not liable to such an Imputation, yet neither he, nor any Subject except one nearly allied to the Throne, is raised by Birth and Situation, sufficiently above the Crowd of Petitioners who assail him in his military Capacity, to set at Defiance private Clamour, Menaces, and Importunity.

As a Member of the Administration, no Ability, however recognized or transcendent, and no past Services, however eminent they might be, could have secured the public Favor to Lord Amherst, in the midst of a War such as that carried on against America, marked by ill Success, and now be-

come almost hopeless in its prospective Objects. The constitutional Tranquillity of his Temper, secured him however from being ruffled at any Indications of popular Dissatisfaction. I have scarcely ever known a Man who possessed more Stoical Apathy, or Command over himself. Naturally taciturn and reserved, he rarely disclosed his Sentiments on any Subject of a political Nature. Even at the Cabinet Dinners, which were held weekly, I have heard Lord Sackville say, that though he usually gave his decided Affirmative or Negative to the specific Measure proposed, yet he always did it in few Words, often by a Monosyllable: but, never could without great Difficulty be induced to assign the Reasons, or to state the Grounds of his Opinion. He was disinterested, of an elevated Mind, that aspired beyond the Accumulation of Money. His Judgment was sound, and his Understanding solid; but, neither cultivated by Education, nor expanded by elegant Knowledge. From the high Sense entertained of his early Services beyond the Atlantic, he would have attracted universal Respect, if the Unpopularity attached to the Official and Ministerial Posts which he occupied, had not counterbalanced

the Operation of those resplendent Services on the public Mind.

Lord Thurlow, who at this Time had held the Great Seal between two and three Years, though in Point of Age, he was the youngest Member of the Cabinet, enjoyed in many Respects greater public Consideration, than almost any other Individual composing it. He had been indebted in his Youth, to the indefatigable Exertions and Importunities of the celebrated Duchess of Queensberry, the Friend of *Gay*, *Pope*, and *Swift*, for first procuring him from Lord Bute a Silk Gown, to which legal Distinction he long ineffectually aspired. His Talents had subsequently excited Admiration in both Houses of Parliament, not less than they attracted Notice at the Bar. While he sat in the House of Commons, as Attorney General, during more than seven Years, from 1771 down to 1778, Lord North derived the greatest Assistance from his Eloquence and Ability. His Removal to the House of Peers, would even have left an awful Blank on the Treasury Bench in the midst of the American War, if his Place had not, during the two succeeding Years, been

ably filled, perhaps fully supplied, by Wedderburn. As Speaker of the Upper House, Lord Thurlow fulfilled all the Expectations previously entertained of him by his greatest Admirers. His very Person, Figure, Voice, and Manner, were formed to lend Dignity, blended with Awe, to the Woolsack. Of a dark Complexion, and harsh, but, handsome and regular Features; with a severe and commanding Demeanour, which might be sometimes denominated stern; he impressed his Auditors with Respect, before he opened his Lips. Even his Eyebrows, like those of Jove, "*cuncta Supercilio moventis*," conduced to complete the Effect of his Countenance on the Beholder. Energy, Acuteness, and prodigious Powers of Argument, characterized him in Debate. His comprehensive Mind enabled him, when he chose to exert its Powers, to embrace the Question under Discussion, whatever it might be, in all its Bearings and Relations. Nor, if we omit Lord Camden, who was already far advanced in Life, did the Opposition possess any jurisprudential Talents in the House of Peers, that could be justly put in Competition with those of Lord Thurlow.

Fox himself, during the whole Course of

Lord North's Administration, always excepted him from the Invectives with which he loaded the other Members of the Cabinet. I remember, on the 8th of May, 1781, when addressing the House of Commons, Fox observed, that "incapable as were His Majesty's "Ministers, he must yet make one Exception, namely the Chancellor. He is able. "He is honest. He possesses a noble and "independent Mind. He stands alone, as "a Part of such an Administration. His "Situation and Treatment among his Colleagues, correspond with the Features of "his Character. They detest him for his "Virtues. They envy him for his Abilities. "They thwart and torment him by every "Invention in their Power. They seize "every Occasion to render his Position "uneasy. But, from his great intellectual "Resources, his unbroken Spirit soars "above them; manifesting at once his Consciousness of the Injuries meditated, and "his Contempt of their Efforts." Again, on the 8th of March, in the subsequent Year, 1782, only a few Days before Lord North resigned, Fox, while expressing his Detestation of the Ministers collectively, added, "Yet even among them, there exists one

" for whom I entertain a great Respect. I " mean, the Lord Chancellor. He always " takes Care indeed to convince the World " that he has no Share in their Measures." If Lord Thurlow had really merited these *Eulogiums*;—if, while despising and disapproving the Measures of the Cabinet in which he sat and voted, he nevertheless supported them in his Place on the Woolsack in the House of Peers, and on all Occasions;—how relaxed must have been his political Principles? But, Fox dispensed his Praises, or his Censures, as I always thought, with too much Regard to present Circumstances; retracting the one or the other, just as the Exigency of the Moment dictated; and covering all Contradictions under the Blaze of his Eloquence. Only one Year later, in March, 1783, at which Time he had formed his Union with Lord North, he launched out into the severest Accusations of Lord Thurlow, because at that Time Fox knew, the Chancellor formed the principal Impediment to *the Coalition* getting Possession of the Government.

Lord Thurlow's admirable intellectual Parts were nevertheless by no Means un-

accompanied with corresponding Defects. As Lord Chancellor, he was accused of Procrastination, in suffering the Causes brought before him in his Court, to accumulate without End. Perhaps, this Charge, so frequently made against those who have held the Great Seal, was not however more true, as applied to him, than of others who succeeded to his Office. But, even in Parliament, his Temper, morose, sullen, and intractable, sometimes mastering his Reason, prevented him from always exerting the Faculties with which Nature had endowed him; or at least clouded and obscured their Effect. In the Cabinet, these Shades of Character, which rendered him often impracticable, were not to be surmounted by any Efforts or Remonstrances. It can hardly be believed that at the weekly Ministerial Dinners, where, after the Cloth was removed, Measures of State were often discussed or agitated; Lord Thurlow would frequently refuse to take any Part. He has even more than once left his Colleagues to deliberate, while he sullenly stretched himself along the Chairs, and fell, or appeared to fall, fast asleep. If I had not received this Fact from an Eye Witness, and a Member of that

Cabinet, I should not indeed venture to report a Thing so improbable. The Circumstance was, however, it may be presumed, well known to Fox and his Friends.

Notwithstanding the Ruggedness and Asperity which he displayed, as well as the bold Freedom of Speech exercised by him; Qualities that procured him the Nick-name of *the Tyger;* no Man could at Times appear more pleasing, affable, and communicative in Conversation. I have once or twice seen him on such Occasions, which were more highly valued, because they were rare or unexpected. During the Period of his Youth, he had led a dissolute Life; and like "Ranger" in the "Suspicious Hus-"band," had given Proofs of his Devotion to Pleasures, scarcely compatible, as it might have been thought, with the severe Studies and Profession of the Law. To these Irregularities, the Duchess of Kingston imprudently ventured to allude, when she said that she could relate "a Canterbury "Tale," while on her Trial at the Bar of the House of Lords, when Thurlow filled the Post of Attorney General. Like Henley, Earl of Northington, his Predecessor in the

high Office of Chancellor, (the Lord Ringbone of Anstie's "Bath Guide,") Thurlow mingled Oaths and Execrations with his common Discourse. In the Afternoon of Life, Conviviality, Wine, and festive Society, unbent his Mind. It was in Company with Mr. Rigby, Lord Gower, Lord Weymouth, Mr. Dundas, and a few other select Friends, that he threw off his constitutional Severity. At the Pay Office in Whitehall, where Rigby then resided, Lord Thurlow frequently forgot the double Toils annexed to his Situation, as Head of the Law, and as Minister of State. Perhaps, on these Occasions, when the Bottle circulated freely, he sometimes indulged himself in Animadversions on Men and Measures, which were afterwards reported to Fox, and might in some Measure justify, or at least explain, the Expressions used by the latter, when speaking of Lord Thurlow, in the House of Commons. Possessed of Faculties so transcendent, however mingled with human Weakness and Infirmity, he must always be considered as one of the most distinguished Individuals who has sat in the Councils of George the Third, at any Period of his Reign.

We descend now to the less efficient Members of the Cabinet. Lord Bathurst, who had been at this Time President of the Council, ever since the Resignation of Lord Gower, in the Autumn of 1779, was Son to the celebrated Allen Bathurst, created a Peer by Queen Anne, in 1711; and who might, at the Time of his Decease, be considered as the last of the great Knot of Wits and Men of Genius, that rendered in some Measure illustrious, the short, as well as inglorious Ministry, of Oxford and Bolingbroke. It is to him that Pope addresses the "Third Epistle of his Moral Essays;" to him, in Conjunction with Lord Burlington, the famous Architect, that he alludes, when he says,

"Who then shall grace, or who improve the Soil?
"Who plants like *Bathurst*, or who builds like *Boyle*."

He lived to an almost patriarchal Age, in Possession of nearly all the Faculties of his Body and Mind; passing the greater Part of the Evening of his Life, amidst those superb Woods, and under those Shades which he had reared, immortalized by *Pope*,

at Oakley Grove in Glocestershire; enjoying the rare Felicity to see his Son hold the Great Seal of England. I believe he died in 1775; having by a singular Destiny, which perhaps has no Parallel in our History, outlived more than sixty Years, the Princess who raised him to the Peerage.

His Son may probably be considered as the least able Lawyer to whom the Great Seal of this Country was confided, in the Course of the Eighteenth Century. Lord King, who became Chancellor under George the First, though he survived his Faculties, and is said to have drivelled on the Bench, originally displayed eminent intellectual Powers; which deservedly raised him from an obscure Origin, his Father, having been a Bookseller at Exeter, to that great legal Dignity. Yet, Lord Bathurst held his Office during seven or eight Years; and I have been assured that his Decrees, while he presided at the Head of the Court of Chancery, were in general regarded by the Bar, as wise, just, and unexceptionable. A Fact, equally singular as it is true, but, which I know from the best Authority, is, that from November 1775, down to June, 1778, compre-

hending a Period of more than two Years and a half, when Lord Weymouth and Lord Bathurst sat together in the same Cabinet; the former Nobleman, and not the Chancellor, decided all the Law Questions brought before them in their *ministerial* Capacity. His Decisions, dictated by admirable Sense, united Brevity and Perspicuity, to the most comprehensive Intelligence. Lord Bathurst was, of all the Members of Administration, the most advanced in Age; nor could he, like his Father, boast of Exemption from the Infirmities usually attendant on that Period of Life. A Degree of Caducity was visible in his Frame, and even his Mind did not appear to be wholly exempt from Decay. In Parliament, his Talents were rarely exerted; but, his unsullied Character, and moral Qualities, entitled him to universal Respect.

The Earl of Dartmouth, as Lord Privy Seal, in Right of his Office filled a Seat in the Cabinet. His near Affinity to Lord North, and that Circumstance alone, placed him ostensibly in Administration; Lord Dartmouth's Mother, Viscountess Lewisham, having married, after her first Husband's Decease, the Earl of Guildford. In his

public Character, whether in, or out of Parliament, he excited no Share of general Attention, and lays Claim to no Place in the History of his own Time.

The Secretary at War, on the contrary, though not possessing a Seat in the Cabinet, constituted an Object of universal Consideration, and attracted all Eyes towards him. Mr. Charles Jenkinson, since created Earl of Liverpool, occupied in 1781, that Employment. Few Persons in the Course of this long and eventful Reign, have played so important a Part behind the Curtain of State. Still fewer Individuals have attained to such Eminence, personal as well as political, unaided by the Advantages of high Birth, or of natural Connexions. Descended from a very respectable Family, that had been raised to the Baronetage by Charles the Second in 1661, his paternal Fortune was nevertheless of the most limited Description, when he commenced his Career. But, his Talents, which were admirably adapted to secure his future Elevation, soon dispersed the Clouds that attended the Morning of his Life. They recommended

him to Lord Bute, then at the Head of the Treasury, who made Mr. Jenkinson his private Secretary; and through the Interposition of that Nobleman, he became not only personally known to the Sovereign, but, highly acceptable at St. James's. When Lord Bute withdrew in 1763, from the Post of first Minister, Mr. Jenkinson still continued to occupy the same confidential Employment under his Successor, George Grenville; nor was he displaced till Lord Rockingham came into Power, in July, 1765; when Burke succeeded him in that Situation. Those who supposed or asserted, that a secret Communication was still maintained between Lord Bute and the King; as well as all those who chose to consider Lord Bute as the efficient, though concealed, Mover of the Machine of Government; accused Mr. Jenkinson of forming the confidential Medium, through which that Intercourse was principally maintained. So delicate a Trust, if we assume its Existence, necessarily exposed him to popular Clamour, as being equally unconstitutional in itself, and dangerous to the Liberties of the British People. But, in Proportion to the Obloquy

that such an Imputation excited, was the Respect that it attracted.

As Lord Bute gradually retired into the Shade of private Life, and became insensibly forgotten, Mr. Jenkinson proportionably came forward in his own Person, and on his own proper Merits. Throughout the whole Period of Lord North's Administration, from 1770 down to 1782, his Intercourse with the King, and even his Influence over the royal Mind, were assumed to be constant, progressive, commensurate with, and sometimes paramount to, or subversive of, the Measures proposed by the First Minister. However difficult of Proof such Assertions were, and however contrary, as I believe, they were to Truth or Fact, they did not operate the less forcibly on the Bulk of the Nation, and were not less eagerly credited by Men of all Parties. No Denials on the Part of Persons in Power, could erase the Impression, which Newspapers and Pamphlets industriously circulated through the Kingdom. In the House of Commons, where their Operation was widely felt; the Speakers in Opposition continually affected to consider Lord North, together with the whole Cabinet, as played

on by unseen Agents, who alone possessed the Secret of State, and the real Confidence of the Crown. "The noble Lord," said Fox, when addressing Parliament on the 26th of March, 1781, where I was present and heard him, "would never have been invited to "accept his present Office, except under the "Condition of promising to execute the "Measures *chalked out* to him respecting "America. He would not have been suf- "ferred to remain in Office, if he had de- "clined to carry on the War with the Colo- "nies. His Acquiescence in, and Submis- "sion to those weak, as well as wicked "Measures, in madly beginning, and more "madly persevering in that accursed War, "*is the Price of his Place.*" Lord North, though he rose when Fox sat down, and though he answered many other Passages of Fox's Speech, with great Ability, descending to the most minute Details; yet neither denied this Charge, nor expressed any Indignation at such an Assertion. His Silence emboldened his Opponents, who did not scruple even to designate Mr. Jenkinson as the Depositary of this mysterious and undefined Influence; if not exclusively, yet in an eminent Degree. Of course, whenever he

rose to speak, all Attention was absorbed by him, as being the supposed Oracle who knew, and might promulgate, those hidden Truths of State, in which Ministers themselves, it was pretended, were not always allowed to participate, and of which he constituted the only certain Channel.

At this Time he was about Fifty-four Years of Age, and in his Person he rose above the common Height; but, his lank Limbs and Figure were destitute of Elegance or of Grace. The Expression of his Countenance, I find it difficult to describe, as without having in his Face any Lines strongly marked, it was not destitute of deep Intelligence. Reflection and Caution seemed to be stamped on every Feature; while his Eyes, like those of Don Manuel Ordonnez in "Gil Blas," were usually, even in Conversation, directed downwards towards the Earth. Something impervious and inscrutable seemed to accompany and to characterize his Demeanour, which awakened Curiosity, while it repressed or discouraged Enquiry. His Enemies asserted that he resembled a dark Lanthorn; and as much as the human Figure or Physiognomy

can ever be supposed to offer such a strange Similarity, unquestionably it existed in him. Even the twinkling Motion of his Eyelids, which he half closed from Time to Time in speaking, made the Allusion, however fanciful, more close and striking. Nor should it be omitted, when attempting to transmit to Posterity an imperfect Outline of the Person and Address of this celebrated Nobleman, that his Head continually revolving on its Axis while he addressed his Discourse either to the House of Commons, or to any Individual, moved in a perpetual Circle. His Manners were polite, calm, and unassuming; grave, if not cold; but, not distant, without any Mixture of Pride or Affectation. In Society, though reserved, he was not silent; and though guarded on certain Topics, communicative on ordinary Subjects. He always appeared as if desirous to disclaim, and to reject the Consideration, which he involuntarily attracted. It was not difficult, on a short Acquaintance, to discover that he had read Men, more than Books; though he had received an Academic Education, had been originally destined for the clerical Profession, and had even been admitted to Deacon's Orders. Yet he neither manifested the ele-

gant Information only to be acquired by visiting foreign Countries, nor the classic Ideas and Images derived from a Familiarity with the Productions of Antiquity. Even his Knowledge of modern History was rather financial and commercial, than general or critical. But, in Recompence for these Deficiencies of an ornamental Kind, he possessed more useful and solid Attainments, calculated to raise their Possessor in Life.

No Man in official Situation, was supposed to understand better the Principles of Trade, Navigation, Manufactures, and Revenue. He had written and published on those Subjects, in a Manner that sufficiently proved his profound Acquaintance with them. Supple, patient, mild, laborious, persevering, attentive to improve the favourable Occasions which presented themselves, and always cool, he never lost the Ground that he had once gained. As a Speaker in the House of Commons, he rose seldom, unless called out by particular Circumstances; nor, when on his Legs, did he ever weary the Patience of his Auditors. No Ray of Wit, Humor, or Levity, pervaded his Speeches. He neither introduced into them Metaphors,

Digressions, nor Citations. All was Fact and Business. His Language had nothing in it animated or elevated. Scarcely was it indeed always correct, or exempt from some little Inelegancies and Redundancies of Diction. But it never was defective in the Essentials of Perspicuity, Brevity, and thorough Information. He used to remind me of a Man crossing a Torrent on Stones; and so carefully did he place his Foot at every Step, as never once to wet his Shoe. I have seen him, before a crowded House, acquit himself with wonderful Dexterity, while Secretary at War, when officially addressing Parliament. Such Qualifications, even independent of the supposed Favor of the Sovereign, necessarily rendered him an Object of Respect and of Attention to every Party.

Rigby, sole Paymaster of the Forces, occupied scarcely an inferior Place to Jenkinson in the public Estimation, and seemed to fill a much higher, in his Opinion of himself. As if he had meant to shew that he acted independently of Ministers, and was above their Controul, he never sat on the Government Side of the House of Commons; but he did not on that Account give the less un-

qualified Support on all Occasions, to Administration. Sheridan, with equal Severity and Wit, animadverted on this Line of Conduct, during the Course of the Debate on the 8th of March, 1782; when Rigby, though he admitted that Lord North would act properly by resigning, yet added, that he should vote for that Nobleman's Continuance in Power. "The Right Honourable Gentleman," observed Sheridan, "has long "declared that the American War ought "to be abandoned, but he has invariably "voted for its Prosecution. I nevertheless "believe that he is very sincere. I doubt "not that as a Member of this House, as a "Privy Counsellor, and as a private Individual, he has always detested the War "with America, as much as any Man. But, "unfortunately, he has never been able to "succeed in persuading *the Paymaster*, that "it is a bad War. And in whatever Character he may *speak*, it is always *the Paymaster* who *votes* within these Walls. The "Attacks which he sometimes makes on his "noble Friend at the Head of Administration, are in Fact therefore only an ingenious Mode of giving him Support. They "are only metaphorical: but, *Aye* and *No*

" are Speeches that do not admit of a *Trope.*" The obtrusive Manner in which, at the Levee, he often thrust himself between Persons of the greatest Rank, in Order more expeditiously to approach the Sovereign, sufficiently indicated the Value in which he held his personal Appearance at St. James's. When in his Place in the House of Commons, he was invariably habited in a full dress Suit of Cloaths, commonly, of a purple or dark Colour, without Lace or Embroidery, close buttoned, with his Sword thrust through the Pocket. Corpulent in his Person, he was not on that Account, unwieldy or inactive. His Countenance was very expressive, but, not of Genius: still less did it indicate Timidity or Modesty. All the Comforts of the Pay Office seemed to be eloquently depictured in it; and the " *Lumen* " *purpureum*" which beamed from his suffused Features, served as a Comment on the Text of " Junius," when he panegyrizes the Duke of Bedford's solitary Protection of " blushing Merit," in Mr. Rigby's Person. His Manner, rough, yet frank; bold and overbearing, if not insolent, but, manly; admirably set off whatever Sentiments he uttered in Parliament.

Like Jenkinson, he borrowed neither from ancient, nor from modern Authors. His Eloquence was altogether his own, simple, strong and natural; addressed, not to the Fancy, but, to the plain Comprehension of his Hearers. Whatever he meant, he expressed indeed without Circumlocution, or Declamation. There was a happy Audacity about his Forehead, which must have been the Gift of Nature: Art could never attain to it by any Efforts. He seemed neither to fear, nor even to respect the House, whose Composition, as a Body, he well knew; and to the Members of which Assembly, he never appeared to give Credit for any Portion of Virtue, Patriotism, or Public Spirit. Far from concealing these Sentiments, he insinuated, or even pronounced them without Disguise; and from *his* Lips they neither excited Surprize, nor even commonly awakened Reprehension. Fox usually treated Rigby with great Courtesy, and on some Occasions, even with a Degree of Attention, approaching to Predilection or Regard:—Sentiments which always met with a suitable Return. Rigby had succeeded his Father, Lord Holland, in the Pay Office, after a short Interval of three Years. But, Sheridan observed no such

Management or Delicacy towards the Paymaster. On the same Day that he had commented with such ingenious Severity relative to the inconsistent, but, invariable, Support extended by Rigby to Administration; Sheridan animadverted in strong Terms, on the disrespectful, or rather, the contemptuous Manner, in which, on all Occasions, he mentioned the constituent Body of the People. "That Right Honourable Member," said he, "treats the Petitions recently pre-"sented from various Parts of the Kingdom, "praying for a Termination of the American "War, in a way highly indecent, and at the "same Time equally impolitic. The People "begin to be sufficiently irritated, and Gen-"tlemen will act wisely not to make Use of "contumelious Expressions towards them, "in this Assembly. They have borne much, "and it may perhaps be prudent not to in-"sult their Patience." Rigby, though not easily arrested or intimidated, yet submitted in Silence to Sheridan's Reprehensions of his Conduct.

If Jenkinson might be esteemed the secret Oracle, to whom all those Men denominated *the King's Friends*, constantly looked for

Direction in difficult Cases, such as occasionally arose; Rigby was the avowed Standard round which they rallied. Their Numbers were considerable, though differently reported; and they were supposed by no Means to take their Directions implicitly on all Occasions, from the Treasury. "Junius" treats them with his accustomed Severity. "Ministers," says he, when speaking of Parliament, "are no longer the public Ser-"vants of the State, but, the private Do-"mestics of the Sovereign. One particular "Class of Men are permitted to call them-"selves *the King's Friends*, as if the Body "of the People were the King's Enemies: "or as if His Majesty looked for a Resource "or Consolation in the Attachment of a few "Favourites, against the general Contempt "and Detestation of his Subjects. Edward "and Richard the Second, made the same "Distinction between the collective Body of "the People, and a contemptible Party who "surrounded the Throne." Even in the House of Commons, *the King's Friends* were alluded to by *Name*. I remember, on the 15th of March, 1782, which formed the last Debate that took Place within those Walls, previous to Lord North's Resignation; a

Member of Opposition, Mr. Harrison, one of the two Representatives for Grimsby, mentioned them without Circumlocution. Lord North, as well as Sir Grey Cooper and Robinson, the two Secretaries of the Treasury, having declared that they had not named or recommended any Individual for a Share in the Loan recently negotiated; Harrison observed, that he gave them Credit for the Truth of their Assertion. "But," continued he, "I entertain too good an Opinion of the "Gratitude of the Gentlemen who have con- "tracted for the whole of the Loan, not to "suppose that they will anticipate the noble "Lord's Wishes, by giving to such Members "of this House as may desire it, a sufficient "Share of it to retain them steadily in that "List, which by way of Pre-Eminence is "denominated by the honourable Appella- "tion of *the King's Friends.* An Appella- "tion no doubt given, in Order to distin- "guish them from the factious Individuals "who have uniformly resisted the salutary "Measures of His Majesty's Ministers, "which have brought the Country into its "present envied Situation!" No Notice was taken of Harrison's Allusion, by any Member of Administration. As this Body of

Men grew up and encreased with the Progress of the American War, so with its Termination, they seemed to become extinct. After Pitt's Victory over "the Coalition," and the Convocation of a new Parliament in 1784, *the King's Friends* were found in every Part of the House of Commons. But, it was not so in 1781, under Lord North, when Jenkinson and Rigby were supposed, however erroneously, to be often more in the real Secret of the Crown, than the first Minister himself. A very select Party usually adjourned to the Pay Office, after late Evenings in the House of Commons, where the good Cheer and the Claret, obliterated all painful Recollections connected with public Affairs.

The Post of Treasurer of the Navy was held by Mr. Welbore Ellis, whom we have since seen, after ostensibly filling the Office of Colonial Secretary of State, for a few Weeks, on the Resignation of Lord George Germain; and after occupying during several Years a distinguished Place in the Ranks of Opposition; raised in the Winter of Life, by Mr. Pitt, like so many other Individuals, to the Dignity of a British Peer. He might be

considered as the *Nestor* of the Ministry, and of the House of Commons. In his Figure, Manner, and Deportment, the very Essence of Form, he regularly took his Place on the Treasury Bench, dressed in all Points as if he had been going to the Drawing-room at St. James's. His Eloquence was of the same Description as himself, precise, grave, and constrained; unilluminated by Taste, and calculated to convince, more than to exhilarate or electrify his Audience. The Respect due to his Age, Character, and Employment, rather than the Force or Novelty of his Arguments, commonly secured him a patient Hearing; but he was neither listened to with Enthusiasm, nor regretted, when he ceased actively to exert his Abilities in Support of the Measures of Administration.

The Attorney General, Wallace, as well as Mansfield, Solicitor General, were men of acknowledged Talents, Parliamentary, no less than Professional. The latter manifested great Energies of Mind and Character. But, it might be esteemed in some degree their Misfortune, that having recently succeeded two Persons so eminent as Thurlow and Wedderburn, the House could not avoid

judging of them more by Comparison with their Predecessors, than by their own intrinsic Merit. Both the Attorney and Solicitor General were moreover obscured in the superior intellectual Powers, that characterized Mr. Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland, and since created Viscount Melville. His Figure, tall, manly, and advantageous; his Countenance, open, cheerful, and pleasingly expressive, though tinged with convivial Purple, prejudiced in his Favor. Neither the Scotticisms with which his Speeches abounded, nor an Accent peculiarly Northern, as well as uncouth, could prevent his assuming and maintaining that conspicuous Place in the Ministerial Ranks, to which his pre-eminent Parts entitled him. These very Defects of Elocution or of Diction, by the ludicrous Effect that they produced, became often converted into Advantages; as they unavoidably operated to force a Smile from his bitterest Opponents, and checquered with momentary good Humor, the Personalities of Debate. The apparent Frankness of his Manner, which formed a striking Contrast with Jenkinson's guarded Reserve; conciliated or disarmed in some Measure those, whose political Opinions were most adverse

to Government. Never did any Man conceal deeper Views of every Kind, under the Appearance of careless Inattention to Self-interest. In him was exemplified the Remark, that "*Ars est celare Artem*;" and the seeming Want of Caution or Artifice in his ordinary Intercourse, capacitated him for contending successfully with Men of more habitual Self-command. His Voice, strong, clear, and sonorous, enabled him to surmount the Noise of a popular Assembly, and almost to enforce Attention, at Moments of the greatest Clamor or Impatience. Far from shunning the Post of Danger, he always seemed to court it; and was never deterred from stepping forward to the Assistance of Ministers, by the Violence of Opposition, by the Unpopularity of the Measure to be defended, or by the Difficulty of the Attempt.

His Speeches, able, animated, and argumentative, were delivered without Hesitation, and unembarrassed by any Timidity. If they displayed no Ornaments of Style, and no Beauties of Composition, it was impossible to accuse them of any Deficiency in sterling Sense, or in solid Ability. He was indeed, without excepting Lord George Ger-

main himself, the most powerful Auxiliary whom Lord North could boast of possessing in the Lower House. Though elevated in the Trammels of Scotch Jurisprudence, and long accustomed to plead at the Bar of that Country; his Mind, which disdained so confined a Sphere of Action, propelled him to try his Force on a greater Theatre. Animated by this Resolution, he quitted the Study of Law, for the Career of Politics; and in Defiance of every Impediment, abandoning the *Court of Session*, ventured to seek Fortune in an English House of Commons. Conscious of his own intellectual Superiority, and guided by a profound, but well-regulated Ambition, he already aspired to Offices and Situations, seemingly beyond the Pale of his legal Profession. India, he thought, and wisely thought, opened to him a Field worthy of his Talents; and the State of Danger, as well as of Disorder, into which those extensive Dominions had been thrown, by the Mismanagement or Incapacity of the East-India Company's Servants, particularly on the Coast of Coromandel, necessarily brought their Affairs under Parliamentary Discussion. The Occasion appeared favorable, and he availed himself of it with prompt

Decision. Placed, as he was soon afterwards, at the Head of a Secret Committee, appointed to enquire into the Causes of the War existing in the Carnatic; he there laid the Foundation of the Power which we have since seen him exercise as a Minister of that Department, under the Administration of Mr. Pitt, during many successive Years. Expensive from natural Character, by no means averse to Pleasure, or insensible to female Charms; always blending Conviviality in some Measure with Business, and regardless of Money, except as constituting the Source of Enjoyment; he never failed to form one of the festive Party which met at the Pay Office. Closely connected in Politics, no less than by Habits of Life and private Friendship, with Rigby; they might be said to act indeed in secret Unison, and to lend each other a mutual Assistance on every Occasion.

The two Secretaries of the Treasury occupied a very different Place in the Scale of Ministerial, or rather, of Parliamentary Importance, under Lord North's Administration. Sir Grey Cooper, with the single Exception of the Cornish Boroughs in the In-

terest of the Crown, and the Revenues of the Duchy itself, both which were entrusted to his Superintendence during the Minority of the Prince of Wales; was confined to the mere official Duties of his Post. But, Robinson might be considered as one of the most active and essential Functionaries of the Executive Government. I knew him intimately, both in, and out of Office. A Native of the County of Westmoreland, and descended from an ancient Family of Highland Origin; though unadorned with any Accomplishments of Education, or Advantages of Address, he nevertheless displayed many Qualifications that fitted him admirably for his Situation. His Person was coarse, inelegant, and somewhat inclined to Corpulency: but he possessed solid Judgment, and Suavity of Temper, combined with plain, unaffected, and conciliating Manners; was capable of great Application, as well as of steady Friendship, and by no means wanted Decision of Character.

On him devolved that delicate and most important Department, then known by the Denomination of *The Management of the House of Commons:* a Branch of Adminis-

tration, or rather, of secret Service, unfortunately interwoven with, and inseparable from, the Genius of the British Constitution; perhaps, of every Form of Government in which Democracy, or popular Representation, makes an essential part. Towards the Close of an unfortunate War, when the Ministry was threatened with annual, or almost monthly Dissolution, and when a numerous Opposition acquired Strength, in Proportion to the national Misfortunes; this Management required unceasing Vigilance. Robinson was the Depository of the "*Livre rouge*," where were supposed, or asserted to be contained, the Names of those Members of one, if not of both Houses of Parliament, who were retained by, and devoted to, the Administration. But, it was not only in the secret Arrangements of official Business, that he manifested Dexterity and Energy. He more than once exercised with equal Ability and Effect, as I know, the Functions of higher Officers of State. It was he, who, on the Refusal of Lord Weymouth, then Secretary for the Southern Department; countersigned the Secret Orders, which were sent out to Madras, over land, on the 14th of April, 1778, by the Chairman and Deputy

Chairman of the East India Company, authorizing the immediate Attack of Pondicherry. To the manly Decision of this timely Measure, which is not the less true, because it may appear improbable, or because venal and ignorant Reviewers have declared it "a "perfect Impossibility;"—a Measure embraced by Lord North at a Moment when the War with France, though inevitable and impending, was not actually commenced; we owed the Capture of that important Settlement, the chief Establishment of the Enemy on the Coromandel Coast, which gave us an Ascendant over the French, during the whole future Course of Hostilities in India.

After having surveyed the Members of the Cabinet, and the principal parliamentary Characters on the ministerial Side of the House of Commons, it is natural to proceed to the great Individuals who composed the Opposition in that Assembly. Mr. Fox, from the Union of Birth, Connexions, Talents, and Eloquence, which met in his Person, had become, in the Beginning of 1781, confessedly, without any Competitor, their Leader. Having attained his thirty-second Year, he consequently united all the Ardor

of Youth, to the Experience acquired in maturer Life. It was impossible to contemplate the Lineaments of his Countenance, without instantly perceiving the indelible Marks of Genius. His Features, in themselves dark, harsh, and saturnine, like those of Charles the Second, from whom he descended in the maternal Line; derived nevertheless a Sort of Majesty, from the Addition of two black and shaggy Eye-brows, which sometimes concealed, but more frequently developed, the Workings of his Mind. Even these Features, however seemingly repulsive, yet did not readily assume the Expression of Anger, or of Enmity; whereas they frequently, and as it were naturally, relaxed into a Smile, the Effect of which became irresistible, because it appeared to be the Index of a benevolent and complacent Disposition. His Figure, broad, heavy, and inclined to Corpulency, appeared destitute of all Elegance or Grace, except the Portion conferred on it by the Emanations of Intellect, which at times diffused over his whole Person, when he was speaking, the most impassioned Animation. In his Dress, which had constituted an Object of his Attention, earlier in Life, he had then become negligent

to a Degree not altogether excusable in a Man, whose very Errors or Defects produced Admirers and Imitators. At five and twenty I have seen him apparrelled *en petit Maitre*, with a Hat and Feather, even in the House of Commons; but in 1781, he constantly, or at least usually, wore in that Assembly, a blue frock Coat, and a buff Waistcoat, neither of which seemed in general new, and sometimes appeared to be threadbare. Nor ought it to be forgotten that these Colours, like the *White Rose* formerly worn by the Adherents of the Family of *Stuart*, or the *Corsican Violet* of more modern Times, then constituted the distinguishing Badge or Uniform of Washington and the American Insurgents. In this Dress he always took his Seat, not upon the front Opposition Bench, but, on the third Row behind, close to that Pillar supporting the Gallery, which is nearest to the Speaker's Chair. It was not till 1782, or rather till the Beginning of 1783, that, with Lord North by his Side, he first began to sit on the Opposition Bench, technically so denominated in ordinary Language. I am sensible that these minute Particulars are in themselves unimportant, but they nevertheless approximate

and identify the Object. And that Object is Mr. Fox.

His paternal Descent was by no Means illustrious, nor was the Elevation of his Family sufficiently ancient, to shed over it that species of genealogical Respect, only to be derived from the Lapse of Time. *Collins*, indeed, very equivocally observes in his "Peerage," when treating of the *Barony* of *Holland*, that "there were *Foxes* in England "before the Norman Conquest." But, I have always understood that his Grandfather, who rose by his Abilities to considerable Eminence, and was knighted by the name of Sir Stephen Fox, as well as raised to the Dignity of a Privy Councillor; had been a Chorister Boy in the Cathedral of Salisbury, when in 1651 he accompanied Lord Wilmot to France, after the Defeat of Charles the Second at the Battle of Worcester. It has been maintained, and I have heard it asserted, that their Names were originally Palafox; that they formed a Branch of that noble Arragonese Family, so distinguished in the present Age, by the glorious Defence of Sarragossa; and that they first came into this Country in 1588, when one of the Spa-

nish Armada being stranded on our Coast, the Survivors, among whom was a Palafox, settled in England. I have however always regarded this Story as a mere Fable. Sir Stephen Fox, towards the End of a long Life, during which he made great Advances to Honors and Dignities, having married, became at seventy-five Years of Age, the Father of two Sons born at the same Birth. These Twins were both in process of Time elevated to the Peerage; a Fact which had antecedently been realized to a certain Degree, in the *Cecil*, as well as in the *Herbert* Family, under James the First. Charles the First again exhibited it in the House of *Rich*; and we have since seen it exemplified in the Families of *Walpole*, of *Percy*, of *Hood*, of *Wellesley*, and various others.

While the elder Son of Sir Stephen Fox was created Earl of Ilchester, by George the Second; the youngest, Henry, acquired a Barony in the Beginning of the present Reign, by the Title of Lord Holland. He was unquestionably a Man of very eminent Attainments, possessing a classic Mind, cultivated by Study, adorned by Travel, and illuminated by a Taste for Poetry, as well as all the elegant Arts. But, he is better

known in the political History of the late Reign, where he performed a principal Part in the ministerial Ranks, no less than in the parliamentary Annals, till he sunk under the superior Ascendant, sustained by the irresistible Eloquence, of the first Earl of Chatham, as Antony's Genius is said to have been rebuked under that of Augustus. Of immeasurable Ambition, and equally insatiable of Wealth, Lord Holland was enabled, by possessing the lucrative Post of Paymaster of the Forces, which he held during several Years in Time of War, and subsequent to the Peace of Fontainbleau down to 1765, to accumulate an immense Fortune. It was not however attained without great Unpopularity and Obloquy, which accompanied him to the Grave; and exposed him to much, perhaps to unmerited, Abuse or Accusation. His moral Character did not indeed stand as high in the national Estimation, either in a public, or in a private Point of View, as did his Abilities. But he cemented the Greatness of his Family, by allying himself in Marriage with the ducal House of Lenox.

Of his three Sons, Lord Holland early perceived the extraordinary Talents which

Nature had conferred on the second; and in the fond Anticipation of that Son's future political Elevation, exhausted on his Education, every Effort which might expand or mature his opening Capacity. But, he adopted a vicious and dangerous Principle, in ordering that the Boy should neither be contradicted nor punished, for almost any Acts in his Power to commit, of puerile Misconduct or Indiscretion. "Let nothing be "done to break his Spirit," said Lord Holland; "the World will effect that Business "soon enough." When he made the Tour of France and Italy, he was accompanied by a Gentleman of eminent Parts, Mr. George Macartney; who afterwards, towards the Close of a Life passed in the public Service, attained, himself, in his own Person, to the Peerage. We may see in the Letters of Madame du Deffand to Horace Walpole, the Species of Impression which Mr. Fox's Endowments, and the Sallies of his juvenile Impetuosity, made on the Minds of the Parisians. They seem to have considered him as a Sort of Phænomenon, which dazzled and astonished, more than it pleased or delighted them. Before he attained fully to the Age at which he could constitutionally

vote, though he might speak, in Parliament, his Father procured him a Seat in the House of Commons; and his Talents, aided by his Connexions, placed him towards the Close of 1772, on the ministerial Bench, as a Member of the Board of Treasury. He occupied the Situation about two Years.

This early Association to Lord North's Administration, might nevertheless be considered as an unfortunate Circumstance in its Results, since it involved him in the Unpopularity attached to various Measures then adopted by the Government, which subsequently led to a Rupture with America. That even previous to his Attainment or Acceptance of Office, he was regarded by the Enemies of Administration, as a devoted Partizan of Ministry, in training for future desperate Service, is evident from the Manner in which "Junius" speaks of him. Writing to the Duke of Grafton, in June, 1771, he says,—"In vain would he (the King) "have looked round him for another Cha-"racter so consummate as yours. Lord "Mansfield shrinks from his Principles. "His Ideas of Government perhaps go far-"ther than your own, but his Heart dis-

" graces the Theory of his Understanding.—
" *Charles Fox is yet in Blossom;* and as for
" Mr. Wedderburn, there is something about
" him, which even Treachery cannot trust."
These ministerial Fetters did not however long detain him in parliamentary Bondage. The sarcastic Mode of Expression chosen by Lord North, to communicate Mr. Fox's Dismission from the Treasury Board, is well known. " His Majesty," observed the first Minister to some Persons near him, " has
" named new Commissioners of the Trea-
" sury, among whom I do not see the Name
" of the Hon. Charles James Fox." From that Period, having inlisted under the Banners of Opposition, and being aided by the Errors or Misfortunes of the American War, he attained in the Course of about six Years, to the highest Eminence among the formidable Body of Men who then opposed the Measures of the Crown.

Pleasures of every Description, to which his Constitution or Inclinations impelled him, divided however with political Pursuits, the early Portion of his Life; some of which, if Fame reported truly, might have furnished Matter for a new " Atalantis." It

may be curious nevertheless, for those Persons who only remember Him either as a leading Member of the Minority, or in Office as Minister, to contemplate Mr. Fox when at the Head of the *Ton*, who were then denominated "Macaronis." The Author of the "Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers," published, I believe, early in 1773; which Production is commonly, though perhaps erroneously, attributed to *Mason;* describes or produces Fox under that Character. After enumerating with vast Felicity of Humor and Satire, the Asiatic Diversions supposed to be exhibited for the Amusement of the British Sovereign, he thus concludes; I cite by Memory:

"But hark! The Shouts of Battle sound from far!
The Jews and Macaronis are at War.
The Jews prevail, and thund'ring from the Stocks,
They seize, they bind, they circumcise Charles Fox.
Fair Schwellenbergen smiles the Sport to see,
And all the Maids of Honor cry Te he."

Neither the Pleasures of refined, nor of licentious Love, nor the social Conviviality of the Table, although he might occasionally indulge in each of those Gratifications, constituted however his predominant Passion.

All his Inclinations, from a very early Age, seemed to be concentrated in a more fatal Attachment to Play. In the Prosecution of that Propensity, he had squandered prodigious Sums before his Father's Decease, with which Lord Holland's paternal Fondness furnished him. To the same Pursuit, or rather Rage, he subsequently sacrificed a sinecure Place of two thousand Pounds a Year for Life, the Clerkship of the Pells in Ireland; of which he came into Possession by the Demise of his elder Brother, Stephen, the second Lord Holland, in December, 1774. After holding it scarcely ten Months, he sold it to Mr. Charles Jenkinson, since better known as Earl of Liverpool. He disposed in a similar Manner, of a fine Estate and a magnificent House, situated at Kingsgate in the Isle of Thanet, which Lord Holland had embellished with classic Taste, at an Expense that could only have been furnished by a Paymaster of the Forces. On a bleak Promontory, the North Foreland, projecting into the German Ocean, destitute of a single Tree, and perpetually swept by the East Winds, that Nobleman constructed a splendid Villa, worthy of Lucullus. A Colonnade, such as Ictinus might have raised

by Order of Pericles, extended in Front of the Edifice; but, which has since been demolished. This superb Retreat, in Consequence of Fox's Infatuation to the Gaming Table, speedily passed into the Possession of *Powell*, who had been Cashier in the Paymaster General's Office under Lord Holland, and who subsequently finished so tragically his Career. The Office of Clerk of the Pells had been procured for Mr. Fox, as the Estate at Kingsgate had been bequeathed to Him, by his Father. We must confess that these scandalous Irregularities of Conduct, or rather Vices of Character, remind us more of Timon and of Alcibiades, than of Pericles or Demosthenes.

Fox was not one of those Dupes who never understand the Principles of any Game. On the contrary he played admirably both at Whist, and at Picquet; with such Skill indeed, that by the general Admission of Brookes's Club, he might have made four thousand Pounds a year, as they calculated, at those Games, if he would have confined himself to them. But, his Misfortune arose from playing at Games of Chance, particularly at Faro. After eating

and drinking plentifully, he sat down to the Faro Table, and inevitably rose a Loser. Once indeed, and only once, he won about eight thousand Pounds in the course of a single Evening. Part of the Money he paid away to his Creditors, and the Remainder he lost again almost immediately, in the same Manner. The late Mr. Boothby, so well known during many Years in the first Walks of Fashion and Dissipation; himself an irreclaimable Gamester, and an intimate Friend of Fox; yet appreciated him with much Severity, though with equal Truth. "Charles," observed he, "is unquestionably a Man of "first-rate Talents, but, so deficient in Judg-"ment, as never to have succeeded in any "Object during his whole Life. He loved "only three Things; Women, Play, and "Politics. Yet, at no Period, did he ever "form a creditable Connexion with a Wo-"man. He lost his whole Fortune at the "Gaming-table; and with the Exception of "about eleven Months of his Life, he has "remained always in Opposition." It is difficult to dispute the Justice of this Portrait. Perhaps we might add to Boothby's Picture, that towards the Close of his Career, Fox emulated the Distinction of an

Historian; in the Pursuit of which Object he made laborious Efforts, and with a View to facilitate or to attain it, he appears principally to have undertaken his Journey to Paris in 1802. Whether he succeeded better than in the former Attempts, Posterity will determine: but he would certainly have attained a more elevated Place in the Temple of History, by imitating the Line of Xenophon or of Sallust in Antiquity, who commemorated the Transactions of their own Times, than by taking for his Subject, the Reign of James the Second.

The first Lord Holland died when his Son Charles was about twenty-four; and before he attained his thirtieth Year, he had completely dissipated every Shilling that he could either command, or could procure by the most ruinous Expedients. He had even undergone at Times, many of the severest Privations annexed to the Vicissitudes that mark a Gamester's Progress; frequently wanting Money to defray his common diurnal Wants of the most pressing Nature. Topham Beauclerk, a man of high Birth, of Pleasure, and of Letters, who lived much in Fox's Society at that Period of his Life;

used to affirm, that no Person could form an Idea of the Extremities to which he had been driven in order to raise Money, after losing his last Guinea at the Faro Table. He has been reduced for successive Days, to such Distress, as to be under a Necessity of having Recourse to the Waiters of *Brookes*'s Club, to lend him Assistance. The very Chairmen whom he was unable to pay, used to dun him for their Arrears. All Dignity of Character, and Independence of Mind, must have been lost amidst these Scenes of ruinous Dissipation. In 1781, he might however be considered as an extinct Vulcano;—for, the pecuniary Aliment that had fed the Flame, was long consumed. He never indeed affected or attempted to conceal the State of Poverty, into which his Passion for Play had plunged him. Even on his Legs in the House of Commons, I have heard him frequently allude to it. When Lord Holland, his Father's Accounts, as Paymaster of the Forces, were brought in some Measure before the View of Parliament, during the Session of 1781; Fox observed, that as one of the Executors of that deceased Nobleman, he lamented the Inability under which his Nephew lay to make any Transfer of Pro-

perty, while those Accounts remained unsettled. "*Perhaps*," added he, "*I have* "*not, myself, any more Estates to sell*; but I "nevertheless feel for the Persons who have "purchased of me the landed Property be- "queathed me under my Father's Will; the "Titles to which must always remain in a "certain Degree precarious, while his Exe- "cutors have not obtained a Quietus from "the Exchequer."

Only a few Days later in the same Session, on the 12th of June, 1781, Lord George Germain having asserted in the Course of his Speech, that "Ministers had "some Property to lose, as well as the Gen- "tlemen on the other Side of the House; "and in ruining their Country, as they were "accused of doing, they must involve them- "selves personally in Destruction," Fox answered, "*It is well known that I have no* "*Stake to lose*; but, that Circumstance will "not abate my Zeal for the public Welfare." Rigby, who probably began already to foresee the Termination of Lord North's Administration as rapidly approaching, if not imminent, paid Fox many Compliments on the Occasion. "The Honorable Gentleman,"

said Rigby, "represents himself as an insig-
"nificant Person, possessing no Property,
"and having no Stake in the Country. No
"Man, in my Opinion, possesses a more
"important Stake. His Talents, his Con-
"nexions, and his Prospects, constitute a
"far more valuable Possession, than a Rent
"Roll of many Thousands. He is an Honor
"to his Country, which feels a correspond-
"ing public Interest in him." These flatter-ing Expressions, though received by Fox with Urbanity, he did not the less disclaim in his Reply; adding, "that he could not ac-
"cept any Testimonies of good Will shewn
"to himself, which were accompanied with
"Censures on his Friends." At the Time of which I speak, Fox occupied a House or Lodgings in St. James's Street, close to the Club at *Brookes*'s, where he passed almost every Hour which was not devoted to the House of Commons; and during Lord North's Administration, Parliament usually remained sitting, with short Adjournments, from November till July. That Club might then be considered as the rallying Point and Rendezvous of the Opposition; where, while Faro, Whist, and Suppers prolonged the Night, the principal Members of the Mino-

rity in both Houses met, in order to compare their Information, or to concert and mature their parliamentary Measures.

It must not however be imagined that either Fox, or the Club that he frequented, could altogether escape some severe Animadversions, on the Part of Men who contemplated both the one and the other, as Objects of moral Censure and Reprobation. I recollect that during the Session of 1781, Mansfield, then Solicitor General, having brought a Bill into the House of Commons, for the Prevention of certain Abuses practised on the Sunday; Martin, Member for Tewksbury, one of the most conscientious and honest Men who ever sate in Parliament, while he highly commended it, expressed his Concern that "the Gaming Houses, "which were open every Sunday, in the im-"mediate Vicinity of St. James's Palace, "had not attracted the Notice of the learned "Framer of the Bill." He went on to say that "he was astonished how Men who "passed their whole Time in a continued "Round of Offence to Morality, could re-"concile it to their Consciences, to come "down to that Assembly, and there make

" Laws for the Suppression of similar, or " even smaller Violations of Decency among " their Inferiors in Rank and Fortune." No Notice whatever being taken of these Remarks, Martin, in a subsequent Stage of the Bill, spoke out in still bolder Language when Fox was present. He called on the Solicitor General to answer, why those abominable Nurseries of Gambling in St. James's Street, were not suppressed? " They are," continued he, " the Bane of our young Men " of Rank, who becoming first necessitous, " lye open to the Seductions of a Minister, " whose pernicious Measures can only be " sustained by Corruption." Then designating Fox in Colours too accurate to be mistaken, he admitted that there might be some shining Exceptions to this Depravity. " But," added he, " if there are any Indivi- " duals of pre-eminent Abilities in this " House, who might be the Scourge and the " Terror of any bad Administration, I trust " that the learned Gentleman, who is himself " a Representative of one of the two Universi- " ties, will exert his best Endeavours to extin- " guish so crying and so destructive an Evil." " These Sentiments were re-echoed, though in less pointed Terms, from other Part

of the House. In Answer, the Solicitor General observed, that "no Country in Europe "could boast of better Laws against Gam- "ing, than were to be found in our Statute "Books; but, that if Men of Rank and "Distinction were determined to commit "Crimes which from their Nature must be "perpetrated in private, no Law could tho- "roughly reach the Evil." Fox making no Reply, though the Allusions to himself were palpable, Sheridan rose, and with great Address turned aside the Weapon, of which he could not altogether blunt the Point. Unwilling to offend Martin, who generally voted with Opposition, Sheridan directed his Attack against the Administration. "I trust," said he, "that the learned Gentleman who "presents himself to the House on this Day, "in the double Capacity of a *Cato* and a "*Petronius*, at once the *Censor Morum* and "the *Arbiter Elegantiarum* of the Age; will "turn his Attention towards the Suppression "of a Species of Gaming more destructive "to Morals than any other, and which is "nevertheless patronized by the Legislature. "I mean, Lotteries, which by suspending "all the Pursuits of Industry, introduce "among the lower Orders of People, every

"Species of Depravity. This would be in-
"deed an Object worthy of his Exertion."
Mansfield was in his Turn silent, and the Debate took a new Turn. Unquestionably, the Club at *White's*, as well as at *Brookes's*, was designated by Martin, when he denounced the Evil itself, as he spoke in the plural Number. But, no Member of the Cabinet being accused of a Passion for the Gaming-table, though more than one among them frequented White's, the Blow fell heavily on Fox, Fitzpatrick, Burgoyne, and their Associates, while it scarcely glanced on Ministers.

Nature, besides the extraordinary Endowments of Mind which she conferred on Fox, had given him likewise a Constitution originally capable of prodigious Exertion. But he had already impaired his bodily Powers, by every Variety of Excess, added to the most violent mental Agitations. These Acts of Imprudence had produced their inevitable Consequences, though for some Time counteracted by Youth, or obviated by medical Aid. As early as 1781, Mr. Fox was already attacked with frequent Complaints of the Stomach and Bowels, attended by acute

Pain; to moderate the Symptoms of which, he usually had Recourse to Laudanum. The strongest Frame must indeed have sunk under such physical and moral Exhausture, if he had allowed himself no Interval of Relaxation or Repose. But, happily, his Passion for some of the Amusements and Sports of the Country, almost rivalled his Attachment to the Gaming-table. No sooner had the shooting Season commenced, than he constantly repaired to Norfolk. Lord Robert Spencer generally accompanied him; and after visiting various Friends, they sometimes hired a small House in the Town of Thetford, rose at an early Hour, and passed the whole Day with a Fowling-piece in their Hands, among Coveys of Partridges and Pheasants, for successive Weeks, during the Autumn. These salutary Occupations never failed of restoring the Health that he had lost in St. James's Street, and in the House of Commons.

Nor did the Rage for Play ever engross his whole Mind, or wholly absorb his Faculties. Nature had implanted in his Bosom many elevated Inclinations, which, though overpowered and oppressed for a Time, yet,

as he advanced in Life, continually acquired Strength. If Ambition formed the first, the Love of Letters constituted the second, of these Passions. When he contemplated the Extent of his own Parliamentary Talents, and compared them with those of Lord North, or of every other Individual in either House; it was impossible for him not to perceive the moral Certainty of his attaining by Perseverance, in the Course of a few Years, almost any public Situation to which he might aspire. In the Possession and Enjoyment of Power, he necessarily anticipated the Recovery of that Independence which he had sacrificed at the Gaming-table; as well as the Means of recompensing the zealous Friendship or Devotion of his numerous Adherents.

No Man in public Life, ever possessed more determined Friends, or exercised over them a more unbounded Influence; though he was by no Means as tractable and amenable to Reason, or to Entreaty, on many Occasions, as the apparent Suavity of his Disposition seemed to indicate. Even Interest could not always bend him to a Compliance with the Dictates of his Judgment,

nor Expostulation induce him to pay the most ordinary Attention to Persons who had materially served him. In 1784, at the Election of a Member for Westminster, which was very obstinately contested; Horace Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, whose Age and delicate Health prevented him from almost ever leaving his own House; yet submitted to be carried in a Sedan Chair, from Berkley Square, to the Hustings in Covent-Garden, to vote for him. But, no Remonstrances could prevail on Fox to leave his Name at Mr. Walpole's Door, though he passed it continually in his Morning Walks. *Hare* himself, who was one of his most favoured Associates, vainly exerted every Effort to make him say a few civil Words to a Lady of Quality; the late Mrs. Hobart, afterwards Albinia, Countess of Buckinghamshire; by whom he was seated at Supper in a great public Company, met at Mrs. Crewe's expressly to celebrate the Success of his Election: a Success, to which that Lady, as he knew, had contributed by every Means in her Power; and who, as her Reward, only aspired to attract his Notice or Attention for a few Minutes. He turned his Back on her, and would not utter a Syllable. Hurt at

Fox's Neglect, *Hare*, who sat nearly opposite to him, and who was accustomed to treat him with the utmost Freedom; took out a Pencil, wrote three Lines, and pushed the Paper across the Table to his Friend. The Lines I shall not transcribe, as they were too energetic, or rather, coarse, to allow of their Insertion: but, they adjured Fox, (in Language as strong as Mæcenas used to Augustus, when he wrote to the Emperor, "*Siste tandem, Carnifex!*") to turn himself round towards the Lady in Question. He calmly perused the Billet, and then, having torn it in small Pieces, which he placed on the Table; without appearing to pay any Attention to *Hare*, he turned his Back, if possible, still more decidedly on the Person, in whose Behalf the Expostulation was written. These Facts were related to me by a Nobleman, a Friend of Fox, who was present on the Occasion.

If ever an Individual existed in this Country, who from his natural Bias, would have inclined to maintain in their fullest Extent, all the just Prerogatives of the Crown; and who would have restrained within due Limits, every Attempt on the Part of the

People, to diminish its Constitutional Influence; we may assert that Fox was the Man. The Principles of his early Education; the Example and Exhortations of his Father, for whom he always preserved an affectionate Reverence, which constituted a most pleasing Feature of his Character; his first political Connexions;—all led him to the Foot of the Throne. He had tasted the Comforts of Office under Lord North, and his very Wants rendered indispensable to him a Return to Power. Nor, whatever moral Disapprobation his private Irregularities unquestionably excited in the Breast of a Sovereign, whose whole Life was exempt from any Breach of Decency or Decorum; could those Defects of Conduct have formed any insurmountable Impediment to his Attainment of the highest Employments. In Point of Fact, neither the Duke of Grafton, whom "Junius" stigmatizes as "a Libertine by Profession;" nor the Earls of Rochford and Sandwich, nor Lord Weymouth, nor Lord Barrington, nor Lord Thurlow, had been distinguished by Sanctity of Manners, though they had all occupied the first Situations in the State. Sir Francis Dashwood, who afterwards became premier Baron of England,

under the Title of Lord Le Despenser; and whom Lord Bute made Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1762, for his Skill, as Wilkes asserts, in casting up Tavern Bills; far exceeded in Licentiousness of Conduct, any Model exhibited since Charles the Second. He had founded a Club or Society, towards the End of George the Second's Reign, denominated from his own Name, "the Franciscans," who, to the Number of twelve, met at Medmenham Abbey, near Marlow in Bucks, on the Banks of the Thames. Wilkes was a Member of this unholy Fraternity, of which he makes mention in his Letter to Earl Temple, written from Bagshot, in September, 1762. Rites, of a nature so subversive of all Decency, and calculated, by an Imitation of the Ceremonies and Mysteries of the Roman Catholic Church, to render Religion itself an Object of Contumely; were there celebrated, as cannot be reflected on without Astonishment and Reprobation. Sir Francis himself sometimes officiated as High Priest, habited in the Dress of a Franciscan Monk; engaged in pouring a Libation from a Communion-cup, to the mysterious Object of their Homage. Churchill, in his Poem of "The Candidate," has drawn him under

this Character, at Medmenham: but I cannot prevail on myself to cite the Passage. Immorality or even Profligacy, abstractedly considered, formed therefore, it is evident, no insurmountable Bar to Employment under George the Third.

Fox's Error arose, if not wholly, yet principally, from a different Source. In the Ardor of political Opposition, stimulated perhaps by domestic Wants of many Kinds, finding himself so long excluded from Office, and conscious that he was become personally obnoxious to the Sovereign, not so much from his Irregularities, as by embracing the Cause and the Defence of the King's revolted Subjects beyond the Atlantic; Fox did not always confine himself within a constitutional and temperate Resistance to the Measures of the Crown. Mingling the Spirit of Faction, with the Principles of Party; while he appeared only to attack the Minister, he levelled many of his severest Insinuations or Accusations at the King. He consequently obstructed the Attainment of the Object, which lay within his Grasp. As the American War drew towards its Termination, he observed scarce-

ly any Measure in the Condemnation which he expressed for the Authors of the Contest.

When the new Parliament met on the first Day of November, 1780, and it was proposed in the Address to the Throne, that the House of Commons should acknowledge, "the sole Objects of the King's royal Care "and Concern, were to promote the Happi- "ness of his People;"—Words merely complimentary; Fox rising in his Place, exclaimed,—"We are called on to recognize the "Blessings of his Majesty's Reign. I can- "not concur in such a Vote, for I am not "acquainted with those Blessings. The "present Reign offers one uninterrupted "Series of Disgrace, Misfortune, and Cala- "mity!" Only a few Weeks afterwards, in January, 1781, when the Debate on the Dutch War took place,—"The Reign of "Charles the Second," observed Mr. Fox, "who twice engaged in Hostilities with "Holland, has been denominated an infa- "mous Reign: but, the Evils inflicted on "this Country by the *Stuarts*, were happily "retrieved by a Revolution: while the Ills "of the present Reign admit of no Redress." He even proceeded to draw a Sort of Paral-

lel, or rather Contrast, of the most invidious Description, between Catherine the Second, and George the Third; two Sovereigns who having ascended the Thrones of Russia and of Great Britain, nearly about the same Time, had exhibited an opposite Line of Conduct: the former Empire rising under Catherine, into Eminence; while England, governed by George, sunk into Contempt. I recollect that towards the Close of the same Session of Parliament, in June, 1781, during the Progress of a Debate which arose relative to the Payment into the Exchequer, of the Balances in the Hands of public Accountants; Fox, who was well aware of the Obloquy under which his Father, Lord Holland's Memory lay, as "the Defaulter of unaccounted Millions," entered largely and warmly into his Defence. The Evil, he said, resulted from that most unfortunate Circumstance of his Father's Life, his ever having been connected with Administration in the Commencement of the *present Reign.* "Such," continued Fox, "has uniformly "been the impenetrable Mystery, and the "Intricacy of Government, throughout this "unfortunate Reign; such has been the "dark, perplexed, and ambiguous System

" pursued by Ministers, that no Person who " contemplates it, can pervade the Obscu- " rity, or pierce the Clouds that invest their " Measures. It is become impossible to dis- " tinguish the *real*, from the *ostensible* Mi- " nister. Hence the guilty Author of nefa- " rious or ruinous Measures, escapes with- " out Censure, while the Detestation and the " Disgrace fall upon the innocent." The House was at no Loss to guess at whom these Reflections were pointed.

In November, 1779, he far exceeded in Severity of Language even the foregoing Remarks, when he did not hesitate to compare Henry the Sixth, with His present Majesty; and to assimilate their Characters, Qualities, and the Disgraces of their respective Reigns, as affording the most complete Resemblance. " Both," he observed, " owed the Crown to Revolutions: both " were pious Princes, and both lost the Ac- " quisitions of their Predecessor." The Speeches of Fox, it must be owned, breathed a very revolutionary Spirit, throughout the whole Progress of the American War. Smarting under such Reflections, the King began to consider the Principles and the

Doctrines of Fox, as inseparably implicated with Rebellion. From that Instant, the Splendor of his Talents only enhanced the Magnitude of his Offence. His Uncle, the Duke of Richmond, who seemed to emulate the same Distinction, and who indulged himself in Remarks equally severe, on the supposed Interference of the Crown in perpetuating the Struggle, might find Pardon in the Mediocrity of his Abilities. But, Fox's Fault necessarily inspired deeper Feelings of Resentment, and may be said to have eminently contributed to the Misfortunes of his political Life.

Amidst the wildest Excesses of Youth, even while he was the perpetual Victim of his Passion for Play, his elegant Mind eagerly cultivated at Intervals, a Taste for Letters. His Education had made him early acquainted with the Writers of Greece and Rome, historical, as well as philosophical and poetical. The beautiful Passages of Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Cicero, which were familiar to him, seemed always to present themselves to his Memory without an Effort. When speaking in Parliament, he knew how to avail himself of their

Assistance, or to convert them to his Purpose, with a Promptitude and Facility that it is difficult to imagine. Burke himself was not his Superior on this Point. So well had he been grounded in classic Knowledge, that he could read the Greek, no less than the Roman Historians, as well as Poets, in the original; and however extraordinary the Fact may appear, he found Resources in the Perusal of their Works, under the most severe Depressions occasioned by ill Success at the Gaming-table. Topham Beauclerk, whom I have already had Occasion to mention, and who always maintained Habits of great Intimacy with Fox; quitted him one Morning, at six o'clock, after having passed the whole preceding Night together at Faro. Fortune had been most unfavourable to Fox, whom his Friend left in a Frame of Mind approaching to Desperation. Beauclerk's Anxiety respecting the Consequences which might ensue from such a State of Agitation, impelled him to be early at Fox's Lodgings; and on arriving, he enquired, not without Apprehension, whether he was risen. The Servant replying that Mr. Fox was in the Drawing-room, he walked up Stairs; and cautiously opening

the Door, where he expected to behold a frantic Gamester stretched on the Floor, bewailing his Misfortunes, or plunged in silent Despair; to his equal Astonishment and Satisfaction, Beauclerk discovered him intently engaged in reading a Greek Herodotus. "What would you have me do," said he, "I have lost my last Shilling!" Such was the Elasticity, Suavity, and Equality of Disposition that characterized him; and with so little Effort did he pass from profligate Dissipation, to Researches of Taste or Literature. After staking and losing all that he could raise, at Faro; instead of exclaiming against Fortune, or manifesting the Agitation natural under such Circumstances, he has been known to lay his Head on the Table; and retaining his Place, but, extenuated by Fatigue of Mind and Body, almost immediately to fall into a profound Sleep.

Mr. Fox was not only conversant with the Works of Antiquity: modern History, polite Letters, and Poetry, were equally familiar to him. Few Individuals were better instructed in the Annals of their own Country. Having travelled when young, over

France and Italy, he had studied the finest Productions of those Countries, so fertile in Works of Genius, at the Fountain-head. Davila and Guicciardini, he read in the original. Danté, Ariosto, and Tasso, constituted the frequent Companions of his leisure Hours, whom he perused with Delight; and the striking Parts of which Authors, as he proceeded, he constantly marked with his own Hand. For the "Orlando Furioso," one of the most eccentric, but, wonderful Productions of human Genius, I know that he expressed great Partiality; preferring it to the "Gierusalemme liberata." Nor was he devoid, himself, of some Portion of poetic Talent, as many Compositions of his Pen which remain, sufficiently attest; though, for Ease, Delicacy, and playful Satire, he could not stand a Competition in that Branch of Accomplishment, with his Friend and Companion Colonel Fitzpatrick. The Verses, or Epigram, written on Gibbon's accepting the Employment of a Lord of Trade, in 1779, beginning,

"King George in a Fright,
Lest Gibbon should write
The Hist'ry of England's Disgrace;

"Thought no Way so sure
His Pen to secure,
As to give the Historian a Place;"

I have always understood to be from Fox's Pen, though it is disowned by Lord Holland, as "certainly not his Uncle's Compo-"sition." I know however, that some Years afterwards, when his Effects in St. James's Street were seized for Debt, and his Books were sold; a Set of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," in the first Leaf of which Work, Fox had with his own Hand inserted the Stanzas in Question; produced a very considerable Sum, under the Belief or Conviction that he was their Author.

Fox conversed in French, nearly with the same Purity and Facility, as he did in English; writing in that Language not less correctly, nor with less Elegance. A Man of his high Birth and Connexions, possessing Qualifications so rare, independent of his parliamentary Abilities, seemed to be pointed out by Nature, for the Superintendence of the foreign Department of State. Those Persons who anticipated the Fall of Lord North's Administration, already imagined that they beheld Mr. Fox in that Situation, for which

Talents and Education had evidently designed him. Yet, after contemplating the Portrait which I have here sketched, and which, I imagine, even his greatest Admirers, if they are candid, will admit to do him no Injustice; it is for impartial Posterity to determine, whether on full Examination of his Merits and Defects, George the Third may be considered as most deserving of Approbation or of Blame, in never having at any Period of his Reign, voluntarily called Mr. Fox to his Counsels. If Energy of Mind, Enlargement of Views, Firmness of Character, Amenity of Manners, Acquaintance with foreign Courts and Languages, Facility in conducting Business, and prodigious intellectual Powers, combining Eloquence, Application, as well as Discernment;—if these Endowments are considered as forming an incontestable Claim to public Employment, unsustained by correct moral Deportment, or by Property; we must condemn the Sentence of Exclusion passed upon him. Those Persons on the other Hand, who consider all Talent, however eminent, as radically defective, unless sustained by Decorum, and a Regard for Opinion;—as well as all who prefer Sobriety of Conduct, Regularity of Man-

ners, and the Virtues of private Life, above any Ability which Nature can bestow on Man;—lastly, all who regard Judgment, under the Controul of strict Principle, as the most indispensable Requisite of a Minister, to whom the public Honor and Felicity are in some Measure necessarily entrusted;—such Persons will probably hesitate before they decide too hastily, on the Degree of Censure or of Commendation, which the King's Conduct towards Fox, ought to excite in our Minds.

If Fox occupied the first Place in the Ranks of Opposition, Burke might be pronounced without Contest, the second Person in that powerful Body. His extraordinary Endowments of Mind, superseded every Defect of Birth, Fortune, Connexions, or Country; and placed him on an Eminence, to which no Subject in my Time, unassisted by those Advantages, with the single Exception of Mr. Sheridan, has ever attained in the public Estimation. For, it may perhaps be justly questioned, whether the splendid Talents of the first Mr. Pitt, would have forced his Way into the Cabinet, unaided and unsustained by his Alliance with the Family

of Grenville, though his own paternal Descent was most honorable. Of Years much more advanced than Fox, Burke had already attained to the Acmé of his Fame as an Orator, and could not well augment the Reputation which he had acquired in that Capacity. Perhaps, if we were to point out the Period of his Life, when he stood on the highest Ground as a public Man, in the Estimation of all Parties, we should name the Year 1781. His recent Exertions in bringing forward the Bill for the Reform of the Civil List, which had engaged such general Attention in the last Session of the preceding Parliament, continued still fresh in Recollection. Whatever Opinion might be entertained respecting the Necessity, or the Eligibility, of those proposed Regulations in the royal Household; only one Sentiment pervaded the House and the Nation, on the unexampled Combination of Eloquence, Labor, and Perseverance, which had been displayed by their enlightened Author. They covered with Astonishment and Admiration, even those who from Principle or from Party, appeared most strenuous in opposing the Progress of the Bill itself, through every Stage. The very Rejection which had at-

tended many Clauses of it, and the Address with which others were finally evaded or eluded, had conduced to raise him in the national Opinion.

While however I do this Justice to his Talents and Intentions, it is impossible not to consider with very different Feelings, the splendid Eulogium which he made on that Occasion, of which *Necker* formed the Subject. Burke, in sublime and animated Language, described the System of public Credit adopted by Louis the Sixteenth, under the Guidance of his Genevese financial Minister; which he depictured as the Consummation of human Ability, Economy, and judicious Calculation. Neither Sully, nor Colbert, he said, could compete with Necker: while the Sovereign of France, unlike his Predecessors on the Throne, who had Recourse when in Distress, to the bold Frauds or Plunges of bankrupt Despotism, for raising pecuniary Supplies; built all his Plans on the firm Basis of national Confidence, sustained by pecuniary Regulations, calculated to pay the Interest of the Debt thus incurred. Such were the Arts and Assertions, by which George the Third, Lord North, and the

American War, became Objects of Reprobation! If Burke really believed the Facts that he laid down, what are we to think of his Judgment! But there is a holy mistaken Zeal in Politics, as in Religion, of which delusive Cup he had drank deep. The Intoxication insensibly dispersed after 1789; and before 1792, he beheld Louis the Sixteenth, Necker, and their insensate, or pernicious Measures, through a just Medium. He then endeavoured to counteract the Effect of his own Orations. In 1781, the Delusion subsisted in all its Force. The unqualified Condemnation which he had always bestowed on the American War, from the Period of its Commencement, seemed to be at least justified by the Result of the Contest; and in that Sentiment he was then supported by a Majority of the British People. When to the Operation of these combined Causes, we add the acknowledged Mediocrity of his Fortune, which left him in a sort of Dependance on the Marquis of Rockingham; together with his long Exclusion from Office, and his unimpeached moral Character, contrasted with the Irregularity of Fox's Conduct; we shall not wonder at the high Place which he occupied, within,

no less than without, the Walls of the House of Commons.

All those Persons to whom his Memory is dear, may like to contemplate him at this Point of Time, when he appears most resplendent, as well as free from many of the Weaknesses, Inconsistencies, and Infirmities, to which our Nature is subject, and from which he was by no means exempt. His Admirers will recollect with Concern, the querulous Lamentations, and unseemly Reluctance, with which, in 1782 and 1783, he each Time quitted the Pay Office, on the Change of Administration. They will remember the Acts of Imprudence and Indiscretion, not to call them by any harsher Name, which characterized his Tenure of Office, during the Existence of the Coalition Ministry; to defend, or to palliate which, demanded the utmost Efforts of Fox's parliamentary Abilities. They will probably admit and lament, his too ardent Prosecution of Hastings, for asserted political Errors or Trespasses, which, even though they had existed in their utmost Extent, ought to have found their Apology in the Difficulties of his Situation; beset, as he was, with domestic

and foreign Enemies, in charge of a vast Empire, and necessitated to find Resources on the Spot, against internal Commotions, no less than against external Hostility. They will reprobate with Severity, his intemperate and indecorous Conduct, as a Member of Parliament, in 1788, on an Occasion when the Country at large felt the deepest Sympathy and Distress, for the intellectual Illness of the Sovereign. And finally, though they will exult in the meritorious Line of Action which he embraced on the Commencement of the French Revolution, as equally honourable to himself, and beneficial to the Cause of Order and Government throughout the civilized World; yet they cannot forget that he received from Mr. Pitt soon afterwards, two Pensions for three Lives, of eighteen hundred Pounds a Year, each, as his Reward: and they will perhaps incline to admit, that on an impartial Survey, Mr. Burke appears greater and more elevated in 1781, than at any subsequent Period of his political Life.

He was then more than fifty Years of Age, of which he had passed fifteen in the House of Commons. I believe he owed his

first Seat in that Assembly, not to the Marquis of Rockingham, but to the late Earl Verney, with whom he had formed some Connexions of a pecuniary Nature; during the Continuance of which, both that Nobleman and Mr. Burke became Purchasers to a considerable Amount, of East India Stock. The latter, as it was asserted, sold out in Time, after clearing so large a Sum by the Transaction, as with it to have purchased the Estate or House at Gregories, near Beconsfield in Bucks, where he always resided when not in London. Lord Verney, less fortunate, or less prudent, though possessed of a vast landed Property, was almost ruined by his East India Purchases; and Richard Burke, Edmund's Brother, who was then a Practitioner at the Bar, being likewise involved in the same losing Concern, was said to be unable to fulfil his Stock Engagements; or in the Language of Change Alley, to have *waddled.* Hence, in allusion to this Circumstance, his Enemies, instead of *Dick* Burke, commonly called him *Duck* Burke. Edmund, in 1781, rented a House in the Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, conveniently situated for his Attendance in Parliament; but, entertained very little Company: and his pe-

cuniary Obligations to the Marquis of Rockingham, which were known to be great, sufficiently indicated the limited Nature of his private Fortune.

Nature had bestowed on him a boundless Imagination, aided by a Memory of equal Strength and Tenacity. His Fancy was so vivid, that it seemed to light up by its own Powers, and to burn without consuming the Aliment on which it fed: sometimes bearing him away into ideal Scenes created by his own exuberant Mind, but from which he, sooner or later, returned to the Subject of Debate; descending from his most aërial Flights by a gentle and imperceptible Gradation, till he again touched the Ground. Learning waited on him like a Handmaid, presenting to his Choice, all that Antiquity had culled or invented, most elucidatory of the Topic under Discussion. He always seemed to be oppressed under the Load and Variety of his intellectual Treasures; of which he frequently scattered Portions with a lavish Hand, to inattentive, impatient, ignorant, hungry, and sleepy Hearers, undeserving of such Presents. Nor did he desist, though warned by the clamorous Vociferation

of the House, to restrain or to abbreviate his Speeches. Every Power of Oratory was wielded by him in turn: for, he could be during the same Evening, often within the Space of a few Minutes, pathetic and humorous; acrimonious and conciliating; now giving a Loose to his Indignation or Severity; and then, almost in the same Breath, calling to his Assistance, Wit and Ridicule. It would be endless to cite Instances of this Versatility of Disposition, and of the Rapidity of his Transitions,

"From grave to gay, from lively to severe,"

that I have, myself, witnessed. I will only mention one, as a Proof of his Wit, which occurred in the Session of 1781, not many Months after I first came into Parliament. The Secretary at War, (Jenkinson), having laid on the Table of the House, an Account of the Extraordinaries of the Army, where the Sums remitted to America during the preceding Year, exceeded two Millions, seven Hundred Thousand Pounds; Mr. Harley, through whose Hands the greater Part of the Money had passed, rose, in Order to give some Account of its Application. For that

Purpose, the Alderman, who was no Orator, and who very rarely obtruded himself on the Speaker's Attention; read from a Paper which he held in his Hand, a few gross Sums or Items, which constituted the greater Part of the enormous Expenditure under Examination. His Recital scarcely took up five Minutes. Burke instantly rising, exclaimed, "This Account is, I believe, the most laconic that ever was given of so great a Sum of Money expended in the public Service. Considering the Magnitude of the Sums that the Right Honorable Gentleman has swallowed, he really merits Admiration for the Promptitude with which he has either digested, or disgorged them. His Charge and his Discharge are equally expeditious. He is a Species of Canal, through which the Profusion of the Government passes. I imagine, however, it does not flow off altogether without contributing something to his Nourishment. No doubt such Remittances, like the Mud of the Nile, have in them a fattening Quality; or, to use a vulgar Phrase, they stick to the Ribs. Oh! how I long for an Inspection of this *Harleian Miscellany!*" Alderman Harley, the Subject of these Metaphors, listened to them

with great Composure, and did not attempt to make any Reply: but no ordinary Muscles could resist their Effect. I remember on another Occasion, where Burke had covered Lord North with Ridicule, (I think, it was upon the Report made by the Commissioners of Accounts in 1781,) that Nobleman answered all his Arguments at considerable Length. "And now, Mr. Speaker," said he, "I believe I have replied to every Thing which has fallen from the Honorable Gentleman, except his Wit. That, I readily acknowledge, is unanswerable, he being greatly my Superior in that Respect." Notwithstanding indeed the acrimonious personal Virulence with which Burke frequently treated Lord North, no Man in the House of Commons appeared to enjoy his Sallies of Wit, more than the first Minister. He laughed immoderately, when Burke compared the Sympathy or mutual Dependance of Administration and the American War, to the Porter's Breech and Taliacotius's Nose in "Hudibras." "They will both," said he, "expire "together:

> "When Life of Parent Nock is out,
> Off drops the sympathetic Snout."

"So, with the Termination of the present "War, will their Places be extinguished." Yet, with such an Assemblage of Endowments, which would have sufficed to form many Orators; though Burke instructed, delighted, and astonished, he frequently fatigued, because his Faculties were not controled by a severe Judgment.

In his Dress and Exterior he was not less negligent than Fox: but, the Spirit of Party did not blend with the Colour of his Apparel; and he rarely or never came to the House in Blue and Buff, though I heard him eulogize Laurens, the American Ex-President, when a Prisoner in the Tower, in Terms such as *Pope* uses when speaking of *Atterbury*, under the same Circumstances. On that Occasion he did not scruple to produce, and to read as Part of his Speech, a Letter addressed to him by Dr. Franklin, from Paris, in Answer to his own Application on the Subject of effecting or facilitating General Burgoyne's Release, by his Exchange against Laurens. I have always considered Burke's Conduct, in thus opening a Correspondence with the Representative of a revolted Body of Men, who was then

residing at the Court of France, with which Nation we were at open War; as one of the greatest Insults on the Government, on Parliament, on the Laws, and on the Majesty of the Sovereign, which has been committed in our Time, by any Subject, with Impunity. It was only exceeded by Fox's sending a Delegate from himself, as Head of the Opposition, to Petersburgh, in 1791; an Act for which, it seemed to me, he might justly have been impeached. But, Hastings and Lord Melville were both sent to take their Trial at the Bar of the Peers, under the present Reign, while Fox and Burke escaped all Prosecution. When the latter ventured to boast in the House of Commons, of his Intercourse with Franklin, he relied on the passive Endurance of an unpopular Cabinet, divided among themselves, and sinking under the Contest with a Combination of European Powers leagued against us for the Emancipation of America. There were not wanting however Individuals, even at that Moment of British Humiliation and Embarrassment, who rose and expressed their Indignation at Burke's Temerity. "Good God!" exclaimed Lord Newhaven, "do not my Senses deceive me! Can a

Member of this Assembly, not only avow his Correspondence with a Rebel, but dare to read it to Us!"——George Onslow, Member for Guildford, seemed disposed to adopt Measures of Censure against Burke; but, the Speaker interposing, stopt him as disorderly, there being no Motion before the House. Neither Lord North, nor Lord George Germain, who were both present, and spoke on the Question, alluded to Burke's Correspondence; and he treated Lord Newhaven's Animadversions with contemptuous Levity. Burke constantly wore Spectacles. His Enunciation was vehement, rapid, and never checked by any Embarrassment: for his Ideas outran his Powers of Utterance, and he drew from an exhaustless Source. But, his Irish Accent, which was as strong as if he had never quitted the Banks of the Shannon, diminished to the Ear, the enchanting Effect of his Eloquence on the Mind. Dundas, who laboured under a similar Impediment, yet turned it to Account, if I may so express myself; some of his Expressions or Allusions, by the Variation in pronouncing a single Letter, or pressing too hard upon a Vowel, frequently producing such an equivocal Sound, conveying

at the same Time so strange an Impression on the Ears of his Audience, as put to Flight all Gravity, and convulsed the House with Laughter. In Brilliancy of Wit, Lord North alone could compete with Burke; for, Sheridan had not then appeared. Burke extracted all his Images from classic Authorities: a Fact, of which, among a hundred others, he displayed a beautiful Exemplification, when he said of Wilkes, borne along in Triumph by the Mob, that he resembled Pindar, elevated on the Wings of poetical Inspiration,

—— "Numerisque fertur
Lege solutis."

a Pun of admirable Delicacy, and the closest Application.

His personal Qualities of Temper and Disposition, (such is the Infirmity of our Nature,) by no means corresponded with his intellectual Endowments. Throughout his general Manner and Deportment in Parliament, there was a Mixture of Petulancy, Impatience, and at times of Intractability, which greatly obscured the Lustre of his Talents. His very Features, and the undulat-

ing Motions of his Head, while under the Influence of Anger or Passion, were eloquently expressive of this Irritability, which on some Occasions seemed to approach towards Alienation of Mind. Even his Friends could not always induce him to listen to Reason and Remonstrance, though they sometimes held him down in his Seat, by the Skirts of his Coat, in order to prevent the Ebullitions of his Violence or Indignation. Gentle, mild, and amenable to Argument in private Society, of which he formed the Delight and the Ornament, he was often intemperate and reprehensibly personal in Parliament. Fox, however irritated, never forgot that he was a Chief. Burke, in his most sublime Flights, was only a Partizan. The Countenance of the latter, full of Intellect, but destitute of Softness, and which rarely relaxed into a Smile, did not invite Approach or Conciliation. His Enmities and Prejudices, though they originated in Principle, as well as in Conviction, yet became tinged with the virulent Spirit of Party; and were eventually in many Instances, inveterate, unjust, and insurmountable. Infinitely more respectable than Fox, he was nevertheless far less amiable. Exempt from his Defects and Irregu-

larities, Burke wanted the Suavity of Fox's Manner, his Amenity, and his Placability. The one procured more Admirers. The other possessed more Friends. Though acting together to a common Point, as Members of the House of Commons, and embarked in the same Cause; their Intimacy seemed always to commence, and to cease, at the Entrance of the Lobby. Burke retired from the Discharge of his parliamentary Functions, exhausted, chagrined, and often irritated; to repair immediately to his Family, or to the Duties and Avocations of domestic Life. Fox, always fresh, and never more alert than after a long Debate, only quitted the House, in order to drive to Brookes's. Even in their nearest Approximations, there were always essential and striking Distinctions between the two Opposition Leaders. In Genius, in Learning, in Eloquence, in Politics, they were assimilated. But, in their Occupations, Amusements, Society, Companions, and Modes of Life, never were two Men more discordant. They continued nevertheless, to act together through succeeding Parliaments, in good, and in adverse Fortune, 'till the French Revolution finally dissevered them. The ob-

vious Defect of Burke, was Want of Temper and Self-command. Fox's latent Blemish lay in his dissolute Habits and ruined Fortune, which enabled his Enemies to compare him with Catiline. Both wanted Judgment to perceive, that even under the free Constitution of Great Britain, the Cabinet, though it may be taken by Storm, cannot be long held except by Favor. Mr. Fox, in 1806, when unfortunately at the End of his Career, appears to have thoroughly come up with this great Truth, of which, in 1781, he was either regardless or ignorant.

In surveying the Opposition Side of the House of Commons at this Period, the Idea of Barré naturally and unavoidably suggests itself after that of Burke. Both were Natives of the same Country, Ireland; and both had attained to vast Celebrity in their adopted Country, England. But, no Sort of Comparison could be made between their Talents, Acquirements, or Claim to general Admiration; in all which, Burke possessed an infinite Superiority. Of an athletic Frame and Mould, endowed with extraordinary Powers of Voice, Barré, as a Speaker, roughly enforced, rather than solicited or

attracted, Attention. Severe, and sometimes coarse in his Censures or Accusations, he nevertheless always sustained his Charges against Ministers, however strong, with considerable Force of Argument and Language. He, too, as well as Burke, lavished his Encomiums on the Banker of Copet, the Financier of France; whose Example for enlightened Economy, and impartial pecuniary Retribution, Barré recommended to Lord North's Imitation. But, he was more measured in his Panegyrics than Burke, and did not elevate Necker above Sully and Colbert. Slow, measured, and dictatorial in his Manner of Enunciation, he was not carried away by those beautiful Digressions of Genius or Fancy, with which Burke captivated and entertained his Audience. Master nevertheless of his Subject, and more attentive than Burke, not to fatigue the Patience of the House, when he saw them eager to rise, he frequently obtained a more indulgent Hearing. Deprived already of one Eye, and menaced with a Privation of both; advanced in Years, grey-headed, and of a savage Aspect, he reminded the Beholders when he rose, of Belisarius, rather than of Tully. Yet possessing a cultivated

Understanding, conversant with the Works of Antiquity, and able on Occasion to press them into his Service, he sometimes displayed a great Diversity of Information.

Near him, on the same Bench, in the front Ranks of the Minority, usually sat his Friend and Colleague, Dunning. Never perhaps did Nature enclose a more illuminated Mind, in a Body of meaner and more abject Appearance. It is difficult to do Justice to the peculiar Species of Ugliness which characterized his Person and Figure, although he did not labor under any absolute Deformity of Shape or Limb. A Degree of Infirmity, and almost of Debility or Decay in his Organs, augmented the Effect of his other bodily Misfortunes. Even his Voice was so husky and choaked with Phlegm, that it refused Utterance to the Sentiments which were dictated by his superior Intelligence. In consequence of this physical Impediment, he lay always under a Necessity of involuntarily announcing his Intention to address the House, some time before he actually rose, by the repeated Attempts which he made to clear his Throat. But, all these Imperfections and Defects of

Configuration, were obliterated by the Ability which he displayed. In Spite of the Monotony of his Tones, and his total Want of Animation, as well as Grace; yet so powerful was Reason when flowing from his Lips, that every Murmur became hushed, and every Ear attentive. It seemed, nevertheless, the acute Sophistry of a Lawyer, rather than the Speech of a Man of the World, or the Eloquence of a Man of Letters and Education. Every Sentence, though admirable in itself, yet resembled more the Pleading of the Bar, than the Oratory of the Senate. So difficult is it for the most expanded or enlightened Intellect, to throw off the Habits of a Profession. Dunning rather subdued his Hearers, by his Powers of argumentative Ratiocination, which have rarely been exceeded, than he could be said to delight his Audience. His legal Talents soon afterwards raised him to the Peerage; just in time to attain that Elevation, as his Constitution speedily sunk under accumulated Disorders, which hurried him prematurely to the Grave. This extraordinary Man, who was not exempt from great Infirmity of Mind, felt, or perceived so little his corporeal Deficiencies, as to consider his

Person with extraordinary Predilection. Fond of viewing his Face in the Glass, he passed no Time more to his Satisfaction, than in decorating himself for his Appearance in the World. He and Barré, who were Fellow-laborers in the same Vineyard, represented likewise the same Borough, Calne; and belonged, or at least looked up to the same political Chief, Lord Shelburne. They consequently were animated by no common Principle of Union, or of Action, with Fox and Burke, except one; that of overturning the Administration. On all other Points, a secret Jealousy and Rivality subsisted between the Adherents of the Shelburne and the Rockingham Parties.

Admiral Keppel might likewise be accounted among the principal Members of Opposition in the House of Commons at this Period; though his oratorical Talents seemed to be no more conspicuously exerted in Debate, than his nautical Skill as a Commander, had been displayed on the Quarter Deck, during the memorable Action of the 27th of July, 1778. But, the Persecution, which, as it was pretended, he had undergone, for his Conduct on that Day; the Ac-

cusation brought against him by Palliser, and the ministerial, as well as royal Enmity, which he had incurred;—these political Merits, when added to his Connexion with the Duke of Bedford, whom the Opposition had already marked as their own, though he was not quite sixteen Years of Age at this Time; elevated him to a Consideration, which he could otherwise never have attained. Excluded from representing the Borough of Windsor, at the recent General Election in 1780; the popular Effervescence of the Moment, inflamed at his Rejection, where it was supposed that the Influence and personal Exertions of the Sovereign among the Tradesmen of the Town, had considerably operated to his Prejudice, brought him in for Surrey: a County in which he possessed no Property, nor any hereditary Interest. There appeared neither Dignity in his Person, nor Intelligence in his Countenance, the Features of which were of the most ordinary Cast; and his Nose, which, in consequence of an Accident that befel him in the Course of his professional Life, had been almost laid flat, gave him an equally vulgar and unpleasant Air. His Abilities were indeed of a very limited Description, altogether unfit for such a

Theatre as Parliament: but, the Minority having already destined him to succeed, and to supplant, Lord Sandwich, as soon as they could gain Possession of Power, it became indispensable to sustain him on every Occasion, with all their Efforts.

Another distinguished naval Commander, Lord Howe, who then filled a Seat in the House, might likewise be numbered among the determined Opponents of Government. Since his Return from America, he had not enjoyed the Smiles of the Court; but his professional Character supported him with the Public. His steady, cool, and phlegmatic Courage, sustained by great nautical Experience and Skill; when added to the wholesome Severity of his Discipline while on Service, deservedly placed him high in the Estimation of all Parties. Among the Sailors he was known, from his dark Complexion, by the Epithet of "Black Dick." If no Genius could be discovered in the Lines of his Face, there was in them, an Expression of serene and passive Fortitude which could not be mistaken. His Profile bore, indeed, a very strong Resemblance to the Portraits of George the First, from whom,

by his Mother, he descended. She was the natural Daughter of that Prince, by his Mistress, Madame de Platen, whom he created Countess of Darlington, some Years after his Accession to the Crown of Great Britain. In Parliament, as an Orator, Lord Howe made, if possible, a worse Figure than Keppel; who, when he addressed the House, was at least intelligible, though he might not greatly illuminate the Subject. Lord Howe's Ideas were commonly either so ill conceived by himself, or so darkly and ambiguously expressed, that it was by no Means easy to comprehend his precise Meaning. This oracular and confused Mode of Delivery, rendered still more obscure by the Part of the House where he usually sat, which was on a back Row, at a Distance from the Speaker's Chair, encreased however the Effect of his Oratory; and seemed to exemplify Burke's Assertion, that "Obscurity is a Source of the Sublime."

Sir George Savile, who represented the County of York, attracted from his Descent and Alliances, great Consideration. His known Integrity and Disinterestedness, joined to his extensive landed Property, ele-

vated him in the public Opinion, more than any Endowments of Intellect, or parliamentary Ability. He possessed nevertheless plain manly Sense, and a Facility of Utterance, which, even independent of his high Character and ample Fortune, always secured him Attention.

Lord John Cavendish was listened to, whenever he rose, with similar Deference or Predilection; nor was he altogether destitute of some Pretension to Eloquence. His near Alliance to the Duke of Devonshire, the Head of the *Whig* Interest; his very *Name*, connected with the Revolution of 1688, which secured the Liberties of Great Britain; his unblemished Reputation, and his Talents, though in themselves very moderate;—all these Qualities combined to impress with Esteem, even those who differed most from him in political Opinion. Homely in his Figure, of Manners simple, unassuming, and destitute of all Elegance or Dignity; he presented the Appearance of a Yeoman or a Mechanic, rather than of a Man of high Quality. Nature had in the most legible Characters, stamped Honesty on the Features of his Countenance; but she had not accompanied

it with any ornamental Present. The Opposition already considered him as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Embryo.

General Conway, Brother to the Earl of Hertford, though by no Means a Man of eminent Capacity, or a superior Speaker, yet surpassed in these Respects, either of the two last-mentioned Individuals. His military Experience, acquired in Germany during the "Seven Years War;" his Birth and illustrious Descent, together with the Recollection of his having already occupied one of the most eminent Employments of State under a former Administration; as he filled the Post of Secretary for the Home Department, during the short Period of ten Months when Lord Rockingham presided at the Treasury in 1765 and the following Year;—so many Pretensions, authorized him to expect a Situation no less conspicuous, in any future ministerial Arrangement. Though he had already passed his sixtieth Year, yet his Figure and Deportment were exceedingly distinguished, nor did he want Abilities; but, his Enunciation, embarrassed, and often involved, generally did Injustice to his Conceptions.

Mr. Thomas Townsend, commonly denominated "Tommy Townsend," and commemorated under that Name, in Goldsmith's celebrated Poem of "Retaliation," where he describes Burke,

"Tho' fraught with all Learning, yet straining his Throat;
To induce *Tommy Townsend* to lend him a Vote;"

looked confidently forward, no less than General Conway, to a high Place in some future Ministry, when Lord North should be driven from Power. Nor were his Expectations eventually disappointed. Having held the lucrative Post of Joint Paymaster of the Forces, at an early Period of his Majesty's Reign, during about six Months, he was already a Member of the Privy Council. He possessed likewise a very independent Fortune, and considerable parliamentary Interest, present, as well as prospective; two Circumstances which greatly contributed to his personal, no less than to his political Elevation:—for, his Abilities, though respectable, scarcely rose above Mediocrity. Yet, as he always spoke with Facility, sometimes with Energy, and was never embarrassed by any Degree of Timidity, he

maintained a conspicuous Place in the front Ranks of Opposition.

General Burgoyne would not deserve any Mention in this List, if Respect were had only to his parliamentary Talents: but, his Sufferings in the Cause of Opposition, which elevated him to the Rank of a Martyr, like Keppel; Fox's Attachment towards him, and his Connexion by Marriage with Lord Derby, one of the Minority Chiefs;—these Merits supplied every Deficiency. In his Person he rose above the common Height, and when young, must have possessed a distinguished Figure: but, Years had enfeebled him, though he was cast in an athletic Mould. His military Services in the Field, had never been resplendent. He seemed more fitted for the Drawing-room, than for the Camp; for pleasing in Society, than for commanding Armies. No Man possessed more polished Manners. His Manifestos were more admired for their Composition, while he was at the Head of the British Forces in America, than his Tactics or his Manœuvres. Of his dramatic Talents, the Comedy of the "Heiress," forms an eminent Proof; and I believe, he contributed his Aid to the celebrated "Probationary Odes."

It was difficult to contemplate him, without recollecting the disgraceful Colours under which "Junius" has designated him, as "taking his Stand at a Gaming-table, and "watching with the soberest Attention, for "a fair Opportunity of engaging a drunken "young Nobleman at Picquet;" as "drawing a regular and splendid Subsistence "from Play;" and as "sitting down for the "Remainder of his Life, *infamous and contented*, with the Money received from the "Duke of Grafton, for the Sale of a Patent "Place in the Customs." These Aspersions, which never received any public Answer, did not prevent his occupying a distinguished Place in Fox's Regard; who exhibited a strong Proof of it, by becoming Burgoyne's Nominee on the Committee appointed to try the contested Election for the Borough of Preston, which he represented in the Spring of 1781. Supported by such Ability, the General kept his Seat. I have been assured that when he returned on his Parole from America, in May, 1778; the Opposition, apprehensive of his taking Part with Administration, and fearful that he might accuse the Adherents of Congress in this Country, with having contributed by

their Language in Parliament, if not by other Modes of Encouragement, to the Resistance that produced the Disaster of Saratoga; determined if possible to gain him. For that Purpose, Fox went down privately to Hounslow, in a hired Post Chaise, where he met Burgoyne soon after he had landed, on his Way from Plymouth to London. In the Course of a long and confidential Interview, Fox convinced him so thoroughly, that the Ministers would not support him; that Lord George Germain must accuse him, in order to exculpate himself; that the King had imbibed very strong Prejudices against him, and that the Administration could not last a Twelvemonth; as to induce the General to transfer his Charges of Misconduct, from the Opposition, to the Treasury Bench. Present Protection, and future Employment, whenever they should attain to Power, followed of Course. I have no doubt of the Accuracy of this Fact, as I received it from high living Authority.

Burgoyne always affected to consider the whole Administration, as leagued against him, in order to retard or to impede his Exchange. Towards Lord George Ger-

main, who presided over the American Department, he of Course felt, and frequently expressed, great personal Alienation, or rather, Asperity. I remember hearing him declare in his Place, as a Member of Parliament, towards the Close of Lord North's Ministry, in December, 1781, that he would rather submit to be recalled to America by Congress, and be committed to a Dungeon, there to perish, than condescend to solicit a Favour from Men, who had oppressed him in a Manner the most severe; who had refused him a Court Martial; who had calumniated his private Character, and had treated him with every Sort of Indignity. How far these Charges were founded in Truth or Justice, I cannot venture to say; but, it appeared both on Lord George Germain's, and on Lord North's Testimony, that Endeavours had been made by our Government to obtain his Exchange from Congress, which were only frustrated by an Evasion on the Part of the American executive Power, in not ratifying a Capitulation, where a Number of their Troops had fallen into our Hands. Burgoyne himself admitted the Justice of our Claim over those captured Soldiers, who had been proffered to Congress

as an Equivalent for him: but he maintained, that when they were rejected, other Prisoners should have been tendered in their Place. *Regulus* was not however the Character among the unfortunate Commanders of Antiquity, whom he had proposed for his own Model.

Wilkes could not properly be considered as a Member of the Minority; because, though he always sate on that Side of the House, and usually voted with them, yet he neither depended on Lord Rockingham, nor on Lord Shelburne: but, his Predilections leaned towards the latter Nobleman. Representing, as he did, the County of Middlesex, he spoke from a great Parliamentary Eminence. He was an incomparable Comedian in all he said or did; and he seemed to consider human Life itself as a mere Comedy. In the House of Commons he was not less an Actor, than at the Mansion House, or at Guildhall. His Speeches were full of Wit, Pleasantry, and Point; yet nervous, spirited, and not at all defective in Argument. They were all prepared, before they were delivered; and Wilkes made no Secret of declaring, that in Order to secure their accurate Trans-

mission to the Public, he always sent a Copy of them to William Woodfall, *before* he pronounced them. In private Society, particularly at Table, he was pre-eminently agreeable; abounding in Anecdote; ever gay and convivial; converting his very Defects of Person, Manner, or Enunciation, to Purposes of Merriment or of Entertainment. If any Man ever was pleasing, who squinted, who had lost his Teeth, and lisped, Wilkes might be so esteemed. His Powers of Conversation survived his other bodily Faculties. I have dined in Company with him, not long before his Decease, when he was extenuated and enfeebled to a great Degree; but, his Tongue retained all its former Activity, and seemed to have outlived his other Organs. Even in corporeal Ruin, and obviously approaching the Termination of his Career, he formed the Charm of the Assembly. His Celebrity, his Courage, his Imprisonment, his Outlawry, his Duels, his intrepid Resistance to ministerial and royal Persecution, his Writings, his Adventures; lastly, his Triumph and serene Evening of Life, passed in Tranquillity, amidst all the Enjoyments of which his decaying Frame was susceptible;—for, to the last Hour of his Existence,

he continued a Votary to Pleasure;—these Circumstances, combined in his Person, rendered him the most interesting Individual of the Age in which he lived. Since the Death of Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, who died in 1751, and whose Life bore some Analogy to Wilkes's in various of its Features, no Man had occupied so distinguished a Place in the public Consideration. His Name will live as long as the Records of History transmit to future Times, the Reign of George the Third.

Notwithstanding the personal Collision which may be said to have taken Place between the King and him, during the early Portion of His Majesty's Reign; Wilkes, like Burke, nourished in his Bosom, a strong Sentiment of constitutional Loyalty. He gave indelible Proofs of it, during the Riots of June, 1780, when *Bull*, one of the Members for London, with whom he had long been intimately connected, crouched under Lord George Gordon's Mob. And though Wilkes lent his Aid to overturn Lord North's Administration, yet he never yoked himself to Fox's Car. On the contrary, no sooner had "the Coalition" unmasked their Bat-

tery of "the East India Bill," than Wilkes rallying to the Crown, as the only Protection against Fox's Ambition, took the warmest Part against that Measure: acting in 1784, nearly the same Part which Burke did eight Years later, in 1792, after the French Revolution; when he sought Shelter behind the Throne, against the Horrors of Anarchy, Regicide, and Insurrection: Horrors, which Fox never could, or never would perceive, and for which he even apologized in no small Degree.

Such was the general Aspect which the House of Commons then presented. Pitt and Sheridan, who have since in different Ways occupied so great a Share of public Attention, had not either of them as yet come forward to public Notice and Admiration. The latter had indeed risen in his Place, as early as the preceding Month of November, within three Weeks after the Meeting of Parliament, in Order to complain of the Facility and Impunity with which Petitions were presented, complaining of Bribery and Corruption on the Part of Members returned to serve in Parliament, which Petitions often proved eventually fri-

volous or vexatious. He stood, himself, in that very Situation; Mr. Richard Whitworth, one of the Representatives for the Town of Stafford in the preceding Parliament, having just petitioned the House, against the Return of Mr. Sheridan and his Colleague, the Honorable Edward Monckton, for the same Borough. Rigby, on the Occasion to which I allude, with the coarse, contemptuous, and insulting Ridicule, familiar to him when addressing the House, had treated Sheridan's Complaints as meriting no Attention. Fox instantly rose to justify and to protect his Friend; but the Speaker interposing, terminated the Conversation. Even while pronouncing the few Sentences which he then uttered, the Fame of the Author of the "Duenna," the "School for Scandal," and the "Critic," was already so well established, as to procure him the greatest Attention.

Probably, at no Period of George the Third's long Reign, which already exceeds that of Henry the Third in Duration, have the Walls of the House of Commons enclosed so great an Assemblage of first-rate Talents on the Opposition Benches, as were

there concentered at the Beginning of the Year 1781. Their Exertions were at once sharpened and propelled by the critical Nature of the Time and of the Contest, which obviously tended to some vast Catastrophe, unless a speedy Amelioration of our Affairs beyond the Atlantic should take Place. The Treasury Bench, though Lord North, Lord George Germain, and Mr. Dundas, still were seated on it, had sustained no ordinary Diminution of its Lustre, by the Removal of Thurlow and of Wedderburn to the upper House: but, on the opposite Side, we beheld a Constellation of Men of Genius. In the Front stood Fox and Burke, sustained by Dunning and Barré; while Pitt and Sheridan, two of the most resplendent Luminaries produced during the Course of the Eighteenth Century, were preparing to unfold their Powers. I have endeavoured to present before the Reader of 1818, an imperfect Picture of the Assembly then sitting at Westminster, and to place him, if I may so express myself, under the Gallery of the House, as a Spectator. In Order, however, to form a more complete Estimate of the principal Individuals who at that Time attracted general Notice, either

as Supporters of Administration, or as Candidates for Office whenever the Opposition should come into Power; it is still requisite to throw a Glance over the House of Peers.

The great Earl of Mansfield, though he had already advanced beyond that Period of Life, at which the Faculties of the human Mind usually begin to diminish in Vigor, did not appear to have lost any of the Acuteness or Strength of his Intellect. In the Court of King's Bench, no less than in Parliament, where he constantly attended in his Place, his transcendent Abilities still excited equal Respect and Admiration. The Friend of Pope, of Bolingbroke, and of Sir William Wyndham, during his Youth; he united the finest Accomplishments of Science, to the most profound Knowledge of the Laws. In the recent Riots of 1780, the Populace, whether considering him as inclined to support Measures of an arbitrary Nature, or supposing him a Friend to Principles of religious Toleration repugnant to their Feelings; selected him for the Object of their Violence. His House and his Papers were consumed: but he had happily escaped any personal Effects of their Rage; and though not indi-

vidually a Member of Administration, might be considered as disposed on all Occasions, to extend his Assistance to the Government. Yet did the constitutional and characteristic Timidity which distinguished him in his political Capacity, prevent his ever standing forward in Moments of Crisis or Danger, like Thurlow and Wedderburn, as the avowed Champion of ministerial Measures. But, in his judicial Character, he made ample Amends, and manifested a Devotion to the Wishes of the Court, scarcely exceeded by any Example to be adduced even under the Stuart Reigns. The Accusations brought against Lord Mansfield by Wilkes, in his Letter from Paris, of the "22d of October, 1764," addressed to the Electors of Aylesbury, are of so grave a Description, that, if founded in Truth, a Turkish Cadi might blush to own them. He positively asserts, that on the Evening preceding the two Trials in the Court of King's Bench, instituted against himself, as the Author of the *North Briton*, No. 45, and of the "*Essay on Woman;*" Lord Mansfield sent for his (Wilkes's) Solicitor to *his own House*, and desired him to consent to such Alterations in the *Records*, as would ensure the Certainty of Wilkes's

Conviction. "The Chief Justice," continues he, "sunk into the crafty Attorney, and "made himself a Party against the Person "accused before him as Judge, when he "ought to have presumed me innocent. My "Solicitor refused; and against his Consent, "*the Records were there materially altered* "*by his Lordship's express Orders;* so that "I was tried on two new Charges, very dif- "ferent from those I had answered. This "is, I believe, the most daring Violation of "the Rights of Englishmen, which has been "committed by any Judge since the Time "of *Jefferies.* Yet this arbitrary Scottish "Chief Justice still remains unimpeached, "except in the Hearts of the whole Nation." When we read these Facts;—for, such they must be esteemed, since they remained wholly uncontradicted; we might fancy the Transactions to have taken Place at Sarragossa or at Seville, rather than in Westminster Hall. Scarcely could a Spanish Grand Inquisitor have outdone the English Chief Justice. Wilkes continuing his Narrative, says, "Several of the Jury were by Counter "Notices, signed *Summoning Officer*, pre- "vented from attending on the Day ap- "pointed for the Trial; while others had

" not only private Notice given them of the " *real Day*, but, likewise, Instructions for " their Behaviour. To crown the whole, " Lord Mansfield, in his Charge, *tortured* " *both the Law and the Fact so grossly*," " that the Audience were shocked no less at " the Indecency, than at the Partiality of " his Conduct. I was during all this Time, " very dangerously ill, with my Daughter, at " Paris; absolutely incapable of making any " personal Defence, and indeed totally igno- " rant of the two new Questions on which I " was to be tried." It is not without some Difficulty, that we can conceive these Violations of all Justice or Equity to have taken Place in London, under the Reign of George the Third. We might rather suppose them to have been performed under Charles, or James, the Second.

Nor was Wilkes the only Champion who stood forward as Lord Mansfield's Accuser, at the Bar of the English People. With the single Exception of the Duke of Grafton, no Man high in Office, had been so severely treated by the Pen of " Junius;" and though Time had skinned over the Wound, the Cicatrice still remained. That able Writer,

after pursuing the Lord Chief Justice with inconceivable Pertinacity, through all the Sinuosities of legal Concealment or Evasion, under which he attempted to shelter himself;—after comparing him to the most prostitute Judges of the most arbitrary Reigns; to *Tresillian*, under Richard the Second; and to *Jefferies*, under James the Second; exclaims,—"Who attacks the Liberty of the "Press? Lord Mansfield. Who invades "the constitutional Power of Juries? Lord "Mansfield. What Judge ever challenged "a Juryman, but Lord Mansfield? Who "was that Judge, who, to save the King's "Brother, affirmed that a Man of the first "Rank and Quality, who obtains a Verdict "in a Suit for criminal Conversation, is "entitled to no greater Damages than the "meanest Mechanic? Lord Mansfield." These, it must be owned, are Charges of no common Magnitude; and conveyed in no ordinary Language. At him, "Junius" levelled his last Blows, before he finally disappeared as a political Writer. In his parting Letter, addressed to Lord Camden, written towards the End of January, 1772, exciting and invoking that Nobleman to come forward as the Accuser of the Lord

Chief Justice of the King's Bench, at the Bar of the House of Peers; "Considering," says he, "the Situation and Abilities of "Lord Mansfield, I do not scruple to affirm, "with the most solemn Appeal to God for "my Sincerity, that in my Judgment, he is "the very worst and most dangerous Man "in the Kingdom. Thus far I have done "my Duty, in endeavouring to bring him to "Punishment. But, mine is an inferior "ministerial Office in the Temple of Jus-"tice. I have bound the Victim, and drag-"ged him to the Altar." Severe, and perhaps unmerited as these Accusations may appear, yet Lord Mansfield's warmest Admirers never attempted to deny, that at every Period of Time while he presided in the Court of King's Bench; his Opinions and his Decrees, if not adverse to the Liberty of the Press, and to the Freedom of the Subject, uniformly leaned towards the Crown. His Enemies, not without some Reason asserted, that he was better calculated to fill the Office of a *Prætor* under Justinian, than to preside as Chief Criminal Judge of this Kingdom, in the Reign of George the Third.

Lord Loughborough, who owed to Lord North, his recent Elevation to the Peerage, constituted one of his ablest Advocates, and most zealous Supporters, in that House. Wedderburn had risen through the Gradations of the Law, amidst the Discussions of Parliament, side by side with Thurlow. More temperate, pliant, artful, and accommodating in his Manners, than the Chancellor, he equalled that Nobleman in Eloquence, if he did not even surpass him. *Churchill*, in one of his Satires, has thought proper to describe Wedderburn in Colours of the deepest and most malignant Dye, heightened by the Magic of Verse. I believe, it appeared in 1762.

" To Mischief train'd, e'en from his Mother's Womb,
Grown old in Fraud, tho' yet in Manhood's Bloom,
Adopting Arts by which gay Villains rise,
And reach the Heights which honest Men despise;
Mute at the Bar, and in the Senate loud,
Dull 'mongst the dullest, proudest of the proud,
A pert prim Prater of the Northern Race,
Guilt in his Heart, and Famine in his Face,
Stept forth."——

Nor was Fox much more favourable to Wedderburn, previous to the " Coalition" in 1783,

which obliterated all preceding Errors on both Sides. In November, 1781, on the Day when Parliament met, Fox, while loading with Execrations the American War, and its Authors or Abettors, selected Wedderburn as an Object of his strongest Reprobation. Alluding to the Language which that eminent Lawyer had formerly held, when he designated the Contest with America, "to be the Opposition of Hancock and "his Crew, not a War with the People at "large;" Fox observed, that "for these Sen- "timents, and not for any other Merit that "he could discover, except the abusing our "Fellow Subjects beyond the Atlantic, the "learned Gentleman had been raised to the "Dignity of a Peer." Notwithstanding these Denunciations of Party Violence, poetic and political, no Man in public Life possessed more Versatility of Talents, or Abilities better adapted to every Situation. He proved himself as refined a Courtier at St. James's, as he was an able Lawyer at Westminster. His Defence of Lord Clive, when under Accusation before the House of Commons, at an earlier Period of His Majesty's Reign, augmented Wedderburn's legal, as well as parliamentary Reputation. It had been per-

petually progressive since that Time, and rendered him, whether as a Member of the lower, or of the upper House, one of the most distinguished Ornaments of the long Robe.

Nor did the Opposition at this Time want men of distinguished Capacity, professional and political, in the House of Lords, though the Marquis of Rockingham was not to be accounted among the Number. His Rank, his Integrity, and his vast patrimonial Property, rather than any intellectual Endowments, had placed him at the Head of his Party. During the short Period of Time when he formerly filled the Post of first Lord of the Treasury, he had displayed more Rectitude of Intention, than either Vigor or Ability. Even his Constitution and Frame of Body, appeared inadequate to the Fatigues of an official Situation demanding Energy and Application. Lord Camden on the contrary, though much more advanced in Years, had retained all the Powers of his Mind, combined with personal Activity. In Debate, he might be esteemed equal to Lord Mansfield himself; and his Exertions at every Period of his Life, in Defence of the

constitutional Liberties of the Subject, which gave him a Sort of individual Superiority to that Nobleman, greatly endeared him to the Nation. While Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, he had approved himself a firm and intrepid Guardian of the Rights of the English People. On the thirtieth of April, 1763, when Wilkes was illegally arrested under a General Warrant issued by the two Secretaries of State, the Earls of Egremont and Halifax; Sir Charles Pratt, on Application being made to him in his judicial Capacity, instantly ordered the *Habeas Corpus* to issue; though the Ministers thought proper to evade and to violate it. His Name, almost always united with the great Earl of Chatham, ever since the Accession of George the Third, seemed inseparable from the Idea of Freedom.

If indefatigable and laborious Pertinacity could recommend to Office, or qualify for public Employment, few Members of the upper House possessed a better Title to that Praise, than the Duke of Richmond. However limited might be the Range of his Ideas, he supplied in some Measure by Application, the Deficiency of original Talent. His

Person, Manners, and Address, were all full of Dignity; and the personal Beauty which distinguished Mademoiselle de la Querouaille, Mistress of Charles the Second, his great Grandmother, was not become extinct in him. She is known to have retained her Charms, down to a very late Period of her Life; and the Fables related of Ninon de l'Enclos, which Voltaire has exposed, were in some Measure verified in the Duchess of Portsmouth. The late George Selwyn, who had seen her at Richmond House in the Year 1733;—for, she survived Charles the Second, near fifty Years;—assured me that she was even then possessed of many Attractions, though verging towards fourscore, Like his Nephew Mr. Fox, the Duke did not spare the King, when addressing the House of Lords; and he was considered as peculiarly obnoxious at St. James's. Accused by his Enemies, of wanting personal Courage, he manifested at least no Defect of political Resolution. At the East India House, in his Quality of a Proprietor, no less than as a Peer of Parliament, at Westminster, he was ever active; vigilant in detecting and exposing Abuses, real or imaginary; perpetually harassing every Depart-

ment with Enquiries; and attacking in turn, the Army, the Admiralty, and the Treasury.

But, no Individual in the upper House, attracted so much national Attention from his Accomplishments, Talents, and extensive Information on all Subjects of foreign or domestic Policy, as the Earl of Shelburne. In the Prime of Life, and in the full Vigor of his Faculties, he displayed, whenever he rose to speak, an intimate Knowledge of Europe; together with such a Variety of Matter, as proved him eminently qualified to fill the highest official Situation. At an early Period of His Majesty's Reign, he had occupied with great and general Approbation, the Post of Secretary of State for the Home Department, during more than two Years, between 1766 and 1768. He might therefore justly look forward, on any Change of Ministers, to be again employed in a similar, or even in a higher Place of Trust and Power. His Acquaintance with the Continent, was minute and accurate, the Result of ocular Inspection on many Points, corrected by Reflection; and improved by Correspondence or Communications with Foreigners of Eminence, whom he assidu-

ously cultivated and protected. Mr. Fox himself was far inferior to Lord Shelburne, in these Branches of Information. Nor was that Nobleman less versed in all the Principles of Finance and of Revenue, than in the other Objects of political Study that form a Statesman. His House, or more properly to speak, his Palace in Berkeley-square, which had formerly been erected by the Earl of Bute; formed at once the Centre of a considerable Party, as well as the Asylum of literary Taste and Science.

It is a Fact, that during the latter Years of Lord North's Administration, he retained three or four Clerks in constant Pay and Employment under his own Roof, who were solely occupied in copying State Papers or Accounts. Every Measure of Finance, adopted by the first Minister, passed, if I may so express myself, through the political Alembic of Shelburne House, where it was examined and severely discussed. There, while Dunning and Barré met to settle their Plan of Action, as Members of the Opposition in the House of Commons; Jackson, who likewise sat in the same Assembly for New Romney, and the Variety of whose In-

formation had acquired him the Name of "Omniscient Jackson," furnished every Species of legal or general Knowledge. Dr. Price and Mr. Baring produced financial Plans, or made arithmetical Calculations, meant to controvert and overturn, or to expose, those of the first Lord of the Treasury: while Dr. Priestley, who lived under the Earl of Shelburne's personal Protection, (just as the celebrated *Hobbes* had done at Chatsworth, under the immediate Patronage of the Earls of Devonshire, in the preceding Century;) prosecuted in the midst of London, his philosophical and chemical Researches. Nor ought I to omit in this list of extraordinary Men, the distinguished Names of Jervis, and of Jekyll; one of whom has risen to such naval Honours and Dignities; while the other has attained to an equal Eminence at the Bar, as he enjoys from the Charms of his Conversation, in private Society.

In his Person, Manners, and Address, the Earl of Shelburne wanted no external Quality requisite to captivate or conciliate Mankind. Affable, polite, communicative, and courting Popularity, he drew round him a

Number of Followers or Adherents. His personal Courage was indisputable. Splendid and hospitable at his Table, he equally delighted his Guests by the Charms of his Conversation and Society. In his magnificent Library, one of the finest of its Kind in England, he could appear as a Philosopher and a Man of Letters. With such various Endowments of Mind, sustained by Rank and Fortune, he necessarily excited universal Consideration, and seemed to be pointed out by Nature, for the first Employments. But, the Confidence which his moral Character inspired, did not equal the Reputation of his Abilities. His Adversaries accused him of systematic Duplicity and Insincerity. They even asserted, that unless all the Rules of Physiognomy were set at Defiance, his very Countenance and Features eloquently indicated Falsehood. In order to fix upon him so injurious an Imputation, they gave him the Epithet of *Malagrida*, from the Name of a Portuguese Jesuit, well known in the modern History of that Kingdom. And these Insinuations, though not perhaps accompanied with Proofs, were nevertheless, either from the Credulity, or from the Malignity of Mankind,

widely circulated, as well as very generally believed, throughout the Nation.

[23d—31st January.] If any Crisis ever demanded a first Minister of Energy, Firmness, and Resources of Character, it was assuredly the Portion of the present Reign on which we are about to enter, including the last fourteen Months of Lord North's long Administration. There may since that Time have been Moments of greater Alarm, under Mr. Pitt, Mr. Addington, or Mr. Percival; but, none of such ministerial and national Depression. Even when Bonaparte seemed to bestride the Continent from West to East; while his Flotilla menaced us with monthly Invasion;—when the Southern Coast was covered with Martello Towers, from Beachy Head to Romney Marsh; and the Corsican Emperor having vanquished Europe, seemed only to reserve England, as Polypheme does Ulysses, for his last Sacrifice;—yet even then, though we felt Apprehension, the Spirit and the Confidence of the Country were fully commensurate to the impending or apparent Danger. The Sovereign was an Object of Affection and of universal Respect. It was a Combat of Morals and of Patriotism,

against the Principle of Rapine, Disorganization, and ferocious military Despotism; while the continental Governments and People, however subjected they themselves might be, put up secret Prayers for our Escape and Success. But in 1781, Lord North had neither internal, nor foreign Auxiliaries. Which ever way he directed his View, it was met by Calamity, or Defeat, or accumulating Difficulties. Under such Circumstances, it may rather excite Surprize that he resisted so long, than that he should ultimately have sunk beneath the Pressure. No sooner had Parliament re-assembled after the Adjournment, than the Reclamations or Complaints which had been repressed during the Recess, burst out with a Vehemence proportioned to their preceding Delay. While General Smith called the Attention of the Minister and the House, to the alarming Condition of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, where the newly instituted Court of Judicature had commenced a Sort of civil War against the Supreme Government; the Island of Barbadoes, desolated by the Hurricane of which I have already made Mention; through its Agent, a Member of the House, in Terms calculated to awaken Com-

miseration in every Bosom, besought Administration to extend some immediate Relief to their almost indescribable Wants.

Great as were these Misfortunes, and deeply affecting the British Empire at its two Extremities; a more serious Subject of Contemplation, because it was one much nearer Home, engrossed universal Attention. I mean, the Manifesto presented by Lord North, at the same Time that he delivered a Message from His Majesty, announcing the Commencement of Hostilities against Holland. Never, probably, in the History of modern Nations, was any State Paper drawn up with more Temper, Moderation, and even a Spirit of Conciliation! The King lamented in every Line, the painful Necessity imposed on him, to resent the Infractions of Treaty committed by his ancient Allies, the Dutch. But, the Source of the Evil lay in the Depression of Great Britain, already surrounded by Enemies, and apparently unequal to protracting the Struggle. In the Course of a long Debate that ensued upon the Address proposed to be presented to the Sovereign, which was opposed on factious, rather than on solid Grounds of Argument; Lord North, in Re-

ply to Burke observed, that "our national "Difficulties were unquestionably great; "but, he trusted, by no Means insuperable." "I am neither disposed," added he, "to con- "ceal their Magnitude, nor afraid to encoun- "ter them; because I am fully convinced "that the Means possessed by this Country, "when vigorously exerted, constitute the "only Mode of obtaining a just and an ho- "norable Peace." These magnanimous Sentiments, which might have become the first Mr. Pitt in 1758, or his Son in 1805; both which were Periods of universal Dejection; received from Fox, from Townsend, from Lord John Cavendish, and from Dunning, every injurious or contumelious Epithet; accompanied by Reproaches for having, as they falsely asserted, driven Holland into the Arms of the House of Bourbon. The Minister did not however want Defenders on that Evening; among whom, though the most inconsiderable in every Sense, I might name myself. Nor did the Division deceive his Hopes, as he carried the proposed Address by a Majority of seventy-nine. I was among the Number of those Members who went up with it to St. James's, where it met from His Majesty, the most gracious Reception.

[1st of February.] I wish it were in my Power to convey an adequate Idea to the Reader of 1818, and to transport him to the Debate that took Place, when Fox moved a Censure on the Administration, for having advised His Majesty to confer on Palliser, the Government of Greenwich Hospital. All the first Orators who graced the Opposition Benches, came forward in Succession. Palliser and Keppel faced each other; the former Admiral, seated near the Minister; the latter, opposite to him; sustained by his numerous, zealous, and eloquent Partizans. The Events of the 27th of July, 1778;—a Day marked by so many painful Recollections; were once more retraced, discussed, and agitated with all the Violence of mutual Animosity. Fox opened the Subject in a masterly Manner; mingling in his Mode of managing it, not less Art, than Eloquence or Argument. Nor did he spare, in certain Parts of his Discourse, the King himself; though in Compliance with the Forms of Parliament, he abstained from expressly naming the Sovereign. Keppel had been recently rejected as Member for Windsor, which Borough thought proper to return, as one of their

Representatives, Mr. Powney, a Gentleman of independent Fortune in the Vicinity. To this Circumstance, as having been produced by royal Interference, Fox alluded. "And what," exclaimed he exultingly, "is "the Consequence! The County of Surrey, "which Portion of England beheld with "Indignation, the Oppression practised in "his Person; who saw the enormous Influ-"ence of the *Crown* opposed to Virtue, "Popularity, and Reputation; opened their "Arms to receive him, and invited him "to become their Representative. Thus, "Oppression produced its opposite Effect; "and my honorable Relation, expelled from "a Place which he had represented in suc-"cessive Parliaments, by the Influence of "the *Crown*, is returned to this Assembly, "for a great and opulent County."

Lord North, in his Reply to Fox, did not omit to give the most pointed Denial to the Assertion that Keppel had been driven from Windsor, by the means to which Allusion was made; adding, that "the Honorable "Gentleman well knew the Fact not to be "true, and only threw out the Imputation, "merely with a View to inflame the Passions "of his Audience." Disdaining, on an Occa-

sion so grave and weighty, to avail himself of his customary Weapons, Ridicule and Pleasantry; the first Lord of the Treasury, in a Speech replete with sound Sense and strong Reasoning, combated Fox's Propositions; reminded him of the Frenzy which had agitated London for three Nights, when a lawless and unrestrained Mob compelled the peaceable Inhabitants to illuminate for a Victory which had never been gained; and attributed, not to Conviction, but, to Intimidation, the Vote of Thanks to Keppel carried in the last House of Commons, under those Circumstances. On one Point only Lord North indulged for a few Moments, that Vein of genuine Humour and playful Wit, which so eminently characterized him. Fox having asserted roundly, that "Palli-"ser's Resignation of his Places and Em-"ployments, formed a tacit Admission of "his Criminality," Lord North classically exclaimed,

"Quam temere Nosmet Legem sancimus iniquam!"

"Some Men," continued he, "resign their "Places, for the Sake of the public Quiet. "Others resign from shrewd Arithmetical "Calculations, that it may be more judicious

" to give up a Place of small Value now, in " Order to get a better, some Time hence. " Others again act thus from political Fore- " sight. They discover an approaching " Storm; they 'snuff it gathering in the " Sky:' they perceive that an Administra- " tion totters, and they quit the falling Fa- " brick, in Expectation of coming into high " Office, by joining the opposite Party. For " my Part, I believe the Vice Admiral re- " signed from a most laudable Motive, in " Order to restore the public Tranquillity, " which had been overturned by the Mad- " ness of the Times."

Captain George Johnstone, or as he was more commonly denominated, Commodore Johnstone, a Man who has attained a considerable Degree of Celebrity during this Portion of the Reign of George the Third; rising for the first Time since the Meeting of the present Parliament, took no ordinary Part in the Debate. Nature had cast him in a coarse, but, a vigorous Mould, and had endowed him with corresponding or analogous Faculties of Mind. Irascible, intemperate, violent, he was a warm and zealous Friend; but, an implacable Enemy. He

possessed a Species of ardent, impetuous, half savage Eloquence, restrained by no Delicacy of Language; yet capable of powerfully affecting his Hearers by the Display of Information, by his energetic Appeals to their Passions, and by his Gesticulations which came in Aid of his Oratory. As a naval Officer of Rank and Experience, when addressing the House on a naval Question, he might justly lay Claim to Attention. He had proved himself nevertheless more a sagacious Politician, than an able Commander; and looked rather to parliamentary Talents, than to maritime Services, for elevating him in Life, as well as for enabling him to acquire the Honors or Emoluments of his Profession. Johnstone, while he admitted that Keppel was individually a brave, a gallant, and a meritorious Officer; inveighed in Terms the most severe, against the general Dispositions which he had made previous to engaging the Fleet of France, on the memorable 27th of July. Of that Action Johnstone spoke, as of the most unfortunate which Great Britain had ever witnessed; "in Conse-
"quence of which, the French became con-
"vinced by their own Experience, that on
"a Summer's Day, they could engage an

" English Fleet superior in every Point of " View, and yet get safe back to their own " Harbours." He treated with indignant Ridicule, the Expression used by Keppel, when he allowed d'Orvilliers to retire unmolested, under a Supposition that " he " would fight it out fairly next Morning," instead of renewing the Engagement on the same Evening: adding, that he entertained no Doubt, the Honorable Admiral himself, if he were to fight the Battle over again, would conduct it in a very different Manner. Then adverting to the disgraceful Tumults, and still more disgraceful Illuminations, on Occasion of the pretended Advantage gained over France, " Oh! God!" said he, raising his Eyes, and covering with both Hands his Face, " London, illuminated during " three successive Nights, on Account of " the national Glory acquired on the 27th " of July! No Man of common Sense could " credit it." Towards the Conclusion of his Speech, Johnstone, in the most pointed Language, after vindicating Lord Sandwich in his official Character, as first Lord of the Admiralty, from the Imputations of various Kinds thrown out against his naval Administration; expressed his Concern and Surprize at seeing

so respectable a Name as that of Admiral Keppel, subscribed to a List of factious Resolutions adopted by a Surrey Committee, declaring the American War to be an unjust Enterprize. "What Opinion," observed he, "must Officers who are proceeding to that "Quarter of the Globe, form of a naval "Commander, so long the Object of their "Respect; who now joins in declaring that "every Man who serves against the Insur-"gents beyond the Atlantic, is no better "than a Pirate, and that the Contest itself "is a War of Injustice and Oppression!"

Proceeding in this Strain of Accusation, and carried away by the Warmth of his irritable Temper, which, like that of Burke, was by no means always under the Control of Reason; Johnstone arraigned the Opinions delivered from the Opposition Benches, on the late Debate relative to the Declaration of War against Holland, as dangerous, if not fatal in their Consequences to the national Welfare. He even charged, though not by Name, yet by unavoidable Implication, Fox, as well as his Friends who sate near him, with the Criminality of Advocates employed by the Enemies of England, to tra-

duce, to degrade, and to overturn her Greatness. Apprehensive probably of the Effect which such a Denunciation might produce on the public Mind, Mr. Thomas Townsend starting up; called the Commodore to Order; and though Rigby interposed to justify the Observations that he had made, as arising out of the Subject under Discussion; consequently as strictly conformable to the acknowledged Rules of Debate; yet Johnstone, whose Understanding had been allowed a few Moments to operate, aware of the delicate Ground on which he was treading, declined to add another Word. The House in vain encouraged him to proceed, by Cries of Go on! Go on! He sate down, and Keppel availed himself of the Pause, to present to the House his Sentiments on the Question. In a Speech of considerable Length, he endeavoured to throw the Blame of the Failure of the 27th of July, on Palliser; though he was necessitated to admit the personal Efforts to break the French Line, made by that gallant Officer. He owned that he no more liked the Mention of the unfortunate Day itself, than did the Commodore; while he affected at the same Time to thank his Honorable Relation, for afford-

ing him the present Occasion of justifying himself to the House of Commons and to his Country.

Sir Hugh Palliser now rose, and directed his Discourse to Fox, rather than to the Admiral who had just preceded him. The Matter of his Address made Amends for any Deficiencies in its Delivery, and enforced universal Attention. After reproaching Fox with Want of Candour, if not of Veracity, in the Statement made by him of the Motives that had produced the Resignation of his own Employments; Sir Hugh assured him that it did not proceed from any Apprehension of his Threats, nor from any Consciousness of Misconduct in himself. "Fear," continued he, "is the Tax which Conscience pays to Guilt. Let those experience it, who calumniate the Characters of others, and afterwards object to hear the injured Party in his Exculpation! I was indeed once afraid, I confess. I was afraid of a frantic, deluded, furious Populace, who forced their Way into my House, destroyed my Property, and would have torn me in Pieces, if the Arrival of a Detachment of the Guards sent to my Relief, had not critically rescued me from their

Ferocity. I was necessitated to abscond, and from the Place of my Concealment, I wrote my Letter of Resignation. In so acting, I imitated the Precedent set me by one of the most celebrated naval Commanders known in modern History. I mean, the famous Dutch Admiral, Van Tromp. He, under the Operation of popular Prejudice and Outrage, laid down his Commission, in Order to pacify the Public: but he subsequently resumed it under more auspicious Circumstances, and rendered the highest Services to his native Country." Having modestly, but distinctly stated the Share that he took in the Engagement of the 27th of July; where, by the universal Confession of every Officer present, he had manifested uncommon Intrepidity, and had received in his Ship, the "Formidable," the exclusive Fire of the whole French Line; he concluded by pointing some severe Observations against Burke, as well as against Keppel: leaving on my Mind, and I believe, on that of every unprejudiced Hearer, the strongest Conviction of his Merits, no less than of the Persecution that he had endured.

Burke may be said to have terminated this very interesting Discussion, rising as

soon as Palliser sat down; no doubt with the Design of obliterating the Impression made on the House, by the preceding Speaker. If Eloquence, Ingenuity, and a perfect Acquaintance with every Fact or minute Detail connected with the Subject, could efface that Impression, and substitute in its Place an opposite Sentiment, he must have succeeded:—for, never were more brilliant, various, and captivating Powers of Intellect exhibited, than by Burke on that Evening. He left no Feature of the Subject untouched, and all touched with a Master Hand. Against Palliser he directed the Shafts of his argumentative Severity; against Lord North, the keener Arrows of Ridicule and Irony; nor did he by any means omit Johnstone, who attracted his full Proportion of both those Weapons of Attack. The finest Specimen of ludicrous and metaphorical Description ever perhaps given even by Burke himself, within the Walls of the House of Commons, he pointed against the first Minister. That Nobleman found himself obliged to call in the Assistance of Mansfield, the Solicitor General, in Order to enable him to shape his proposed Amendments to Fox's Motion for declaring "the Ap-

" pointment of Palliser to be Governor of " Greenwich Hospital, a Measure totally " subversive of the Discipline, and deroga- " tory to the Honor of the Navy." Some Minutes having elapsed, while the precise Words proper to be adopted, were under Consideration; Burke observed, that " the " noble Lord had been employed in *knotting* " and *splicing* the Motion, and in *fishing* " its *Mast*;" at the same Time remarking, (in Allusion to his Consultation with the Solicitor General,) that " he need not have " *fired* a *Gun* to *Leeward*, as a Signal of " Distress, it being obvious that his *Mizen* " *Top Masts* were all shot away." These Metaphors, drawn from the technical Terms of the very Service respecting which the House had been so long engaged in Debate, operated with inconceivable Effect on the Muscles of the Assembly; and on none more forcibly than on those of the first Minister, against whom they were specially directed. He found himself for once overwhelmed by the very Artillery which he commonly employed against his Opponents, and in the Use of which he so much excelled. The Motion was at length negatived, though only by a Majority of *Sixty*

five; the Opposition dividing 149; while Administration had 214 Votes. Palliser continued to retain the Government of Greenwich Hospital, down to the Period of his Decease in 1796; but, no first Lord of the Admiralty ever ventured to employ him again in the Line of his Profession.

[26th February.] Among the Circumstances which will always render the Session of 1781 peculiarly interesting to Posterity, must be accounted the active Appearance of Pitt and of Sheridan, on the Floor of the House of Commons. They both may be said to have commenced their brilliant parliamentary Career, nearly at the same Time, within a few Days of each other. Both spoke on the Side of Opposition, and both were received with marked Approbation, by every Part of their Audience. I was present, when each of them rose for the first Time. Pitt led the Way, on the second Reading of Burke's Bill for "the Reform of the King's Household;" which, though rejected in the last Session of the preceding Parliament, its Author did not the less bring forward anew, towards the Close of the Month of February. He reiterated, on moving for

Leave to bring in the Bill, the same Encomiums upon the salutary Retrenchments made by Necker, with which he had entertained the House in 1780; extolled the Discernment of Louis the Sixteenth, in making Choice of such a Minister, for Superintendant of the Finances; and asserted, that the Selection would produce more substantial Benefit, as well as more solid Glory to his Reign, than had resulted from all the Deeds of Henry the Fourth. "We want," said he, "some such great and enlightened Statesman, who will strike out new and untried "Paths, adapted to the Pressure of the "Times. Here no Measures are adopted, "except on a narrow, fraudulent Scale, producing temporary Supplies by Retails of "Misfortune. *Tædet harum Formarum!* "These are only delusive Phantoms. Give "me Substance and Reality;—*Corpus solidum, et Succi plenum!* When the financial "Resources of the French Monarchy were "believed to be exhausted, and when every "ordinary Channel of Revenue was known "to be dried up, Mr. Necker opened a "Mine of national Wealth; dug down into "it; reached the Fountain Head of productive Receipt; and by demolishing the

" Dams that impeded the Current of Wealth, " he immediately brought into the Exche- " quer, the Value of near six Hundred use- " less Places." Such were the Eulogiums pronounced upon the Banker of Copet, whose ill combined and illusive Plans, calculated only to acquire Popularity at the Expence of his unfortunate Master, plunged France into irretrievable Embarrassments, and led ultimately to the Subversion of the Monarchy! The Measures moreover, adopted by an arbitrary Prince for maintaining a War, in which, contrary to every Maxim of wise Policy, no less than by the Subversion of all Treaties subsisting between France and England, he had engaged with us; did not appear, in the Opinion of impartial Men, to form a proper Model for our Imitation. After a Debate of considerable Length, the Bill was rejected only by a Majority of forty-three Votes, in a very full House, where four Hundred and twenty-three Members were present. Great Expectations having been formed of Pitt, a sort of anxious Impatience for his coming forward, pervaded the Assembly; which was strongly impressed from common Report, with a Belief of his hereditary Talents and Eloquence. He un-

questionably commenced under most auspicious Circumstances; his Birth, and his very Name, by resuscitating as it were the first Earl of Chatham, whose Memory awakened such animating Recollections, preparing every Ear to be attentive; and thus removing all the Impediments that present themselves in the Way of ordinary Men, when attempting to address Parliament. But, sanguine as might be the Opinions entertained of his Ability, he far exceeded them; seeming to attain at his Outset, that Object, which other Candidates for public Fame or Favour, slowly and laboriously effect, by Length of Time and regular Gradations.

It was in reply to Lord Nugent that Pitt first broke Silence, from under the Gallery, on the Opposition Side of the House. The same Composure, Self-possession, and imposing Dignity of Manner, which afterwards so eminently characterized him when seated on the Treasury Bench; distinguished him in this first Essay of his Powers, though he then wanted three Months to have compleated his twenty-second Year. The same nervous, correct, and polished Diction, free

from any Inaccuracy of Language, or Embarrassment of Deportment, which, as first Minister, he subsequently displayed, were equally manifested on this Occasion. Formed for a popular Assembly, he seemed made to guide its Deliberations, from the first Moment that he addressed the Members composing it. The Debate of that Evening which first introduced so distinguished an Individual to the Knowledge of his Countrymen as a Candidate for Office, stands so much apart from the ordinary Discussions of Parliament; and the Particulars of it will unquestionably excite so warm a Curiosity, that I shall endeavour to retrace some of its Features. And I can do it with the greater Facility, as well as Accuracy, having not only been in my Place on that Night as a Member of the House, but, taken an active Part in it. I spoke at considerable Length, *against* the Bill; replied to Burke's Encomiums on Necker, and treated the Plans of that Genevese Financier, nearly in the same Manner as I have since written respecting them. These Observations I venture to make, in Order to shew that in all I may state, I am not composing from Books, but, relating such Facts as remain impressed on

my Memory, and have survived the Lapse of six and thirty Years. I shall therefore proceed, without heeding the malevolent Comments that may be made on my Vanity, and Egotism, for the Mention of myself as in any Manner connected with Mr. Pitt's Entrance on public Life.

Lord Nugent, while he professed himself a Friend to Economy, strongly opposed Burke's Bill on various Grounds; as destroying the Independence of the Sovereign, while it would injure the Frame of the British Constitution, by subverting the nice Equipoise on which depended its Permanence and Stability. He afterwards treated the projected Reform to be made in the royal Household, as not less visionary or impracticable, than the "Commonwealth" of Plato in Antiquity, or than Sir Thomas More's "Utopia." Adding, that however much he might desire to introduce all becoming Reductions of Expence about the King's Court and Person, he never would vote for setting him down to an Ordinary, or render him a more dependent Man than any of his Subjects. Against these Opinions or Arguments, Mr. Pitt directed all the Force

of his Eloquence. The Ministers, he said, and they only, were culpable in not having come forward spontaneously, to propose a Diminution of the Civil List. If however, instead of performing their Duty to a burthened and impoverished Country, they interposed to prevent the Benignity of the Monarch, to check the free Exercise of his natural Bounty, to stop the Tide of royal Sympathy, and to close up his paternal Emotions; there could exist no good Reason, why, because Administration neglected or abused its Trust, the Representatives of the People should imitate so pernicious and criminal an Example. It might be asserted that the proposed Measure would place the Crown in a State of Tutelage: but, the Guardianship of a British House of Commons, could not surely be disgraceful to a constitutional Prince. Were Magnificence and Retrenchment incompatible? Or was 200,000*l.* a Year, which the Bill proposed to take from useless State, and to pour into the public Purse, so inconsiderable a Saving as to be unworthy of Parliamentary Attention? —Towards the Conclusion of his Speech, which, I think, did not exceed in Duration, sixteen or seventeen Minutes, he enlarged on

the Nature of the Civil List itself; which, he said, was originally granted, not for the personal Pleasures or Gratifications of His Majesty, but, for public Purposes. Those Objects, embracing the Splendor of the Throne, he detailed; terminating by the Expression of the extreme Reluctance with which, in the awful State of the Empire, convulsed and bleeding on every Side, his faithful Commons, who had voted him the Revenue that he enjoyed, now applied to him to part with a Portion of it, as a Sacrifice to their Necessities.

Such, as far as I am able to recall it, was the Purport of Mr. Pitt's opening Address to Parliament. It impressed, more from the Judgment, the Diction, and the calm Solemnity of Manner, that pervaded and characterized it from its Commencement to its Close, than from the Brilliancy or Superiority of the Matter. While he ardently supported the Measure, he rather soothed and flattered, than wounded the Feelings of the King against whom it was in a certain Degree directed. He seemed to possess himself as much, as though he had pronounced the Speech in his own Closet: but, there

was no Display of studied or classic Images in any Part of it; nothing gaudy, superfluous, or unnecessary. The Statesman, not the Student, or the Advocate, or the Candidate for popular Applause, characterized it. Lord John Townsend, (then Mr. John Townsend,) who spoke in an early Stage of the Debate, before Mr. Pitt rose; manifested more Talent, and drew his Allusions from more cultivated Sources of Information, than were exhibited by Pitt; but, he by no means made a similar Impression on the Audience. As if the Evening of the 26th of February, was destined for the opening Display of Parliamentary Ability, by Men who have since occupied so high a Place in the public Consideration; the present Earl of Lauderdale, then Viscount Maitland, commenced his very useful and distinguished Career, only about an Hour later than Pitt. Like him, Lord Maitland, then a very young Man, brought his powerful Resources of Mind, to the Aid of Opposition. In a Speech, full of Animation, indignant at the fallen State to which Ministers, as he asserted, had reduced their Sovereign and their Country; he traced the whole Calamity up to the Prosecution of a War, that he stigmatized with the Epi-

thets of *mad* and *ruinous*. Nor did he spare the *House*, more than the *Administration*; declaring his Conviction that the Majority supported Measures, which only Corruption could induce them to approve. He tempered nevertheless these Ebullitions of patriotic Rage, by Professions of the warmest Attachment to the Person, the Virtues, and the Glory of the reigning Monarch; and unquestionably gave in his first Attempt to address Parliament, an Earnest of those Endowments, which during near forty Years have been exerted in various Ways for the public Benefit, either in the House of Commons, or in the House of Peers.

To return to Pitt.—All Men beheld in him at once a future Minister; and the Opposition, overjoyed at such an Accession of Strength, vied with each other in their Encomiums, as well as in their Predictions of his certain Elevation. Burke exclaimed, that "he was not merely a Chip of the old "Block, but, the old Block itself." Nor did Fox do less Justice to the Talents of this new Competitor for Power, Popularity, and Employment. Having carried him to Brookes's Club, a few Days afterwards, Pitt

was elected a Member of that Society; which then comprehended almost all the Men of Rank and great Talents throughout the Kingdom, who were engaged in parliamentary Opposition to Ministers. It is a Fact, that Pitt remained during several Years, a Member of Brookes's; but he rarely, if ever, appeared there, after he came into Office. So nice was his Tact, so deep his Penetration, and in so different a Mould was he cast from Fox, that even on his first Reception in St. James's-Street, though it was of the most flattering Description, he was not dazzled nor won by it. On the contrary, he held back, and never coalesced with that Party, beyond external Appearances. Fox himself soon perceived the Coldness of his new Ally, for whom Play had no Attractions, and who beheld a Faro Table without Emotion: though neither he nor Burke were probably aware of the profound and regulated, but, soaring Ambition, which animated him to aspire, without passing through any intermediate Stage, to occupy the first Employments of the State. Still less could they apprehend or foresee, that he would form during the greater Part of their future Lives, the principal and insur-

mountable Bar to their own Attainment, or permanent Enjoyment, of Office.

Mr. Pitt, when he thus rose for the first Time, represented the Borough of Appleby in Westmoreland, and was indebted for his Seat in the House, to Sir James Lowther; whose Property and parliamentary Influence, which, in the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland were immense, enabled him to bring seven or eight Members into that Assembly. Sir James was rewarded by Mr. Pitt, for this, and for other Services, with an English Earldom, little more than three Years afterwards. But he eagerly embraced the first Occasion which presented itself, to obtain a more independent Seat in Parliament, and to emancipate himself from any Dependance on, or personal Connexion with, the Lowther Family. The matrimonial Alliance of Sir James with Lord Bute, one of whose Daughters he had married; the name of *Lowther*, which had been rendered unpopular, if not odious, by the memorable Contest with the Duke of Portland, in the Beginning of the present Reign; and even the Character of Sir James Lowther himself, tyrannical, overbearing, violent,

and frequently under no Restraint of Temper, or of Reason;—all these combined Motives impelled Mr. Pitt to seek elsewhere, a more independent Title to call himself one of the Representatives of the People; particularly after his Elevation to the Head of the Treasury. He was nevertheless compelled to wait for such an Occasion, till the Dissolution of Parliament in March, 1784; during all which Period he sat for Appleby, even when Chancellor of the Exchequer, under Lord Shelburne's Administration, and afterwards when first Lord of the Treasury. At length, in the Spring of 1784, his ministerial Weight, or, as *Junius* denominates it, "the Spirit of distributing Prebends and "Bishopricks," rather than his individual Qualities and Interest, enabled him to turn out Lord John Townsend, (then Mr. John Townsend,) and to place himself at the Head of the Poll for the University of Cambridge; an Election, and a Seat, in every Sense gratifying to his Feelings.

It was not, indeed, to the personal Friendship of Sir James Lowther, that he originally owed his Entrance into the House of Commons. He was indebted for that Advantage,

which conducted him with such Rapidity, to the highest Offices of State, principally, if not solely, to the late Duke of Rutland, a Nobleman of nearly the same Age as Mr. Pitt. The early Intimacy which subsisted between them at the University of Cambridge, was cemented by the political Ties that had formerly united their Fathers, the Marquis of Granby, and the Earl of Chatham, during the Reign of George the Second. As every Circumstance, connected with the public Life and Career of such a Man as Mr. Pitt, becomes interesting; I shall relate from my own personal Knowledge, some Facts not undeserving of Commemoration, upon this Subject.

Among the Persons who were admitted to the Familiarity of the late Duke of Rutland, and who had Access to him at almost all Hours, about this Time, was a Man of the Name of Kirkpatrick, then well known on the Turf at Newmarket. Possessing a small Property at Penrith, in the County of Cumberland, within a few Miles of Lowther-Hall, he was much protected by Sir James Lowther, with whom he maintained a constant and habitual Intercourse. The Duke

and Sir James, both, treated him as a Sort of Buffoon, who diverted them by his Eccentricities; and he was frequently employed between them, on private Errands or Messages. During the Autumn of the Year 1780, the Duke dispatched Kirkpatrick from his House in Arlington-street, to Sir James Lowther, who resided in Charles-street, Berkeley-square; with a verbal Request, that "Sir James would do him the Favour, if "possible, to reserve a Seat among his Bo-"roughs, for a Friend of the Duke's, Mr. "William Pitt, a younger Son of the Earl "of Chatham." Kirkpatrick has often related to me, the Particulars of his Interview and Conversation with Sir James Lowther, whom he found in the Act of shaving himself. "Well, Kirk," for so he was always denominated; said Sir James, "what may "be your Business?" "I am come from "Arlington-street," answered he, "with a "Message to you from the Duke." "What "are his Commands?" replied Sir James. "He requests that you will oblige him, by "reserving a Seat for a Friend of his, Mr. "Pitt, Lord Chatham's Brother, a young "Gentleman of vast Abilities, whom the "Duke wishes to bring into Parliament."

"I wish he had sent sooner to me;" returned he; "Is he very anxious about it, Kirk?" "Exceedingly so, you may be assured." "Then go back to the Duke," was his Reply, "and tell him that I will see him in "the Course of this Day, and we will talk "the Matter over together." Kirkpatrick carried back the Answer: Sir James Lowther and the Duke of Rutland having met, the eventual Consequence of their Interview was, that Mr. Pitt came in for Appleby. Not, however, at the General Election which took place in September, 1780; Mr. William Lowther, the present Earl of Lonsdale, having succeeded in making his Election for Carlisle, as well as for Appleby, vacated his Seat for the latter Place, after the Meeting of Parliament, and Mr. Pitt was then returned for that Borough. This Event did not happen before the Beginning of 1781, towards the Close of January, when he took the Oaths and his Seat. He remained silent about four Weeks, before he rose and pronounced his first Speech.

Having been brought up, as is universally known, to the Profession of the Law, he went the Western Circuit, as a Barrister, in

the Spring of the Year 1780. But he unquestionably meditated very early in Life, a shorter, and more brilliant, though perhaps not a less laborious, Mode of attaining to personal and political Elevation. He could not be ignorant of the prodigious Powers with which Nature had endowed him; which Talents, his Father, who must equally have perceived them, had cultivated with the utmost Care. A Son of the great Earl of Chatham, so gifted by Providence, however narrow might be his Fortune, yet could not experience much Difficulty in procuring Entrance into the House of Commons; and never was any Juncture more propitious for his surmounting all the ordinary Impediments in the Way to high Employment. In 1781, Lord North palpably and evidently verged towards his Extinction as first Minister. With him, it was obvious, all his Colleagues in the Cabinet must pass away, and a new Order of Things would arise. America having nearly effected her Emancipation from British Supremacy, Peace, it was probable, would follow that Event, at no great Distance of Time. The King was in a very high Degree unpopular; while Fox had become an Object of general Attach-

ment throughout the Country, in Defiance of his Excesses, principally by the steady Opposition which he had given to the American War. But, both those Circumstances, rendered him odious to His Majesty, who disliked his political Principles, and reprobated his personal Irregularities. Lord Rockingham, and the Duke of Portland, though mild, virtuous, and respectable Individuals, were only great Names, and Heads of a Party. It was impossible for the Sovereign, even if he had wished it, to call the Duke of Grafton back to Office; Lord Bute himself would have been less obnoxious to the Country. No Individual in either House of Parliament, except Lord Shelburne, remained therefore, who could rationally aspire to succeed Lord North, unless by Violence, and against the King's Inclination.

Mr. Pitt's Youth might indeed seem at first Sight, an insurmountable Impediment to his being placed in a Cabinet Office, without first passing through the intermediate Stages. But, common Rules and Precedents did not apply to him, whose hereditary Claims to national Regard, as the

living Representative of that great Minister who had humbled the House of Bourbon, disposed all Men to consider him with Predilection. Mr. Fox derived no such moral Inheritance from his Father; whose Memory, far from being embalmed in the Veneration of the English People, laboured on the contrary, under Imputations of Peculation the most generally diffused. There existed therefore, no solid Obstacle to Mr. Pitt's speedy Attainment, even of the greatest Ministerial Situations, in the Course of a very short Time. And when we contemplate the Range of his Mind, the very limited Fortune that he possessed, the Coldness of his Constitution, the Dominion which he exercised over his Passions, the Expansion of his Intellect, the Splendor of his Eloquence, and the immeasurable Ambition or Thirst of Power which impelled him; we may give him Credit for having, almost as soon as he came into Parliament, foreseen, anticipated, and confidently calculated on, his soon reaching the Object of his Exertions.

[March.] Sheridan, on the other Hand, notwithstanding the Extent and Variety of his En-

dowments, which many Persons may pernaps consider to have been even superior to those of Mr. Pitt himself; did not instantly take Possession of the House in the same commanding Manner. The Reason was obvious. Though Sheridan manifested, from the first Time that he presented himself to public Notice as a Speaker, the greatest Talents for Debate; yet he found many Impediments, Prejudices, and Obstacles, to surmount in his Progress. His theatrical Connexions, as Manager of Drury Lane, exposed him to Attacks, which a Man of less Wit, Suavity of Disposition, and ascertained Spirit, could not have parried. Many Persons thought, perhaps very illiberally, that a Member of the Legislature should not be the Conductor of a public Theatre. At this vulnerable Part, Malevolence or Satire directed its Blows, before Sheridan was scarcely seated in the House. I remember an Instance of it which took Place during the Debate of the 26th of February, when Pitt first presented himself to public Notice. Courtenay, one of the two Members for Tamworth, who was then Secretary to the Master General of the Ordnance, (Lord Townsend,) possessed a very uncommon and eccentric

Species of Humour; original, classic, even Attic; allied to, and sustained by Learning; inexhaustible, and often irresistible in its Effect on the Muscles: but, always coarse, frequently licentious, or at least, indecorous; and rarely under a becoming Restraint. His Wit seemed indeed more adapted to a Tavern, or to a convivial Board, than to the grave Deliberations of such an Assembly as the House of Commons. Scarcely will the Fact obtain Belief, yet it is not the less true, that Courtenay ventured to cite in the Course of one of his Speeches, some of the most exceptionable Lines in Prior's "*Paulo Purganti*," without being called to Order. Ridicule constituted his never failing Arm, which he wielded with inconceivable Facility, though without Grace or Elegance. Having directed this Engine against Burke's Bill for the Reduction of the Civil List; and held up the Measure to Contempt or Derision, under many ingenious Points of View, as being equally nugatory, fallacious, and unbecoming a great Nation to adopt; Sheridan reprehended him for thus introducing a Style of Debate altogether unbecoming the Gravity of a legislative Body, convened to deliberate on great national

Objects or Interests. No sooner had he sat down, than Courtenay, who was not easily disconcerted, rising in his Place, observed, that "the Honorable Gentleman "seemed to be inimical to Mirth and to "Wit, *in any House except his own.*" This Allusion, which did not admit of being misunderstood, and which touched upon Sheridan's Histrionic or Dramatic Occupations; would probably, in Defiance of his characteristic Equality of Mind, have provoked some Reply, perhaps a severe or acrimonious Retort, if the Speaker, apprehensive of the Consequence, had not interposed his Authority, and interdicted the further Prosecution of such Personalities. Pitt afterwards attempted, with even worse Success than Courtenay, to renew a similar Mode of Annoyance:—for, it could deserve no other Epithet. Sheridan however not only repelled, but repulsed his Antagonist, though then seated on the Treasury Bench, in the Plenitude of ministerial Power.

While we are contemplating the Outset in Parliament of these two celebrated Men, it would be unfair not to recollect that Mr. Pitt, when he rose for the first Time, spoke

in Reply. Sheridan, who, though he had previously risen two or three Times in the House, may be said to have commenced his Career on the fifth of March, by introducing three Motions, respecting "the Interference "of an armed Force in suppressing the "Riots of June, 1780;" must naturally have arranged his Ideas with more Order and Precision, than it was possible to do in Answer to a preceding Speech. In fact, he won his Way by superior Talent, good Humor, and Argument, which enabled him to triumph over every Difficulty. Mr. Pitt might be said to descend, as from an Eminence, on the House. Sheridan laboured up Hill, with slow, but uniform Pace, sustained altogether by his own prodigious Abilities, admirable Wit, and insuperable Command of Temper, all which were powerfully seconded by Fox's steady Friendship. His Father, though a Man of Genius, could lend him no Assistance. Old Sheridan was, on the contrary, in such contracted Circumstances, as to have been compelled, for his Support, some Years after the Period of which I am now speaking, to give Lectures, at a very low Price, on dramatic Elocution or Declamation, at a public Room, in Ger-

rard-street, Soho. Henderson, the celebrated Actor, was, I believe, his Co-adjutor in this Species of Exhibition.

No Individual in my Time, Burke himself not excepted, owed less to Fortune, or was more indebted to Nature, for his vast Reputation and Success, than Sheridan. He did not, however, succeed in the Object of his Speech, which evidently meant to throw a severe, though an indirect Censure, on the Sovereign, as well as on the Administration, for issuing those Orders which had rescued London from the last Effects of Violence and Outrage. With great Severity he inveighed against the miserable Police of Westminster, as altogether inadequate to the Protection of its Inhabitants; and he attempted to criminate the Ministers for not having come down to the House, and demanded a Bill of Indemnity for their Conduct, in calling to their Assistance the military Force. Throughout his whole Address to Parliament on this Occasion, he was temperate, measured, argumentative, and impressive: but, unlike his general Style of Declamation, he neither had Recourse to Wit, to Ridicule, or Satire, as Auxiliaries. Lord North did Justice to the

Ability, as Fox did, in animated Language, to the Energy and Elegance of Sheridan's Speech! It was seconded by Colonel Fitzpatrick, who treated the Mobs of June, 1780, as a contemptible Assemblage of unarmed and undisciplined Rabble, only rendered formidable by the pusillanimous or criminal Inactivity of the civil Magistrates. The Riots themselves, which he had been personally called on to quell, he denominated a "Guerre des Pots de Chambre," in which a Soldier could only find Subject of Mortification: adding, that to suppose the military Power capable of overturning the Constitution, at the Order of the Sovereign, was a Libel on the Profession. The first Minister, in his Reply, observed, that while protecting the Persons, and securing the Property of His Majesty's Subjects, attacked by a lawless, fanatical, or infuriated Populace, he felt no Dread of a Prosecution. Whenever any such legal Attack should be made on him, for having authorized the Troops to act against the Rioters, it would be Time enough to apply to Parliament on the Business. Meanwhile he disdained either to demand, or to accept, Indemnity for an Act, which, he was conscious, merited the highest Com-

mendation. The House rejected, by a Majority of seventy-seven Votes, the only one of Sheridan's three Motions that he ventured to submit to a Division. It may indeed justly excite some Astonishment, that any Body of Men should attempt to call into Question, the Rectitude and Propriety of a Measure, only applied at the last Extremity, in order to rescue the Capital from inevitable Conflagration, and public Credit from total Subversion. But, never were the Powers of Government fallen into such Debility, as towards the Close of the American War. Nor ever did Opposition venture to treat Pitt, or Addington, or Perceval, with the contumelious Personality, which Fox and Burke used toward Lord North, on a Variety of Occasions.

That Minister, though supported by a Parliament newly elected, yet was by no means Master of its Deliberations. He retained, indeed, a Majority, which might be esteemed considerable; but, it was nevertheless fluctuating, precarious, and destitute of Confidence in their Leader. The Minority, on the contrary, who augmented, every Month, in Numbers and Animation, con-

sidered the Termination of the American War, as the Term of the Existence of the Administration; and they already predicted, as well as anticipated with Certainty, the ill Success of Lord Cornwallis's Expedition against the Southern Provinces. Notwithstanding, indeed, some faint Gleams of Hope and of Success, which appeared in the Spring of 1781; few, except the most sanguine, continued to expect the Reduction of America to Obedience, by the British Arms. Emboldened by the disastrous State of foreign Affairs, and availing themselves of the Unpopularity of the Ministry, the Opposition attacked in the severest Terms, Lord North's financial Measures. The Loan which he had recently negotiated, having risen suddenly to a prodigious Præmium, became a Subject of bitter Invective, as profuse, improvident, and constituting a systematic Engine of Parliamentary Corruption. And though it was maintained by a Majority of more than fifty Votes; yet the Impression ultimately produced by Opposition, both in, and out of the House, announced an approaching Crisis, however it might still be suspended or protracted by a Variety of Events.

[7th–13th March]. During more than sixteen Months that I sate in Parliament under Lord North's Administration, I recollect indeed no Attack so personally painful and invidious made on him, as the Enquiry instituted relative to the Loan of twelve Millions which he borrowed at this Time. All the other Charges or Accusations brought forward, regarded the *Minister*. The present Discussion was levelled at the *Individual*. Fox maintained, not only that the Terms of the Loan were in themselves culpably extravagant on the Part of the first Lord of the Treasury; but, he roundly asserted, many Times, while addressing the House, that some Hundred Thousand Pounds, arising from the Profit on the Sum borrowed, were distributed in that Assembly. It was by such corrupt Means, he added, that a Majority was obtained upon every Question; and from such Sources, that the recent Expences incurred by Gentlemen at the late general Election, were to be defrayed. George Byng, Member for Middlesex, a Man of very honorable Character and upright Intentions; but, of an ardent Temper, very limited Talents, and devoted to the Rockingham Party; reiterated Fox's Allegations in still more

pointed Language. "I believe, from my "Soul," exclaimed he, "that six Hundred "Thousand Pounds have been distributed "among the Members of this Assembly;—I "mean, to those who uniformly support all "the Ministerial Measures!" Another leading Individual on the Opposition Bench, Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, assured the House that he was credibly informed, Mr. Atkinson, a Contractor well known beyond Temple Bar, Partner in the commercial House of Muir, had received for his own Share, no less than Three Millions, three Hundred Thousand Pounds of the Loan. Hussey, Member for Salisbury, who, though a dull Debater, destitute of all the Graces of Elocution, tedious, and labouring under Impediments of Enunciation, yet thoroughly understood all financial Questions, and never attempted to speak upon any other Subjects;—Hussey, by a long, laboured Calculation, endeavoured Arithmetically to demonstrate, that the Principles on which the Bargain had been concluded, were radically vicious, as well as ruinous to the Public. Sir George Savile, whose high Character and large Property secured him always a favorable Hearing, called on the House not to

sanction or to ratify so censurable a Measure of Finance.

Burke, after repeating the vague Assertions made by Fox and Byng, of the Sums swallowed up among Members of Parliament, who, he said, were gorged with Places, Pensions, and pecuniary Gratifications; proceeded to draw an eloquent Comparison between Lord North and Necker. "The former Minister," continued he, "has "in Fact augmented the Capital Debt of "the Country at this Time, by twenty-one "Millions of Stock; while Mr. Necker has "only added about five Millions Sterling, "by his late Loan, to the public Debt of "France. The noble Lord lays on new "Taxes to pay the Interest of his Loan. Not "so the French Financier. He contrives "by Reductions and Economy, to find the "Interest, without imposing new Burthens "on the People. Necker borrows on Lives. "Our Minister, on Perpetuities. Louis the "Sixteenth's Superintendant of the Fi-"nances, has moreover ten Millions Sterling "in Reserve for the Exigencies of the ap-"proaching Year. But, where are our Re-"sources for future Years?"——Then ab-

ruptly interrupting the Thread of his own Comparison, "Oh! happy France," exclaimed he, "blest in her Minister! Unfor-"tunate England in her Financier! The Dif-"ference between the two Countries, arises "solely from the Corruption of Parliament." Mixing nevertheless, as he usually did, Raillery and Humour with Severity, he convulsed the House, and shook Lord North's Sides with Laughter, by comparing the thin, lean Member of Parliament, on his first coming into the House, to the *Vulpercula* or Weazel of Æsop, who afterwards becomes so large and sleek, as to be unable to effect his Retreat. Then stroking his own Stomach, he contrasted it with Lord North's

"Fair round Belly, with good Capon lined,"

to the inexpressible Entertainment of his Audience, though perhaps it may be thought, at the Expence of their Senatorial Character and Dignity. Mr. Byng, who throughout this whole Enquiry, performed an active Part, and by his indefatigable Exertions to discover the real Holders of the new Loan, rendered himself not only conspicuous, but, important; concluded a very impassioned and criminating Speech, by making three

Motions. The first, that a List of all the Subscribers to the new Loan, should be laid before the House. The second, for a correct List of all the Individuals who had offered to subscribe, but, were rejected. The last, (of a Nature probably without Precedent in the Journals of Parliament,) demanded Copies of all the Letters, Notes, and other Applications which had been addressed, not only to the first Lord of the Treasury; but, to any of the Lords Commissioners of that Board, to the Secretaries, or to any other Person by whom Applications for a Part of the Loan, had been transmitted to Lord North. With these Evidences before him, Mr. Byng undertook to prove the Minister's Guilt. In Order to enforce Compliance with so extraordinary a Demand, he joined Menaces that the People of England, worn out by Oppression, would bear no more Burthens; and that the Day of Retribution which impended, would infallibly take Place sooner than was expected.

The first Minister, thus assailed from so many Quarters, and by such powerful Opponents, did not on that Account abandon himself. Calm, collected, conscious of his

own Rectitude, though surrounded by Difficulties that accumulated from Day to Day, he made a masterly Defence of the Loan that he had just negotiated. While he admitted, and regretted, that the Terms might have been more advantageous to the Public, leaving still a moderate Profit to the Contractors; he denied that the slightest Partiality had been used in apportioning the Sums respectively allotted to each Bidder. He disproved the Story of Atkinson's receiving so monstrous a Portion of the Loan; and justified the Admission of Members of Parliament who were Men of Property, to become, like other opulent Individuals, Subscribers to it. In Conclusion he made no Objection to producing the List of Subscribers demanded by Opposition: but, to the second and third Motions he gave a decided Negative. "The Honorable Mem-
"ber for Middlesex," said he, "after accus-
"ing me of Partiality, makes rather a sin-
"gular Requisition; 'Deliver up to me the
"Keys of your Scrutoire. Allow me to
"empty all your Drawers, to inspect your
"most secret Papers, and to peruse every
"Letter that I can find. When this is done,
"and I am become possessed of all the In-
"formation that they furnish, then I will

" proceed to examine whether or not I can " produce any Charge against you.' So ex- " traordinary a Proposition I cannot doubt, " will never receive the Sanction of this " Assembly." These Arguments, however strong or convincing they may perhaps appear to us after the Lapse of near forty Years, produced no Impression on the Minority of that Day. From a Variety of Quarters Lord North was overwhelmed with Reproaches, Threats, and Reclamations. Byng denied his Right to withhold the Keys of his Bureau, which, as he asserted, belonged to the Public; the first Lord of the Treasury being a great national Accomptant. Fox loaded him with Charges of corrupting Parliament, while he withheld the only effectual Means of proving his Culpability, and demonstrating his Guilt. On the Members who supported so criminal a Minister, Charles was, if possible, even more severe. " They begin," said he, " by " taking the Money out of the Pockets of " the People, in Order to put it into their " own; and they finish, by making bad " Loans for the Public, to the End that they " may arrange good Terms for themselves."

When the List of Subscribers to the Loan

was produced, though the greater Number of the Names of Members of the House who were *Holders of Scrip*, still remained in Concealment, their respective Shares being ostensibly vested in other Hands; yet many appeared in the Catalogue. Even two Peers, one of whom was a Lord of the Bed-chamber and an Earl, were down for 10,000*l.* each. But, no Individual possessing a Seat in the House of Commons, whose Name was there registered, ventured to justify it on his Legs in a manly Manner, except Mr. Courtenay, who stood for the Sum of 10,000*l.* George Byng having asserted in the Course of his Speech, that "those Members of Parliament who avowedly appeared on the List, "were infinitely more honest and upright "than the Men who skulked in the dark;" Courtenay took Notice of this Observation. "As I have the Honour, Mr. Speaker," said he, "to come from a Country, where "weak Nerves and a false Modesty are not "characteristic Maladies, my Name stands "conspicuous on the Roll. And I can assure the Honorable Gentleman that the "only Concern I feel on the Occasion, "is on Account of the small Sum against "which my Name is placed." There were

individual Members of the lower House, not Bankers by Profession, who stood separately on the List, for 50,000*l.*; seven, for 70,000*l.* each; and one Instance of 100,000*l.*

Mr. Thomas Townsend expended his patriotic Rage on Atkinson, whom he termed a universal Contractor, fit for every Service; and who would probably soon be seated by the noble Lord's Side, on the Treasury Bench, among his firmest Coadjutors. This Circumstance did in Fact take Place to a certain Degree, about three Years afterwards, in 1784, when Pitt was become first Minister, and Mr. Townsend, (raised to the Peerage, by the Title of Lord Sydney,) filled the Post of Secretary of State. Atkinson was then seen almost daily on the Treasury Bench. So little can Politicians foresee the Changes produced by Time, Ambition, and the Mutability of human Affairs!——After a stormy Debate, protracted to a late Hour, Byng's *second* Motion was only negatived by a slender Majority of *thirty-one* Votes. On so precarious a Basis did Lord North's Power repose, even in the first Session of a new Parliament! The Attendance was not however very numerous upon either Side;

Opposition mustering only 106 on that Night, while Government found 137 Supporters.

[14th—26th March.] The List of Subscribers to the new Loan having been laid on the Table of the House, Opposition, emboldened by their last Division, made another desperate Attack on the ministerial Trenches; hoping that even if they could not carry them by Storm, they might succeed in vilifying and degrading the first Minister himself personally, in the Estimation of Parliament and of the Country. It proved indeed one of the most humiliating and painful Days to Lord North, that took Place during the Course of his long Administration. Sir George Savile, selected for the Occasion, though labouring under evident Indisposition, and just risen from a sick Bed, opened the Discussion in the invidious Character of an Accuser. His Speech concluded by a Motion "to appoint a select "Committee for enquiring into the Facts "connected with the late Loan, and to re-"port on them to the House." But, though the Distinction of thus commencing the Debate was delegated to Sir George, the Task of proving his Assertions, and embodying, as

well as identifying his Accusations, rested with Mr. Byng, who performed on that Occasion the Part of an Inquisitor of State. Holding the List of Subscribers in his Hand, he undertook to demonstrate that the Paper itself was, altogether a Piece of ministerial Deception, calculated, under fictitious Names, to conceal the Members of both Houses, who did not dare to avow the Share respectively allotted to them in this most iniquitous Loan. With considerable Ability, prodigious Labour, and minute Investigation, he endeavoured to lay open to general View, and to expose to general Condemnation, the secret Machinery by which Robinson and Brummell moved the great State Machine, denominated Parliament; and the Puppets, as he termed them, commonly called Representatives. He even ventured to appeal across the House, to Mr. Henry Drummond, one of the most eminent Bankers of that Period, for the Accuracy of the Names of Clerks employed in his Service, who ostensibly held Subscriptions to the Amount of near four hundred and forty thousand Pounds, in the Loan. Drummond, who sate behind the first Lord of the Treasury, nodded Assent, as Byng severally recapitu-

lated them; while Lord North, compelled to remain a passive Witness and Spectator of this Disclosure before a crowded House of Commons, did not exhibit the dignified Aspect or Attitude befitting his high Station. I never saw him apparently less at his Ease; not even in the Session of 1782, after the Intelligence of Lord Cornwallis's Surrender at York Town, or during the last Days that he remained in Office.

Not that he wanted Defenders of consummate Ability, who undertook to justify the Transaction, at the Head of whom must be placed the Lord Advocate. Aware that the Occasion demanded all his Talents, and ever ready to throw himself into the Front Ranks when the Emergency called for it, Dundas seemed to collect all his Powers on that Day. Divested of those fastidious Scruples to which Men of more susceptible Organization are liable, he boldly avowed or admitted the Selection made by the first Minister; which required, he said, no Apology whatever, either to the House, or to the Country. After pointing out the Integrity and Incorruptibility of his noble Friend, as a Fact universally conceded, he demanded,

on what Principle, Members of either House of Parliament were to be excluded from subscribing on the present Occasion; or why, *cæteris paribus*, Friends should not be preferred to Enemies? The Concealment of their Names, he observed, proved only the Weakness of their Nerves, not the Impropriety of the Act itself. Referring to the established Precedents of past Periods of Time, he maintained that such had been the invariable Usage under all Administrations; and concluded a bold, able, unembarrassed Harangue, delivered in a Tone and Manner calculated to give it the fullest Effect, by deprecating all Interference of the House, as equally unwise, and pernicious in its Operation. Fox rising as Dundas sate down, displayed on that Evening, the vast Extent of his Talents, while he dissected with admirable Perspicuity, the Loan under Discussion; which he endeavoured to demonstrate, was at once profuse, corrupt, and ruinous to the Nation. He denied the Insinuation, (as it might be termed, rather than the Assertion,) of the Lord Advocate, in maintaining that former Ministers had manifested a similar Partiality, or had negotiated Loans on similar Principles: making only one Exception,

namely, that of Lord Bute in 1762, which financial Measure he loaded with the severest Epithets. On Lord North he exhausted his Invectives, as "a Minister highly criminal "for grossly deceiving, and fraudulently im-"posing on Parliament; whose Baseness in "concealing the real Terms on which he had "just borrowed twelve Millions, could only "be surpassed by his Guilt in concluding "them."

The first Minister repelled these Accusations with Temper; explained every Part of the Proceedings which had attended his Negotiation with the Contractors for the Loan; denied that either Profusion or Corruption could be attributed to him; and finally threw himself on the Candor, good Sense, and Honor of the House, to maintain inviolate the Bargain. Towards one o'Clock in the Morning, a Division took Place. The Attendance was full, above 370 Members being present; of which Number, Opposition had 163, while Government was supported by 209. It was nevertheless a Triumph dearly won, because the Minority carried with them public Opinion, which was generally adverse to the Terms of the Loan. Yet we have witnessed under Mr.

Pitt's Administration, during the Course of the revolutionary War, in 1795, as well as in other Years, Loans, where the Præmium has risen to nine, and even to ten per Cent, immediately after the Conclusion of the Bargain, without any Imputations of Improvidence or of Corruption being thrown upon the first Minister on that Account. But, the Misfortunes and the Unpopularity of the American War had reached such a Point in 1781, as to incapacitate Lord North from prosecuting it, without having Recourse to Expedients, from the Necessity of adopting which Mr. Pitt was exempted. He carried the Nation with him, when contending against Robespierre and Bonaparte. Lord North's only Support lay in the Crown. No Prince indeed, of a less firm and tenacious Character than George the Third, could have sustained him in Office during the last four Years that he occupied the Post of first Lord of the Treasury, amidst accumulating Difficulties, Humiliations, and Disasters, from 1778 down to 1782. His Predecessor yielded to far inferior Symptoms of public Dissatisfaction, and to far inferior national Calamities, when, in 1757, he reluctantly called to his Councils, a Man distasteful to him, but, forced into Power by the universal

Voice of the Country. If Fox had stood as high in general Estimation as the first Mr. Pitt, he would have been carried into the Closet on the Shoulders of the People: but, his personal Irregularities and Excesses balanced his parliamentary Talents, and prolonged Lord North's Administration.

While the Opposition endeavoured to degrade, if they could not overturn the first Minister, by criminating his financial Measures; two simultaneous Efforts were made, with a View to weaken his Strength, and to diminish his Numbers within the Walls of the House. Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, a Man of unquestionable Integrity, but, not endowed with superior Parts, introduced a Bill for the Exclusion of Contractors from sitting in Parliament: while, on the same Day, Mr. Crewe, then Representative for the County of Chester, (since raised to the Peerage by Fox, in 1806,) moved the second Reading of a Bill, to restrain Revenue Officers from voting at Elections of Members to serve in that House. Both Motions were negatived: but, not by similar Majorities. The first failed of Success only by *twenty* Votes, the Numbers being 100, and 120, re-

spectively, after a Debate of considerable Length: but, the Attempt to deprive Revenue Officers of their elective Franchise, was rejected by *forty-seven*, without giving Rise to any long or animated Discussion. Ministers divided 133 on the Question; Mr. Crewe had only 86 Votes. Sir Philip Clerke's Blow was levelled at the *Elected*. Mr. Crewe directed his Aim at the *Electors*. In the ensuing Session, when the Marquis of Rockingham had attained to the Head of the Treasury, the two Experiments were renewed with very different Results.

I cannot too often repeat, while dwelling on this Period of our History, that no Virtues of the Sovereign, however eminent, and no Ability of Administration, however recognized, could stem the Unpopularity of the American War. With the two Exceptions of Johnson and of Gibbon, the former of whom defended in Print, the Measures of Government, in the Beginning of the Contest; and the latter, after drawing up the Manifesto issued against Spain in 1779, voted, as a Member of the House of Commons, in Support of Lord North, throughout the whole Progress of Hostilities; all the emi-

nent or shining Talents of the Country, led on by Burke, were marshalled in Support of the Colonies. The Aid of Poetry alone seemed wanting to compleat the Delusion; or at least, the Impression. Let us see how the admired Author of the "Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers," expresses himself on this Subject. After describing, in Verses of admirable Beauty, the pretended Corruption of the House of Commons under Lord North's Administration, he declares that it will augment in Enormity and Profligacy,

"'Till mock'd and jaded with the Puppet Play,
Old England's Genius turns with Scorn away;
Ascends his sacred Bark, the Sails unfurl'd,
And steers his State to the wide Western World.
High on the Helm majestic Freedom stands,
In Act of cold Contempt she waves her Hands:
Take, Slaves, she cries, the Realms that I disown,
Renounce your Birth Right, and destroy my Throne!"

Who, on reading these Lines, would not think them composed for James the Second and his Lord Chancellor Jefferies, rather than for George the Third and Lord North! Just at this time, the Marriage of Lord Althorpe, (the present Earl Spencer,) with Miss Lavinia Bingham, took Place; an

Event which I only mention incidentally, as it gave Birth to one of the most beautiful lyric Productions in the English Language. Mr. Jones, better known afterwards as Sir William Jones, emulating at once the Fame of Milton and of Gray, in "The Muse recalled," reminded us of some of the most touching Passages of "Lycidas," and of "The Bard." He, too, lent his powerful Assistance to the Cause of Rebellion. Like *Goldsmith*, who, ten Years earlier, erroneously assumed in his "Deserted Village," as the Basis of his Poem, that Population and rural Happiness were abandoning England; Jones carried his Assumption in our Disfavor, to a still greater Length. Juvenal, though he wrote under Domitian, only asserts that female Modesty and Justice withdrew from Earth to Heaven, after the Extinction of Saturn's Reign:

"Paulatim deinde ad Superos Astræa recessit,
Hac Comite, atque duæ pariter fugere Sorores."

But, Jones, after lamenting that "Freedom "and Concord repudiate the Sons of Al- "bion," carries off all the Virtues from this degenerate Island:

" Truth, Justice, Reason, Valour, with them fly,
To seek a purer Soil, a more congenial Sky."

And to what Country did they direct their Flight? Impelled by the Prejudice which then prevailed, and borne on the Wings of poetic Fiction, as well as of Party Violence, he transports these Virtues to the Chesapeake, and the Delaware:

" Beyond the vast Atlantic Deep,
A Dome by viewless Genii shall be rais'd,
The Walls of Adamant, compact and steep,
The Portals with sky-tinctured Gems emblaz'd.

There on a lofty Throne shall *Virtue* stand:
To her the Youth of *Delaware* shall kneel;
And when her Smiles rain Plenty o'er the Land,
Bow, *Tyrants*, bow beneath th' avenging Steel!"

Here, in a fine Frenzy of Inspiration, he seems to behold as in a Vision, the modern *Washington*, and the Congress met, after successfully throwing off all Subjection to Great Britain. George the Third is pretty clearly designated in the last Line, apostrophizing Tyrants. It was not, however, Civil Liberty, but Independence on the Mother Country; it was not Freedom, but Emancipation from the parent Stock, that America emulated to attain by Arms. She might

have been admitted to participate in the Blessings of our free Constitution; but she must then have paid her pecuniary Debts to British Subjects, all which became liquidated in the Crucible of Insurrection. Burke, within ten Years after the Conclusion of the American War, found out his Error, when he beheld the French Revolution spring from the Ashes of Hancock and Adams. He then endeavoured, as he said, "to trim "the Boat at the other End." Mr. Fox never could discover any thing wrong, either in the one, or in the other Revolution. We have lived to behold the virtuous American Government, within thirty Years from the Period of their Emancipation, voluntarily become the Accomplices and Allies of the most sanguinary, flagitious, and obdurate Tyrant, who ever appeared among Men. We have seen this virtuous People yoke themselves to his Car, when he was setting out for Moscow in 1812, in Opposition to the united Struggles of all Europe for Deliverance; thus endeavouring, as far as their Power extended, to cement by our Destruction, his detestable Empire. Madison, unlike Thrasybulus or Brutus, only aspired to uphold and perpetuate the Dominion of

his Corsican Master. It will demand Ages to wipe out the Stain of such national Turpitude, from the American Annals. But, under Lord North's Administration, the Insurgents beyond the Atlantic, were generally seen through the most partial and favorable Medium: while Philip the Second, in his Attempt to extinguish all the Rights of human Nature among his Subjects in the Netherlands, was hardly stigmatized with severer Epithets, than the Opposition applied to the King of Great Britain.

The Consideration of East India Affairs, which formed one of the most important Objects of the Session, engrossed universal Attention. As early as February, a *Select* Committee having been appointed, ostensibly for the exclusive Purpose of reporting on the State and Abuses of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal, General Richard Smith was placed at their Head, as Chairman. His local Knowledge of India, seemed to qualify him in some Measure for the Situation. He had acquired a large Fortune, while in that Part of the World; but, which, he was supposed to have squandered since his Return. Though destitute of the

Advantages of Education, he did not by any means want Parts; and he displayed some Talent in addressing the House. But, as the Committee allowed themselves to become subservient to the Purposes of Party, and particularly to be made the Instrument of personal Enmities or Resentments, they soon degenerated into an Engine of private Attack, and of individual Persecution.

The Opposition, as if exhausted by the ineffectual and reiterated Efforts made in the lower House of Parliament, during the Month of March, with the Hope of overturning the Administration, allowed the first Minister to enjoy a Degree of comparative Repose throughout the whole of April. But, Intelligence of Hyder Ally's Invasion of the Carnatic, followed by the Defeat of the British Forces under Fletcher and Baillie, which reached London precisely about that Time, spread universal Consternation. In order fully to appreciate the Extent of the Calamity, and its Operation on the public Mind, we must recollect the State of the British Empire, at the Period under our Review. The Fabrick seemed to be everywhere collapsing by its own Weight, or

yielding to external Attack. In the Western Hemisphere, America might be considered as already lost. Many of the Windward and Leeward Islands were reduced to the Obedience of France; and the Remainder, it was thought, must speedily fall. The Possession of Jamaica itself appeared insecure. At Home, the public Funds experienced a progressive Depression; while Ireland taking up Arms, demanded political and commercial Freedom, Sword in Hand. Cadiz and Brest had been crowded with our captured Merchantmen, to whom the English Navy no longer afforded its accustomed Protection. Under these Circumstances, the Eyes and Hopes of all Men were turned towards the East, as the only Quarter from which we might expect Relief. But, there, a Combination of European and Asiatic Enemies, aided by internal Rebellion, and fomented by Discord among the Members of the Supreme Government, threatened the Subversion of our Power on the Ganges, no less than on the Coast of Coromandel. Hastings quitting Calcutta, had repaired to Benares, in order to arrest the Progress of Cheyt Sing's Revolt. At Madras, the Government of Rumbold was

become odious for Rapacity, and despicable from its Incapacity or Pusillanimity. Nor must it be forgotten, that we then neither possessed the Cape of Good Hope, nor Ceylon, nor Guzerat, nor the Island of Mauritius, nor Java, nor the Moluccas. Even the Carnatic belonged, not to us, but to our Confederate, Mahomed Ally, the Nabob of Arcot. With the Mharatta Empire we were at War. The rich Countries of Mysore and of Bidnoor, occupying a central Portion of the Peninsula of Hindostan; extending through several Degrees of Latitude along the Malabar Coast, and intersecting all Communication by Land, between the two Presidencies of Madras and of Bombay; —these Territories, so calculated to annoy us, were then subjected to a martial, enterprizing, and active Prince, animated by determined Hostility to the English, assisted by French Engineers, and himself habituated to the European System of Tactics. His Cavalry bursting in through the Defiles of the Mountains of the Ghauts, overran the fertile Plains of the Carnatic and of Tanjore, bearing down all Resistance. Madras itself, invested by the Enemy, was scarcely preserved from falling into Hyder's Possession;

and it must be confessed that the British Dominions in Hindostan, shook to their Foundation.

30th April.] Such was the Impression produced by this unexpected Event, which seemed imperatively to call for Measures of Energy, that it gave Rise to the Appointment of a *Secret* Committee by Ballot in the House of Commons, moved for by the first Minister himself. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Dundas, being constituted their Chairman, they were specially charged to inquire into the Causes of the War existing in the Carnatic. Notwithstanding the severe Animadversions levelled by the Opposition, on the Majority of the Names chosen; several of the Members were Men of equal Ability and Integrity; whose luminous, as well as laborious Reports, distinctly pointed out the Origin, and indicated the Remedy, for those Abuses, or Acts of Maladministration, which had produced such complicated Distress on the Coast of Coromandel. Nor did even the Committee of Scrutineers, appointed to examine the Result of the Ballot, escape some acrimonious Remarks on its Composition. Lord North

formed one of its Members, and I was likewise among the Number. Mr. Thomas Townsend observed, when speaking of it, immediately after their Report to the House, that "the noble Lord in the blue Ribband "was uncommonly vociferous in naming his "own Friends, and was likewise, himself, "nominated a Scrutineer; a Circumstance "very extraordinary, if not without Paral-"lel; the Committee of Scrutiny being, he "believed, the first in the Annals of Parlia-"ment, that ever was honoured with a blue "Ribband upon it." Unquestionably, Ministers felt great Anxiety relative to the Individuals, who might be elected Members of the Secret Committee, and were not without strong Apprehensions that the Opposition would succeed in forcing into it, some of their own most able or zealous Adherents. Mr. Jenkinson, who stood fourth on the List of Persons chosen, was so impatient to learn the Result of the Scrutiny, that he wrote to me, while we were engaged in the Examination, to request that I would transmit him the Names, as soon as they were ascertained, and could be divulged. Dundas obtained as many Votes as Jenkinson had, namely, 160. But, *Gregory* was placed out of all

Competition, at the Head of the Committee; he uniting the Suffrages of the ministerial, as well as of the Opposition Sides of the House, and being elected by 249 Votes. *Gregory* deserved that mark of Parliamentary Preference, he being a very honorable, incorrupt, independent Man; simple, or rather shy and repulsive in his Manners, unadorned by any Accomplishments of Mind; but, laborious, attentive to Business, and possessing very extensive local Information on East India Concerns. He was one of the two Representatives for the City of Rochester, and a Member of the Court of Directors. Fox, in November, 1783, named him a Commissioner for the Government of India, in his famous *Bill.* I believe, after the Dissolution that took Place in March, 1784, *Gregory* never again obtained a Seat in the House of Commons.

Though strongly attached to Fox and to the Party acting with him, *Gregory* disdained to be considered as a devoted Partizan. I well remember, that about the very Time now under Discussion, in April, 1781, Burke having somewhat rashly pledged, not only his own Support to a Measure under Contem-

plation, but, that of *Gregory*, (whom he denominated "his worthy Friend;") the latter rising with some Warmth, desired the Honorable Member to limit his Pledges to himself. "I stand," added he, "connected with no Set "of Men, but, will lend my Support where "I conceive it to be due, always delivering "my Opinion with Freedom; being as inde-"pendent in my Seat, and in my Principles, "as any Individual within these Walls." Burke, indignant at a Reproof so unexpected and so mortifying, made a sharp, though a short Reply; exclaiming, that "if the Ho-"norable Member thought proper to re-"nounce any Connexion with him, it gave "him no Concern." Mr. Orde, who has since filled many distinguished public Situations, and been elevated to the Peerage, stood ninth upon the List. To *Him*, as I have always understood, was attributed the *fifth* Report from the Committee of Secrecy; one of the most able, well digested, and important Documents ever laid upon the Table of the House of Commons. With the Reserve of *Gregory*, of Mr. Richard Jackson, who was a Friend of the Earl of Shelburne, and of Mr. Yorke, then Member for the County of Cambridge, now Earl of Hard-

wicke, whom even the Opposition admitted to be an unexceptionable Person; all the remaining Individuals composing the Committee, were either Men holding Offices under Government, or personally connected with the Minister. Lord North, in the critical and perilous Condition of the East India Company, unable to obtain from the Proprietors, or from the Court of Directors, such advantageous pecuniary Terms for the Renewal of their Charter, as he thought the Nation was authorized to demand, had recourse to his ordinary Palliative, Procrastination. He renewed the Charter for a very limited Period, only one Year; and by that Measure eventually originated the memorable *Bill* of Fox, towards the Close of 1783, which produced such national Convulsions, terminated by the compleat Destruction of the "Coalition Ministry."

[8th May.] The Attempts to drive Lord North from Office, which had been in some Measure relaxed or suspended throughout the Month of April, were renewed with augmented Pertinacity in May. But, it was no longer against his Measures of Finance, that Opposition pointed their Blows. Sir George Savile, recovered from his late Indisposition,

re-appeared as the Organ of the Party, and endeavoured to induce the House to adopt anew the memorable Resolution of the 6th of April, 1780, when it was declared that "the Influence of the Crown has encreased, "is encreasing, and ought to be diminished." He no longer found however the same Aptitude to receive those Impressions of Jealousy or Apprehension, which had operated on the Members of the late House of Commons; and after a very long Debate, the Motion made by Sir George, to refer the Petition to a Committee, was rejected by a Majority of seventy-seven Votes. The Attendance nearly amounted to 350; Government dividing 212, while the Minority were 135. Neither Lord North, Lord George Germain, Dundas, nor Jenkinson, spoke during that Evening. On the other Side, Burke remained silent; nor did either Mr. Pitt or Sheridan take any Part in it. Yet, a more important or interesting Discussion I scarcely ever witnessed during the whole Time that I remained in Parliament; nor one, of which, if I were able, I should more anxiously wish to transmit some Idea to future Times. The dangerous Doctrine of a Right existing in the People, to form *Associations*, to appoint *Committees*, and to nominate *Delegates*, for the

Protection of civil Liberty against the Encroachments or Abuse of the royal Power; a Right, evidently independent of Parliament, as well as subversive of it;—was fully discussed on that Occasion. Lord Maitland, who then rose, I believe, for the second Time, maintained that the Right not only existed in the legal Sense, and was strictly conformable to the British Constitution; but, under certain Circumstances might be highly expedient: adding, that to Associations of Men combined for a beneficial Purpose, we were indebted for *Magna Charta*, for the Revolution that expelled James the Second, and for the Introduction of the reigning House of Brunswic. General Burgoyne, after declaring that he had, himself, signed the Petition presented on that Day, in the Capacity of a Delegate; and inveighing in Language of uncommon Asperity, against the Corruption, or rather, the Prostitution of Parliament at the Feet of Ministers; reverted to his own individual Sufferings in the Line of his Profession. These, he detailed with great Animation, asserting that "he was driven unjustly from a Service in "which he had grown old, by the Machi-"nations of Power." He then subjoined,

" I am now, from my Time of Life, suffi-
" ciently disposed to Inactivity. Yet, should
" the *Exigencies of the People* call me forth
" from my present Obscurity, or if the *Ne-*
" *cessities of the State* should demand the
" Assistance of my Arm, I am ready either
" to *act* or to *suffer* in the public Cause."

This Declaration, which seemed more fitted to 1642, than to 1781; and which *Hampden* or *Pym*, when opposing themselves to the Levy of Ship Money by Prerogative, might have more appropriately made; was, if possible, outdone by Fox. In a Speech of unreasonable Length, but, of great Ability, he justified the Right inherent in himself, and in every Subject, to act as Delegates, no less than as Members of that Assembly. " I avow myself," said he, " a Delegate; and if I had not acted in " a delegated Capacity, I should not have " applied to this House for Redress. But, " out of Deference to the Opinion of some " Persons with whom I act, and not from " any Doubt of its Legality, I have not " petitioned as a Delegate." Then having panegyrized the Constancy, Incorruptibility, and Perseverance of that patriotic Band

who stood forth in Parliament, the Champions of the British People;" that impenetrable Phalanx, who were neither to be terrified, misled, seduced, nor corrupted by Ministers; He added, "I cannot better ex- "press myself on this Point, than by adopt- "ing and repeating the Words of my honor- "able Friend; (Burgoyne,) namely, that as "*He* had devoted his Life and Talents to "*the People*, so *I*, whenever they call on "me, '*shall be ready to execute their Com-* "*mands*, as far as my Acquiescence is au- "thorized by the Laws. I mean, whenever "any direct and palpable Inroad is made "on those invaluable Blessings secured to "us by our happy Constitution." However guarded and qualified these Expressions may appear, it is impossible not to consider them as revolutionary; and more suited to a Tribune of the Roman Republic, or to an Agitator of the Times of Cromwell, than to a Member for Westminster, the Subject of George the Third. Such, indeed, they seemed to many Members of the House of Commons, on the Evening when they were used. Such, I believe, they were considered by Burke, who took no Part in the Debate, as he probably would have done, had he thoroughly approved the Principles and Ob-

ject of the Petition. Neither did Pitt rise to support Fox and Burgoyne; a Circumstance much remarked at the Time.

Ministers, though they did not, themselves, undertake their own Defence, but, trusted to the Discernment, Loyalty, and good Sense of the House, for rejecting the specious Propositions of Reform submitted to them; yet by no means wanted Advocates to point out the insidious and dangerous Spirit of Discontent and Insubordination, concealed under the Declarations of Fox and Burgoyne. Sir Horace Mann protested his Detestation of all Associations and Committees, as illegal in themselves, and calculated only for Purposes of Intimidation. While he professed himself an Enemy to Court Influence, and a Friend to Economy; he reprobated the Spirit of the Petition, and exhorted the House to treat it with Contempt. Courtenay employing, as he always did, the Arms of Ridicule, parodied the Lines of *Pope*, (when speaking of his Grotto,) which he applied to the Leaders of Opposition, with admirable Effect.

"Their wise Divan the best Companions grace,
Chiefs out of War, and Members out of Place,

Who fondly mingle in their Hope-fill'd Bowl,
The Feast of Party, and the Flow of Soul.
Ev'n He whose Lightning pierc'd Rebellion's Lines,
For Reformation forms their great Designs."

The last Couplet, which so pointedly alluded to Burgoyne's American Campaign, contrasted with his present Occupations as a Delegate; was not less felt by the Audience, than Courtenay's Description of the Roman Provocatives to Patriotism, "*Domi, Inopia,* "*Foris, Æs alienum,*" attracted all Eyes towards Fox. In Language of the utmost Simplicity, unaccompanied with any Ornaments of Style, but, on that Account more impressive; Sir William Dolben, one of the Representatives for the University of Oxford, a Man of sound and sober Sense, expressed his Disapprobation of, and his total Dissent from, the Petition before the House. Of the asserted Encrease of the Influence of the Crown, so as to endanger the future Security of public Freedom, he declared his Disbelief. Above all, he reprobated the Appointment of Associations and Delegates, for the Purpose of over-awing and controuling the Legislature. He finished by observing, that so long as the Constitution existed, Redress could only be obtained from Parliament; and protested that he

would oppose every Institution, however plausible it might appear in Theory, which tended to set up or to constitute any Power, paramount to the Laws and the British Form of Government.

So animated a Declaration, made from a Quarter of such Respectability, proved of incalculable Advantage to Ministers, who thus beheld themselves defended by Weapons far more solid than Eloquence. It was indeed with a View to counteract the Effect produced on the House by Sir William Dolben's Speech, that Fox instantly rose, and exerted his gigantic Talents, in Order to efface the Impression. The Solicitor General, Mansfield, replied to him; and alluding to the Profession jointly made by Fox and Burgoyne, of their Readiness to obey the Call of the People whenever made, "This Language," observed he, "either "imports Nothing, or it is strong indeed! "It cannot mean a mere Perseverance in "Parliamentary Opposition. If therefore "it has any Meaning, it must be that they "are ready, without previously deciding on "the Motives or the Justice of the Call, *to* "*seek Redress in some undefined Manner*,

" not authorized by the Constitution. Both " those honorable Gentlemen are Delegates, " and both have signed the present Petition, " as Individuals. By such an anomalous " Mode of Proceeding, while they affect " to acknowledge the Supremacy of this " House, they in Reality treat Parliament " as a subordinate Power in the State, " while they avow their Readiness to obey " the Summons of the People without Re- " servation." Neither Fox nor Burgoyne made any Reply, nor offered any Explanation relative to the Import of their Expressions: but, Dunning rising when the Solicitor General sat down, in a Speech of considerable Length, which displayed all the acute legal Sophistry of a most able Practitioner at the Bar, endeavoured to cover his Friends, and to justify their Declarations. He assumed, as an incontrovertible Principle, that Associations might not only be legal, but, laudable; the Culpability or Merit of such Unions of Individuals depending not on the Act itself, and being altogether regulated by the Intention. He exemplified the Position with uncommon Ingenuity, and placed it in numerous, as well as striking Points of View; without nevertheless era-

sing the Sentiment of Condemnation which generally pervaded the Minds of moderate and impartial Men, on a full Consideration of the Subject. The Division sufficiently proved how little Fox could hope to overturn the Administration, by the same Arguments which had produced the memorable Vote of the 6th of April, 1780; and he therefore directed his Attack on a more assailable Quarter;—I mean, the Capture and Treatment of the Island of St. Eustatius.

[14th May.] That defenceless Possession of the Dutch Commonwealth in the West Indies, having fallen into our Hands, as a natural Consequence of the War between the two States; Sir George Rodney, and General Vaughan, the two Commanders by Sea and Land, proceeded instantly to make a general and indiscriminate Seizure of the Property, as well as of the Stores, there accumulated. In the Execution of this Act, many individual Cases of severe Suffering, necessarily happened; all which were presented to the House by Burke, under a Splendor of Description, and a Blaze of Eloquence, which I have scarcely ever known exceeded even by *Him*. He compared

the Conduct of our naval and military Officers, in thus confiscating private Property, to the most savage Outrages of the ferocious Leaders of the most barbarous Ages; and after laying before his Audience a Picture of Oppression on one Hand, contrasted with Misery on the other, well calculated to awaken Sympathy, while it inspired Indignation; he concluded by a Motion tending to institute an immediate Enquiry into the whole Transaction. Lord George Germain, in whose Department the Responsibility lay, and from whose Office had issued the Orders or Instructions under which Rodney and Vaughan had acted; while he justified their Line of Conduct, as not only dictated by Wisdom and Policy, but, as sanctioned by all the Laws of modern War, and by the Code of national Jurisprudence universally adopted throughout Europe; yet, strongly objected to a Parliamentary Enquiry in the first Instance. Dundas, who always threw himself into the Breach, whenever the Enemy attempted to storm, distinguished himself on that Night, by one of the most able Speeches which ever fell from his Lips. But, the first Lord of the Treasury sat silent; a Circumstance which gave Rise to Surmises,

that the Measure had not his cordial Approbation, or that Unanimity did not thoroughly pervade the Cabinet.

Nevertheless, the Division disappointed all the Hopes of Opposition; Burke's Motion being negatived by nearly two to one; only 86 supporting it, while Government had 160 Votes. I have notwithstanding, always considered the Proceedings of Rodney and Vaughan at St. Eustatius, however necessitated they may have been by the peculiar Circumstances accompanying the Capture, as unfortunate, and to be lamented in a national Point of View. Neither the Vote of Approbation in which I concurred on that Night, nor my Partiality for Lord George Germain, and for Lord Rodney, prevent me from owning that the Measure has, on the fullest Consideration, neither my moral, nor my political Approval. It did not facilitate the Subjection of America, as was hoped and predicted from the Treasury Bench. It covered our Arms with some Degree of Obloquy, as if we had abused the Rights of Conquest, to Purposes of Rapine and private Emolument. To the Captors themselves, the Plunder of St. Eustatius produced no Benefit;

the Vessels on which was shipped the Produce of that Emporium, having been intercepted by a Squadron of the Enemy, under the Command of La Motte Piquet, on their Passage to England, and carried into French Ports. Nor did the Evil terminate there:—for, I know that the Actions and Suits at Law, which were carried on in the Admiralty and other Courts of this Country, on the Part of the Individuals who sought Reparation for the Injuries and Losses inflicted by Rodney's Orders, embittered the Evening of his Life, and pressed heavily on his Finances. Such were the Results of that Expedition, from which very different Consequences were confidently anticipated.

[31st May.] Notwithstanding the general Admiration which Pitt's first Speech had excited, and the great Expectations formed of his Parliamentary Talents, yet he remained silent for more than three Months, before he rose a second Time: exhibiting by this Act of Restraint and Self-command, the Patience, as well as the Judgment, with which he knew how to wait for a favorable Occasion of presenting himself anew to public Notice. Colonel Barré having attempted

to induce the House to nominate Commissioners of Accounts, from among their own Members, instead of delegating so important a Function to Individuals chosen, as he asserted, by the first Minister; Lord North opposed it with his usual Ability, and assigned many strong Reasons for adhering to the Persons already in Employment. Pitt availed himself of this Opportunity to confirm the Impression that he had made, or rather to augment the Reputation which he had previously acquired. With great Animation, but, with still greater Dignity and Energy, he endeavoured to demonstrate that the House, in permitting Persons not taken from among themselves, to perform the Office of examining and reporting on the national Expenditure; voluntarily surrendered their characteristic, most valuable Right, that of watching over the public Purse. The Power of taking from the People, the odious Power of taxing, they reserved, as an Instrument for enabling the noble Lord in the blue Ribband, to prosecute his wild Schemes of Conquest, or of Corruption: but, the beneficent Power of relieving the Distresses of the Subject, they abandoned to others. He treated with De-

rision, the Idea of those Commissioners possessing more Experience than the Members of an Assembly, where every Representative of the People should be capable of superintending, as well as of examining, how the Treasure of the State was expended.

After depicturing with Warmth, the embarrassed and degraded Condition of the Country, he adverted to the Qualities, the Arithmetical Talents, and personal Qualifications of the Commissioners. Sir Guy Carleton, he observed, though an able military Officer, might be no Accomptant; and of Mr. Pigot he remarked, that *though of a Profession to which he himself could not be supposed inimical,* (for, Pitt was then a Barrister,) yet the Law did not necessarily qualify Gentlemen for a Commission of that Nature. On Lord North he expressed himself with great Asperity, as a Minister who had repeatedly shifted his Ground; who had violated his Pledges given to Parliament; had purposely employed the Commissioners in Objects of minor Importance, instead of directing them to great national Enquiries; and who only sought systematically to procrastinate, to deceive, or to mislead, as might best suit his

Purposes. He concluded by emphatically invoking and adjuring the House not to reject the Motion of Colonel Barré, unless they were determined to bury their own Freedom and Independence in the same common Grave with the Power, the Splendor, and the Glory of the Empire. Such was nearly, as I think, the Purport of Pitt's second Address to Parliament; made in Support of a Member who represented, not the Marquis of Rockingham, but, the Earl of Shelburne, in that Assembly. It was pronounced before a thin Attendance, scarcely above 140; and exceeded in Duration his first Speech, by nearly double the Time. Not a Word was uttered from the Treasury Bench in Answer to it, nor was it supported either by Fox or Burke. A Division taking Place immediately after Pitt sate down, Government divided 98, while the Minority only amounted to 42. So firm a hold of Power did Lord North still retain, towards the Close of the sixth Year since we had been engaged in Hostilities with America!

[12th June.] Towards the Middle of June, Fox, strenuously supported by Pitt, made an ineffectual Effort for compelling

the Administration to abandon the further Prosecution of the American War, and to conclude Peace with the Colonies. Neither the House, nor the Nation, though both were weary of the Contest, could however be induced to relinquish it, while Lord Cornwallis seemed to be advancing with his Army, through the Central Provinces, towards the Chesapeake. Fox's Motion was rejected by a Majority of seventy-three. On that Evening nevertheless it began to be palpable, that the Scaffolding on which rested Lord North's Power, after more than six Years of severe and almost unremitting Attack, gave Indications of an approaching Fall. He in Fact tacitly encouraged the Assailants, by withdrawing from the Breach, if I may so express myself, at the Moment of the Storm:—for, though the Attempt to compel Ministers to conclude Peace with the American Colonies, must, if it had been successful, probably overturn his own Administration, yet he never rose, nor opposed it by a single Word. Lord George Germain, under those discouraging Circumstances, made as able and as eloquent a Defence, as the Nature of the Case admitted: but he had to struggle against insuperable, and augmenting Difficulties. The Country Gentlemen,

wearied out by so many unsuccessful Campaigns, exhibited Symptoms of Reluctance to continue their Support. One or two made their Recantation. Rigby, and the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who both spoke in the Course of the Debate; though they resolutely opposed Fox's Motion, yet avowed, not only that they were disgusted at so expensive and protracted a Contest, but, implied their Disbelief of its Termination on any Terms short of conceding Independence to America. One noble Individual only, then an Irish Peer, was found sufficiently enthusiastic to avow that he considered the Struggle as a *holy* War; a Declaration which he made from the Treasury Bench. He was indeed, himself, a Member of the Board of Treasury. The Avowal attracted, as might have been foreseen, the severest Animadversions from the opposite Benches. Mr. Thomas Townsend, with very considerable Ingenuity, drew a Comparison between the actual War, and the Crusades undertaken in the Ages of Darkness; which Expeditions bore, he said, the strongest Similitude. Both originated in Folly, or Madness, or Delusion; and both conducted to Slaughter, or to Ruin. Fox, holding in his Hand the Gazette recently published by Government, contain-

ing Lord Cornwallis's Account of his Victory just gained over the Americans, in the Province of North Carolina; endeavoured to deduce even from the British General's Letter, Proofs of the Impossibility of his subjugating the Colonies. Burgoyne, in a Speech prepared for the Occasion, detailed his own disastrous Campaign through its principal Stages, down to the Surrender at Saratoga; accused Lord George Germain of having deceived him with Hopes or Promises of Aid on the Part of the Loyalists, which had never been realized; and concluded by declaring that the Loss of America might be regarded as inevitable.

But, the Feature of the Debate, which rendered it peculiarly prominent and interesting in the Annals of Parliament, was the third Appearance of Mr. Pitt on the Floor of the House, and the Part taken by him in the Discussion.[1] It would seem that he had not intended to rise, nor meditated to speak on the Question under Consideration, if the Allusions made to his Father, had not in some Measure compelled him to break Silence. Mr. Rigby, in the Course of his Speech, having asserted that the late Earl

of Chatham, though he denied the Right of Great Britain to *tax* the Colonies for the Purpose of raising a Revenue, yet maintained the Right of the Parent Country to make *financial or commercial Regulations*, and to establish *Port Duties or Customs* on every Article sent to America; Pitt attempted to justify and to explain that Line of Opinion, attributed to his noble Relation. While he admitted that such Sentiments had been expressed by the deceased Earl, he denied that his Father had ever approved of the War commenced with America; which, on the contrary he had condemned, reprobated, and opposed in every Stage. Then, after thus throwing as it were a Shield over the Memory of his illustrious Parent, and rescuing him from the Imputation of having countenanced or supported coercive Measures for the Subjugation of the Colonies beyond the Atlantic; he diverged with equal Vehemence and Majesty of Expression, to the Topic immediately before the Assembly. Referring to the Epithet of *holy*, which Lord Westcote had given to the Contest, he declared that he considered it as unnatural, accursed, and unjust; its Traces marked with Persecution and Devastation;

Depravity and Turpitude constituting its Essence, while its Effects would be destructive in the extreme. The English Language seemed inadequate fully to express his Feelings of Indignation and Abhorrence, while stigmatizing the Authors of so ruinous a System. As a Specimen of Parliamentary Eloquence, it unquestionably excelled his two preceding Speeches; leaving on his Audience a deep Impression, or rather Conviction, that he must eventually, and probably at no remote Distance of Time, occupy a high Situation in the Councils of the Crown, as well as in the universal Estimation of his Countrymen.

Dundas, who rose as soon as Pitt sate down, seemed to be thoroughly penetrated with that Truth; and by a Sort of political Second Sight, appeared to anticipate the Period, when this new Candidate for Office, would occupy the Place on the Treasury Bench, then filled by his noble Friend in the blue Ribband. With consummate Ability, but, with equal Address, in the Progress of his Reply to Mr. Pitt, the Lord Advocate endeavoured to prove that the late Earl of Chatham had uniformly resisted every Pre-

tension of America to Independence. "If "therefore," said he, "the Honorable Gen- "tleman supports the present Motion for "compelling His Majesty's Ministers to con- "clude Peace with the insurgent Colonies, he "differs diametrically from his noble Rela- "tion, whose last Breath was exhausted in "execrating those Servants of the Crown, that "would presume to despoil Parliament of "its inalienable Rights, and to rob the reign- "ing Family of their brightest patrimonial In- "heritance." I own that it has always appeared to me, such were in 1778 the Sentiments of the great Earl of Chatham; nor was I ever convinced, either by the Explanations of his Son, or by those of Fox, that he contemplated the Independence of America with other Eyes than those of Lord North and Lord George Germain. He might indeed, had he survived down to 1781, have modified, changed, or retracted his Opinions, in Compliance with Events: but, that he did so, previous to his dying Speech in the House of Peers, notwithstanding the Testimony of the late Mr. Pitt, I never could comprehend. Posterity may perhaps be better able to decide the Point, than we can do in the present Age.

The Lord Advocate admirably qualified whatever of unpalatable or distasteful to Mr. Pitt, might be found in his Assertions relative to the Earl of Chatham, by the flattering Predictions of his own future and certain Elevation, with which they were accompanied. "He (Dundas,) was unwilling and "reluctant to state to the Honorable Gentle-"man's Face, those Truths, which, were he "absent, Truth itself would compel him to "utter; but, he nevertheless felicitated his "Country and his Fellow Citizens, on the "auspicious Union, and splendid Exhibition "of Abilities, witnessed by the House on "that Evening. With the first rate Talents, "were blended high Integrity, a noble and "honest Independence of Mind, and the "most persuasive Eloquence." Such were the Encomiums lavished on Pitt, by Dundas; who, though he professed, and no doubt felt at that Time, the strongest Attachment to Lord North, yet obviously foresaw his Decline, and as certainly beheld in Prospect his destined Successor; if not immediate, yet remote. In Fact, the Lord Advocate of Scotland found himself, within the Revolution of thirteen Months from that Day, seated, as Treasurer of the Navy, on

the Treasury Bench, along-side of Mr. Pitt, become Chancellor of the Exchequer, under the Earl of Shelburne's Administration. So solid were his political Speculations, so sound his Judgment, and so speedily realized were his Calculations of Ambition!— Fox concluded this eventful Evening, of which I have most imperfectly attempted to state some salient Points, by replying to all the preceding Speakers. Rigby, who had asserted roundly that every Administration since 1763, concurred in maintaining as a Principle, the unconditional Dominion of this Country over the American Colonies; was admonished by Fox, "to observe a "more temperate Language when he ad- "vanced such positive Charges, followed by "such severe Conclusions, against so many "of the highest and most respectable Cha- "racters in Great Britain." He accompanied the Reproof, by a Declaration that "he "was not ignorant how powerfully the Pay- "master of the Forces was supported, *in* "that House, and *out of it.*" Words pregnant with Meaning, which alluded in a Manner too intelligible for admitting of Mistake, to the secret Support that Rigby was supposed to derive from the royal Con-

fidence and Favor! On the Lord Advocate, Fox was severe, yet liberal; and without the slightest Mixture of Gall, from which no Individual in Parliament was more perfectly exempt; not even Lord North or Sheridan. Fox jested on Dundas's Protestations of Independence on the first Minister his Friend; recognized the learned Lord's Abilities, nor disputed his Integrity; but, denied the Accuracy of various Statements that he had made in the Course of his Speech.

When Fox had Occasion to notice Dundas's Eulogiums on the Earl of Chatham, he seemed to pause and to weigh his Expressions:—for, he felt that the Ground was delicate and full of Danger. "The learned "Lord," said he, "has eloquently panegy- "rized the exalted Virtues and Talents of "a deceased consummate Statesman. My "Youth and other Causes prevented me "from being much known personally to that "great Man." No Individual in the House "can however reverence his Memory more "than myself. Nevertheless I would lay in "my Claim for others, who, though they "might not coincide in Opinion on every

" Point of Policy with that illustrious No-
" bleman, have yet rendered distinguished
" Services to their Country." In these Words, dictated by filial Piety, and Affection for his Father's Memory, he indirectly alluded to the political and Party Disputes which had existed between Lord Holland and the Earl of Chatham, when both were Commoners and Members of that Assembly. Disputes, which were destined to be revived with augmented Virulence between their Sons!—Reverting lastly to Lord Westcote's Assertion, that he considered the Contest with America as a *holy* War, Fox remarked, " To others, the Application of
" such an Epithet to the actual Contest, may
" appear new: but, to me, it has no Novelty.
" I was in Paris, precisely at the Time when
" the present War began, in 1776, and Dr.
" Franklin honoured me with his Intimacy.
" I recollect, that conversing with Him on
" the Subject of the impending Hostilities,
" He, while he predicted their ruinous Con-
" sequences, compared their Principle and
" their Consequences, to those of the ancient
" *Crusades*. He foretold that we should ex-
" pend our best Blood and Treasure in at-
" tempting an unattainable Object; and that

" like the *holy* War of the dark Ages, while " we carried Desolation and Slaughter over " America, we should finally depopulate, " enfeeble, and impoverish Great Britain."

Fox's Conclusion might almost be considered as prophetic. " The only Objection," observed he, " made to my Motion, is that " it must lead to American Independence. " But I venture to assert, that *within six* " *Months of the present Day*, Ministers " themselves will come forward to Parlia- " ment, with some Proposition of a similar " Nature. I know that such is their Inten- " tion. I announce it to the House." Notwithstanding so eloquent, and so powerful an Appeal to the Passions, as well as to the Understanding of his Audience, the Moment was not yet arrived, when the Majority of the national Representatives could consent to renounce all further Hope of reducing the revolted Colonies to Obedience. Even the Attendance on that Night, fell far beneath the vast and awful Importance of the Subject agitated. Only ninety-nine Persons divided with Fox. One Hundred and seventy-two supported Administration. Two Hundred and eighty-seven Members were therefore absent. It seemed however to be more a Ques-

tion of the King, and of Lord George Germain, than of Lord North. There were not wanting Individuals who thought that the first Minister would have felt little Regret, if Opposition had out-numbered him. His Conduct might be thought to indicate great Indifference to the Result, and he probably participated Fox's Apprehensions for the final Issue of Lord Cornwallis's Virginian Campaign.

I have descended to more minute Details respecting this Debate, than I should have done, if it had not been the last which took Place on American Topics, previous to the Catastrophe and Surrender of York Town. But, the most interesting Discussion of the whole Session, and in many Points of View, one of the most interesting which I ever witnessed in the House of Commons, took place three Days later, on the Motion for amending, or in Fact virtually repealing, "The "Marriage Act." It stood altogether unconnected with Ministers, or with Party Politics, though originated by Fox, at a very advanced Period of the Year. The Question seemed in itself to be not less philosophical and moral, than a Measure of State, or an Object of legislative Policy. Never did Fox appear to me in a more elevated

Light, than on that Occasion, while pleading the Cause of his Fellow-subjects at large, against the Shackles and Impediments opposed, as he asserted, by Aristocracy, Family Pride, and Wealth, to the matrimonial Union of two Persons of dissimilar Rank and Condition! His Father, Lord Holland, for whom he nourished the warmest filial Affection, had manifested similar Sentiments. Fox assumed as a Principle, while reasoning on the Subject, that "Passion, not Reason, is "best capable of promoting our Felicity in "Wedlock." However untenable and even revolting, such an Assumption may appear, he maintained it by Arguments well calculated to persuade, if not to convince his Hearers. I will candidly own that they made the deepest Impression on my Mind, and produced the fullest Conviction when I heard them from his Lips in 1781; but, the Lapse of six and thirty Years have reconciled me to the Marriage Act. General Burgoyne, who supported the Bill, and whose Eloquence was usually tame, as well as destitute of Entertainment, seemed to rise above himself, and to be inspired by the Subject. Both he and Fox expressed themselves with the utmost Acrimony against

Sir Dudley Ryder, who had warmly supported "the Marriage Act" when it was first introduced into the House of Commons. They accused him of avowing a systematic Intention to divide the higher Classes of Society from the vulgar, and to prevent their Intermixture by Marriage; thus effectually separating Persons of high Rank and Fortune, from the Mass of the Population. Burgoyne, when alluding to Fox's splendid Talents, observed that "if the *Spirit of the Marriage Act* had operated previous to his "Birth, he would never have come into Ex-"istence." Courtenay, in a Speech abounding with Humour and Irony, though of the broadest Description, and which in many Passages trampled on Decorum, sustained Fox's Arguments. So did Lord Nugent, in a somewhat similar Strain of Eloquence. On the other Hand, Burke, with no less Ability than Fox, and with equal Powers of Genius, appealed to many of the strongest Passions of the human Mind, while he opposed the Measure brought forward by his Friend. They completely diverged on this Question, in opposite Directions; each displaying uncommon Capacity, Enthusiasm, and profound Reasoning, in their respective

Speeches. Sheridan likewise spoke against Fox's Motion, with great Ingenuity, though not at considerable Length; and it was one of the few Occasions on which I have seen them take different Sides, during the whole Time that I remained a Member of the House of Commons. Lord North, as might be expected, inclined to oppose every Innovation on the Marriage Act; and there could have been little Doubt, as far as the Temper of the House manifested itself, that Fox's Bill would have been rejected by a great Majority, if the Sense of the Members present had been taken upon it. But, no Division was demanded; and Fox, abandoning it for the present, pledged himself, if ever he should come into Power, to renew the Motion from the Treasury Bench. This Pledge he never, indeed, redeemed: but if we reflect, for how short a Time he continued in Office, when Secretary of State in 1782, as well as in 1783, together with the Multiplicity of Matter which then pressed upon him; we cannot wonder, though it is possible we may regret, his not having resumed the Subject.

[16th—30th June.] The Session now

drew towards a Close, and Lord North prepared to withdraw his shattered Parliamentary Forces from the Scene of Action. Not however before George Byng, the "Muster "Master General" of Opposition, as he was denominated, had invoked the Followers of that Party to attend betimes during the ensuing Winter, "in Order to terminate the "wicked and fruitless Contest with Ameri- "ca." With so much Certainty did they calculate on complete Success, whenever the Campaign beyond the Atlantic should be concluded. Intelligence arriving about this Time, of the naval Action fought in Praya Bay, between Suffrein and Commodore Johnstone, Fox made some severe, but, as they have always appeared to me, just Observations, on the Conduct of the British Commander. That he was surprized on the Occasion, cannot admit of Dispute; and though he extricated himself without sustaining any Loss of Ships, yet he acquired no more Honor, than Keppel had gained in his memorable Battle with d'Orvilliers. I knew Johnstone, and respected him; but I coincided fully with Fox in Opinion, that the Commodore was much more formidable in Parliament, than on the Ocean;

and more dreaded by the first Minister of England, than by Maurepas or Vergennes. Lord North might have said of Johnstone, though in a different Sense, what Sir Robert Walpole, his ministerial Predecessor, observed in 1740, of the General Officers of that Period, when the List was submitted to his Inspection. " I know not what Effect " they may produce upon the Enemy; but, " before God, they make *Me* tremble." Johnstone's Oratory, while opposing Government, not his naval Skill, called him forward, and placed him in Command of a Squadron, after he had come over to the Side of Administration. He acquired some Wealth, but, gained little Renown, by the Expedition, which proved more beneficial to himself, than advantageous to his Country. Lord North defended him nevertheless with Animation, against Fox's Comments.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland, as Chairman of the *Secret* Committee, having laid on the Table of the House, the two first Reports made on the State of the Carnatic; strenuously recommended them to the diligent Perusal of Members during the approaching Recess, " as they would consti-

" tute," he said, " the Ground-work of fu-
" ture Parliamentary Proceedings." A few Days later, a short, but sharp, and most personal Altercation took Place,—for I cannot call it by any other Name;—between Fox and some leading Supporters of Administration. It was provoked by Fox, who, in the Course of a Speech pronounced in Behalf of the Americans confined in the Mill Prison at Plymouth, avowed that " in
" his Opinion, their Cause was the Cause
" of Freedom, of Whiggism, and of the
" Constitution, to which he ardently wished
" Success:" adding, that " Administration,
" in prosecuting the Contest with the Co-
" lonies, only desired to satiate their Re-
" venge." Irritated at such Imputations, Dundas answered, " that it afforded him no
" Surprize to find the Honorable Member
" rejoicing at our Enemy's Success; a Suc-
" cess to which he had contributed not a
" little, by his Language and Line of Action
" within those Walls." But, Mansfield, the Solicitor General, with a manly Indignation, rising, demanded of Fox, " Whether
" he meant to limit himself to mere Wishes
" and Vows in Favor of the Americans?
" Or did he intend to draw his Sword; t'

" clothe himself in the *Rebel Uniform*, to " enlist under Washington's Command, to " fight the Battles of America, and to point " his Weapon against his Countrymen's " Breasts?" Fox answered, that he disdained to make any Reply to Calumnies founded in gross Misrepresentation, and the Conversation terminated. I have already remarked elsewhere, that he almost always wore *Blue and Buff*.

[20th—30th July.] Many Circumstances contributed to sustain, and to prolong, the Duration of Lord North's Administration, notwithstanding the Misfortunes and Disgraces which continued annually to mark its Progress. The Mutiny in the Pennsylvania Line, which for a Moment seemed to menace the American Congress with internal Revolt, during the Spring of 1781; Lord Cornwallis's Victory over Greene, at Guilford; followed by Lord Rawdon's Advantage gained over the same General at Camden, two Places situate in North and South Carolina; lastly, the Expectations formed from the Advance of the British Forces into the Province of Virginia:—all these Events held the Minds of Men in Suspense, till the Pro-

rogation of Parliament on the 18th of July, allowed the Minister to retire for some Time, from the Scene of his political Exertion. The Province of West Florida had nevertheless been conquered by *Spain*, while *France* reduced to its Subjection the Island of Tobago. *Our* only Acquisition consisted in the Seizure, rather than the Capture, of the Dutch Island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies; an Event which served to cover Rodney and Vaughan, the naval and military Commanders in Chief, with Obloquy, on Account of their severe Treatment of the Inhabitants. Even on the Element of the Sea, every Encounter which we had with the Enemy, from its indecisive Nature, rather tended to augment their Courage, as well as to stimulate their Enterprize.

August.] The severest naval Action which took Place during the whole Course of the American War, was the Battle fought at this Time between Parker and Zoutman, who commanded the English and Dutch Squadrons in the North Sea, off the Dogger Bank. But, it bore no Resemblance in its Results, to the glorious Victory obtained in our Time, by Duncan, at Camperdown;

and might more aptly be compared with the sanguinary, though indecisive Conflicts for Superiority, which distinguished Charles the Second's Reign; when the Navies of Holland were led by Tromp and Ruyter, while those of England were conducted by James, Duke of York, by Prince Rupert, and by Montague, first Earl of Sandwich. On this Occasion, the King, departing from the ordinary Course of his Life, embarked on the Thames, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, who had just accomplished his nineteenth Year; and descended the River to the Nore, where he visited Admiral Parker, on board his Ship, the "Fortitude." Prince Frederic, the present Duke of York, then commonly denominated Bishop of Osnaburgh, had been sent over to Hanover, near eight Months earlier; probably with a View not only to his Accomplishment by visiting Germany, but, perhaps to remove him from Scenes here at home, ill calculated to ameliorate his political, or his moral Character. One of the Defects attributed to His Majesty's natural Formation of Mind, principally resulting from his secluded Education during his Grandfather's Reign, and the retired Habits which he then imbibed under

Lord Bute's Tuition; was, his supposed Reluctance to become personally acquainted with his People. His Enemies described him as a Prince averse to all Communication with his Subjects, except at a Levee. Thus the "Heroic Epistle" exclaims,

"Our Sons some Slave of Greatness may behold,
Cast in the genuine Asiatic Mould,
Who of three Realms shall condescend to know
No more than he can spy from Windsor's Brow."

Yet, when the King, emancipating himself for the first Time since his Accession to the Throne, from the Restraints which he imposed on his own Conduct, went down to Portsmouth in June, 1773, to inspect his Fleet; with what severe Raillery did not the same Poem endeavour to expose him to Derision?

"There shall he see, as other Folks have seen,
That Ships have Anchors, and that Seas are green;
Shall count the Tackling trim, the Streamers fine,
With *Bradshaw* prattle, and with *Sandwich* dine;
And then row back, amidst the Cannons' Roar,
As safe as sage, as when he left the Shore."

But, it would only argue Folly to deny, that during the first twenty-three Years of

his Reign, from 1761, as soon as Lord Bute came into Power, down to the End of 1783, when Fox brought forward the "East India Bill," George the Third was most unpopular. His Subjects, however, made him ample Amends for so long withholding from him the Testimonies of their Affection, by the general and unbounded Attachment which they have since manifested towards him, down to the Moment when he ceased to sway the Sceptre.

September.] Admiral Darby, who continued to command the Channel Fleet, had successfully relieved Gibraltar, during the Course of the Spring, when reduced to great Extremity. But, in the Autumn, our numerical Inferiority compelled that Commander to take Refuge in Torbay; while the combined French and Spanish Fleets, for the third Time since the Beginning of the War, occupied the Entrance of the British Channel, and even meditated to attack us, as we lay at Anchor on our own Coast. So low was the naval Power of England reduced, towards the Conclusion of Lord North's Administration, amidst the Exhausture and Calamities occasioned by the American War!

But, towards America itself, all Eyes were anxiously turned; where, it became evident, Affairs rapidly tended to some great and decisive Crisis. Lord Cornwallis having advanced into the Province of Virginia in June, finally established himself at York Town in August. No Position could have been more judiciously chosen; and it might unquestionably have been maintained under every Disadvantage, against the united Force of America and of France, if a Chain of fortuitous Accidents, rather than a Series of able or well combined Measures, had not led to the unavoidable Catastrophe which terminated the War. De Grasse, who commanded the French Fleet, was not less favored by Fortune, in finding the Mouth of the Chesapeake unoccupied, on his Arrival there from the West Indies; than he derived Aid from the Delays that prevented the English Squadron under Graves, anticipating his Seizure of that important Station.. Graves and Clinton, both, successively failed, only by the short Interruption of a few Days; the first, in occupying the Chesapeake with a naval Force; the last, in arriving with an Army, before Lord Cornwallis's Surrender, and thereby rescuing him

from the Necessity of capitulating to Washington. In so desperate a Situation, precluded from all Possibility of Relief, Lord Cornwallis laid down his Arms; and the American Rebellion, after a Contest of more than six Years, finally became a Revolution.

October.] It is at this Point of Time, that we must place the highest Elevation to which Louis the Sixteenth attained during his Reign: an Elevation only to be paralleled in the French Annals, by recurring to the brilliant Æras of Louis the Fourteenth. For, his Grandfather Louis the Fifteenth, never stood on such an Eminence in the Eyes of Europe; not even in the Year 1748, previous to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, though his Troops, conducted by Marshal Saxe, after defeating the Allies in various Actions, had then overrun the Austrian Low Countries, and nearly reduced Brabant. In October, 1781, the King of France beheld America finally dissevered from Great Britain, by the Union of his Armies with those of the Insurgents; while he received about the same Period, Lord Cornwallis's Sword, surrendered to La Fayette. His Forces were

occupied in pursuing their Career of Victory throughout the West Indies; and in the East, Suffrein, in his repeated naval Engagements with Sir Edward Hughes, not only maintained the Honor of his Sovereign's Flag, but, had nearly succeeded more than once, in obtaining a decided Superiority over our Squadron on the Coast of Coromandel. The Spanish Branch of the House of Bourbon, acting in Subservience to the Views of the Court of Versailles, after subjecting Minorca and West Florida, held Gibraltar besieged by Sea and Land; the Reduction of which Fortress, calculated to render for ever illustrious the Reign of Charles the Third, was anticipated with sanguine Impatience by the two Crowns. Our Commerce had not suffered less by French Depredations, than our Colonies had been diminished by the Arms of France. Holland, ranging her Force under the same Standard, made common Cause with Louis, against her ancient Ally. It only remained for them to crush the Channel Fleet of England, in order to dictate the Terms of Peace; and so nearly did Guichen and Cordova, who commanded the combined Navies of France and Spain, appear to be to achieving

that last Object, as to impress us with the utmost Apprehension of its Completion. Who, when contemplating a Scene of such national Prosperity; could have imagined that this Descendant of so many Kings, that had reigned for eight hundred Years over the French, would perish on a Scaffold, in his own Capital, scarcely more than eleven Years afterwards; the Victim of his inert Pusillanimity, or tame Inaction, in not firmly resisting the first Ebullitions of popular Innovation!

As if to secure and perpetuate the Bourbon Line, the Queen of France, who had been married more than ten Years, without giving a male Heir to the Crown, at length brought into the World a Son. Catherine of Medicis, like Maria Antonietta of Austria, had remained childless for nearly the same Period of Time, before she produced a Successor. The young Dauphin's Baptism was performed in this very Month, with extreme Magnificence, at Versailles. Happily for himself, he expired early in June, 1789; only a few Weeks before the fatal Revolution which took Place in July of that same Year, swept away the Monarchy, to place Robespierre

and Bonaparte successively on the Throne of Henry the Fourth. The Dauphin was in his ninth Year, when he finished his short Career. I have been assured by Individuals who had Access to know the Fact, that at the Age of seven Years, when the Charge of his Person, according to the established Usage of the old French Court, was surrendered up by the Governess, and he was then put under the Care of Men; the Dauphin being stripped in the Presence of professional Persons, and having undergone an Examination, was pronounced to be without Defect in his bodily Formation. But, being made soon afterwards to sit with his Feet in a wooden Machine calculated to turn them out, the spinal Marrow became speedily affected by it. Whether this Assertion be accurate or not, it is certain that the Vertebræ of the Back-bone growing crooked, he fell into a State of Languor, accompanied by Debility. I have seen him more than once while in this Condition, during the Summer preceding his Decease, taking the Air in a Carriage, in the Gardens of St. Cloud. His emaciated Appearance awakened Concern; but, he was said not to want Intelligence, and the Queen his Mother,

whose maternal Feelings were acute, manifested the warmest Affection for him while living, as well as deep Sorrow for his Loss. The Duke of Normandy, his younger Brother, born under a still more inauspicious Planet, succeeded to his Title; and became, after his Father's Execution, the unfortunate Louis the Seventeenth.

November.] During the whole Month of November, the concurring Accounts which were transmitted to Government, enumerating Lord Cornwallis's Embarrassments, and the Positions taken by the Enemy, augmented the Anxiety of the Cabinet. Lord George Germain in particular, conscious that on the prosperous or adverse Termination of that Expedition, must hinge the Fate of the American Contest, his own Stay in Office, as well as probably the Duration of the Ministry itself; felt, and even expressed to his Friends, the strongest Uneasiness on the Subject. The Meeting of Parliament meanwhile stood fixed for the 27th of November. On Sunday, the 25th, about noon, official Intelligence of the Surrender of the British Forces at York Town, arrived from Falmouth, at Lord George Germain's House in Pall-mall.

Lord Walsingham, who previous to his Father Sir William de Grey's Elevation to the Peerage, had been Under Secretary of State in that Department; and who was selected to second the Address in the House of Peers, on the subsequent Tuesday; happened to be there when the Messenger brought the News. Without communicating it to any other Person, Lord George, for the Purpose of Dispatch, immediately got with him into a Hackney-Coach, and drove to Lord Stormont's Residence in Portland-place. Having imparted to him the disastrous Information, and taken him into the Carriage, they instantly proceeded to the Chancellor's House in Great Russel-street, Bloomsbury, whom they found at Home: when, after a short Consultation, they determined to lay it, themselves in Person, before Lord North. He had not received any Intimation of the Event, when they arrived at his Door, in Downing-street, between one and two o'Clock. The first Minister's Firmness, and even his Presence of Mind, which had withstood the Riots of June, 1780, gave Way for a short Time, under this awful Disaster. I asked Lord George afterwards, how he took the Communication, when

made to him? "As he would have taken a "Ball in his Breast," replied Lord George. For, he opened his Arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the Apartment during a few Minutes, "Oh, God! it is all over!" Words which he repeated many Times, under Emotions of the deepest Consternation and Distress.

When the first Agitation of their Minds had subsided, the four Ministers discussed the Question, whether or not it might be expedient to prorogue Parliament for a few Days: but, as scarcely an Interval of forty-eight Hours remained, before the appointed Time of assembling; and as many Members of both Houses were already either arrived in London, or on the Road; that Proposition was abandoned. It became, however, indispensable to alter, and almost to model anew the King's Speech, which had been already drawn up, and completely prepared for Delivery from the Throne. This Alteration was therefore made without Delay: and at the same Time, Lord George Germain, as Secretary for the American Department, sent off a Dispatch to His Majesty, who was then at Kew, acquainting him with the

melancholy Termination of Lord Cornwallis's Expedition. Some Hours having elapsed, before these different, but, necessary Acts of Business, could take Place, the Ministers separated, and Lord George Germain repaired to his Office in Whitehall. There he found a Confirmation of the Intelligence, which arrived about two Hours after the first Communication; having been transmitted from Dover, to which Place it was forwarded from Calais, with the French Account of the same Event.

I dined on that Day, at Lord George's; and though the Information, which had reached London in the Course of the Morning, from two different Quarters, was of a Nature not to admit of long Concealment; yet it had not been communicated either to me, or to any Individual of the Company, (as it might naturally have been, through the Channel of common Report,) when I got to Pall-mall, between five and six o'Clock. Lord Walsingham, who likewise dined there, was the only Guest that had become acquainted with the Fact. The Party, nine in Number, sate down to Table. Lord George appeared serious, though he mani-

fested no Discomposure. Before the Dinner was finished, one of his Servants delivered him a Letter, brought back by the Messenger who had been dispatched to the King. Lord George opened and perused it: then looking at Lord Walsingham, to whom he exclusively directed his Observation, "The "King writes," said he, "just as He always "does, except that I observe he has omitted "to mark the Hour and the Minute of his "writing, with his usual Precision." This Remark, though calculated to awaken some Interest, excited no Comment; and while the Ladies, Lord George's three Daughters, remained in the Room, we repressed our Curiosity. But, they had no sooner withdrawn, than Lord George having acquainted us, that from Paris, Information had just arrived, of the old Count de Maurepas, first Minister, lying at the Point of Death; "It "would grieve me," said I, "to finish my "Career, however far advanced in Years, "were I first Minister of France, before I "had witnessed the Termination of this "great Contest between England and Ame-"rica." "He has survived to see that "Event," replied Lord George, with some Agitation. Utterly unsuspicious of the Fact

which had happened beyond the Atlantic, I conceived him to allude to the indecisive naval Action, fought at the Mouth of the Chesapeake, early in the preceding Month of September, between Admiral Graves and Count de Grasse; an Engagement which in its Results might prove most injurious to Lord Cornwallis. Under this Impression, "My Meaning," said I, "is, that if I were "the Count de Maurepas, I should wish to "live long enough, to behold the final Issue "of the War in Virginia." "He has survived "to witness it completely," answered Lord George: "The Army has surrendered, and "you may peruse the Particulars of the Ca-"pitulation, in that Paper;" taking at the same Time one from his Pocket, which he delivered into my Hand, not without visible Emotion. By his Permission I read it aloud, while the Company listened in profound Silence. We then discussed its Contents, as affecting the Ministry, the Country, and the War. It must be confessed that they were calculated to diffuse a Gloom over the most convivial Society, and that they opened a wide Field for political Speculation.

After perusing the Account of Lord Corn-

wallis's Surrender at York Town, it was impossible for all present, not to feel a lively Curiosity to know how the King had received the Intelligence; as well as how he had expressed himself in his Note to Lord George Germain, on the first Communication of so painful an Event. He gratified our Wish by reading it to us; observing at the same Time, that it did the highest Honor to His Majesty's Fortitude, Firmness, and Consistency of Character. The Words made an Impression on my Memory, which the Lapse of more than thirty Years has not erased; and I shall here commemorate its Tenor, as serving to shew how that Prince felt and wrote, under one of the most afflicting, as well as humiliating Occurrences of his Reign. The Billet ran nearly to this Effect: "I have received with Sentiments of the "deepest Concern, the Communication "which Lord George Germain has made "me, of the unfortunate Result of the "Operations in Virginia. I particularly "lament it, on Account of the Consequen-"ces connected with it, and the Difficulties "which it may produce in carrying on the "public Business, or in repairing such a "Misfortune. But, I trust that neither

" Lord George Germain, nor any Member " of the Cabinet will suppose, that it makes " the smallest Alteration in those Princi- " ples of my Conduct, which have directed " me in past Time, and which will always " continue to animate me under every " Event, in the Prosecution of the present " Contest." Not a Sentiment of Despondency or of Despair was to be found in the Letter; the very Hand-writing of which, indicated Composure of Mind. Whatever Opinion we may entertain, relative to the Practicability of reducing America to Obedience by Force of Arms, at the End of 1781; we must admit, that no Sovereign could manifest more Calmness, Dignity, or Self-Command, than George the Third displayed in this Reply.

[27th and 28th November.] Severely as the general Effect of the Blow received in Virginia, was felt throughout the Capital and the Nation, yet no immediate Symptoms of Ministerial Dissolution, or even of Parliamentary Defection, became visible in either House. All the animated Invectives of Fox, aided by the contumelious Irony of Burke, and sustained by the dignified Re-

proaches of Pitt, then enlisted on the same Side, made little apparent Impression on their Hearers; who, though they seemed stupified by the disastrous Intelligence, yet manifested the firmest Adherence to Administration. Never, probably, at any Period of our History, was more indignant Language used by the Opposition, not even in 1741, previous to Sir Robert Walpole's Resignation! In the Ardor of his Feelings at the recent Calamity which had taken Place beyond the Atlantic, Fox not only accused Ministers of being virtually in the Pay of France; but, menaced them with the Vengeance of an undone People, who would speedily compel them to expiate their Crimes on the public Scaffold. Dundas, who sat on the Treasury Bench, not far from Lord North and Lord George Germain, having ventured to smile somewhat contemptuously at the Word *Scaffold;* Fox apostrophized him in angry Terms, demanding if the learned Lord did not think that the Time was yet ripe for Punishment? Burke repeated the same Denunciations. Speaking of the Condition of the Country, he declared it to be extinct. "The British Nation," said he, "as an Animal, is dead: but the

" Vermin that feed on the Carcase, are still " alive: A Day of Reckoning will however " arrive. Whenever it comes, I shall be " ready to impeach, and signally to punish " the Authors of these Calamities."

Though Fox, in Conformity with the Wishes of his Friends, moved on that Evening, an Amendment to the proposed Address to the Throne; yet he said, that his own Opinion decidedly went to send up no Address whatever to the Sovereign, until the Members of the lower House could consult their Constituents, and receive their Instructions. The Idea was strongly enforced by Mr. Thomas Pitt, who not only recommended an immediate Appeal to the constituent Body of Electors throughout the Kingdom; but, exhorted the Assembly to withhold all Supply, till that Measure was carried into Execution. Colonel Barré joined in the Recommendations for calling together their Constituents, and demanding their Advice, in a Moment of such Danger and public Distress. So did Mr. Duncombe, one of the two Members for the County of York. But, Burke, however violent and declamatory he might be on other Points, never made the slightest

Allusion to revolutionary Remedies, or proposed any such Experiments. Fox's Appeal to the Electors of Westminster, convoked in Westminster Hall, or in Palace Yard, might indeed have been made without incurring Ridicule. But, how Mr. Thomas Pitt, who elected himself for *Old Sarum;* or Barré, whom Lord Shelburne returned for *Calne;* were to take the Sense of *their* Constituents, it was not easy to explain. Such however were the Propositions gravely made in the legislative Assembly of Great Britain, towards the Close of the American War, amidst the universal Dejection or Despondency of that calamitous Period! Rigby, and he only, of all the ministerial or royal Supporters in Parliament, ventured to elevate his Voice against the Doctrines inculcated by Fox. "What! Mr. Speaker," demanded he, "is the general Sense of the "Nation no longer to be collected within "these Walls! Such unconstitutional and "illegal Appeals to the People, can lead "only to Disaster, Tumult, and Outrage. "The representative Body is alone compe-"tent to pronounce the public Sentiment." Unintimidated by Sheridan, who attacked him for speaking with Contempt of the con-

stituent Part of the Community, Rigby maintained his Position with great Firmness.

Burke, with inconceivable Warmth of Colouring, depictured the Folly and Impracticability of taxing America, by Force, or as he described it, "shearing the Wolf." The Metaphor was wonderfully appropriate, and scarcely admitted of Denial. He was sustained, and I had almost said, outdone by Mr. Thomas Pitt; who, in Terms of gloomy Despondency, not unaccompanied with great Eloquence, seemed to regard the Situation of the Country, as scarcely admitting of a Remedy, under such a Parliament, such an Administration, and such a Sovereign. "The Ministers," exclaimed Burke, "assert that we have a Right to tax Ame-"rica. But have we the Power to enforce "the Right? They cry with *Shylock*, Ame-"rica, give us our Bond! The Pound of "Flesh is ours, and we will have it next "your Heart! Oh! miserable and infatu-"ated Men! Oh! undone Country!"—He then burst into that most striking and picturesque Simile of *the Wolf*. "Oh! says "a silly Man, elated with his Dominion

" over a few Beasts of the Forest, there is " excellent Wool to be found on a Wolf's " Back, and I am resolved to shear him. " What! shear a Wolf! Yes. But, will he " submit to the Operation? Can you get at " this Wool? Oh! I have neither considered, " nor will I consider, whether it be prac- " ticable. It is my Right. A Wolf has " Wool. All Animals having Wool, may " be shorn, and therefore I will shear the " Wolf!" I confess, I thought this Apologue, if I may so term it, one of the most impressive and convincing that I ever heard pronounced, during the whole Time that I remained in the House of Commons. Such it was felt to be on that Evening, throughout the ministerial Ranks. Mr. Thomas Pitt, though a Man of very superior Attainments of Mind, and possessing no ordinary Powers of Oratory, rose seldom to address Parliament. But, whenever he spoke, his Name, and his Consanguinity to the great Earl of Chatham, who was his Uncle, procured him a most favourable Audience. Despair animated, while it deeply tinged, his Speech. Considering the Country as already lost, he said " It no longer was a Matter of Import- " ance, what set of State Puppets worked " the dismal Scene! While the fatal *System*

" remained, and the *deadly secret Influence* " which had continued throughout the pre- " sent Reign, pervaded every Measure and " every Department, it signified little what " ostensible Agents were placed at the " Head of Affairs."

Lord North, in this Moment of general Depression, found Resources in himself. He scornfully repelled the Insinuations of Fox, (who had called him the Prime Minister of France,) as deserving only Contempt; justified the Principle of the War, which did not originate in a despotic Wish to tyrannize America, but, from the Desire of maintaining the constitutional Authority of Parliament over the Colonies; deplored, in common with the Opposition, the Misfortunes which had marked the Progress of the Contest; defied the Threats of Punishment; and finally adjured the House not to aggravate the present Calamity by Dejection or Despair, but, by united Exertion, to secure our national Extrication. " The War with " America, I admit," said he, " has been " unfortunate; but, not unjust. And should " I hereafter, as I am menaced, mount the " Scaffold in Consequence of the Part that " I have performed in its Prosecution, I

"shall continue to maintain that it was "founded in Right, and dictated by Neces- "sity." Lord George Germain was not silent on that Night. He deplored the Fate of Lord Cornwallis, avowed the active Share that he had taken in endeavouring to subjugate the Colonies, declared his Readiness to quit the Office which he filled, whenever his Resignation should be demanded; but, added, "I will neither be brow-beat, nor "clamoured out of it. Whenever my Sove- "reign calls for my Situation, I shall resign "it into his Hands."

The Debate which arose on the subsequent Evening, when the Address to be presented to the Throne, was reported to the House, far exceeded in the Importance of the Matter elicited, the first Discussion. Pitt, who reserved himself for this second Agitation of the American Question, rose early; and in a Speech of extraordinary Energy, (throughout the Course of which he contrived with great Ability, to blend Professions of devoted Attachment to the Person of the King, with the severest Accusations of his Ministers;) he fully confirmed the high Opinion of his Judgment and

Parliamentary Talents, already entertained throughout the Country: But, though Pitt spared the reigning Prince, whom he depictured as under a Delusion, he did not the less bitterly inveigh against the "baleful In-"fluence of the Crown," which, he said, had produced the Contest with America. That ruinous War constituted "the Pillar, con-"structed on the Ruins of our Constitution," by which, as he asserted, the first Lord of the Treasury held his Situation. He concluded by calling on Ministers to state without Circumlocution or Deception, what were their Intentions as to the further Prosecution of the American War, and to give some general Idea of the Manner in which it was henceforward to be pursued. A sort of Pause took Place on his sitting down; while the Eyes of all present were directed towards the Treasury Bench, in the Expectation that either the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the Secretary for the Colonial Department, would stand up, and make some Reply to these most pointed, as well as interesting Questions. But, Both sate silent, though from different Motives. In so critical a Moment, when the House seemed to demand an Explanation on the Point, the

Lord Advocate of Scotland presented himself boldly to public Notice. After denying in the most precise and explicit Terms, that the Address proposed, either pledged the Assembly to continue the War against the Colonies, or could be so interpreted; he proceeded to put hypothetically a Case, which might be said to withdraw in some Measure the Curtain of State from before the Cabinet, and to expose the Disunion that existed among its Members. "If," said Dundas, "any Minister, accused of Mal-
"Administration, should set up as his Ex-
"cuse or his Defence, that he was over-ruled
"in the Cabinet, and compelled by the Ma-
"jority to act upon Opinions contrary to his
"own private Judgment, such an Apology
"cannot be admitted in this House. A Mi-
"nister, who, in Order to preserve his Place,
"would submit to carry into Execution,
"Measures that he condemned, must not
"only be unworthy of his Situation; but,
"would thereby betray his Trust, and merit
"the Execration of his Countrymen."

This Avowal, though qualified by Assurances that it was altogether general, and had not the slightest Allusion to, or the most in-

direct Authority from, the first Lord of the Treasury; yet disclosed the Secret already suspected or understood by the Opposition. Fox felicitated Pitt, whom he denominated *his Honourable Friend*, on having, by the Effect of his powerful Oratory, extracted from an Individual so nearly connected with Administration, the Declaration that the Address did not pledge Parliament to continue the War against America. But, Burke, in the Progress of a Speech, less marked by those Emanations of Genius which generally illuminated all that he uttered, than distinguished by its intemperate Violence, endeavoured to prove that the proposed Address *did* bind the House to prosecute offensive Hostilities with France and America. He declared the Address itself to be a Compound of Hypocrisy, and of infamous, abandoned Falsity. Nor did he fail to paint in the warmest Colours of a distempered Imagination, the Punishments which, he asserted, would be inflicted on the unhappy Loyalists, deserted by us, and left under Lord Cornwallis's Capitulation, to the Mercy of the Congress. Their slaughtered Remains, he said, would be exposed on all the Headlands. Notwithstanding these combined Efforts, which were sustained by Kep-

pel and by Mr. Thomas Townsend, the Minister divided on both Evenings, in a large Majority; the *Address* being carried by 89, in a full House where 347 Members were present. Only 185 attended the *Report*, of which Number, 131 supported Administration, while the Minority did not exceed 54.

Nevertheless, the Contest with America might be considered as virtually arrested, though not ostensibly terminated. More than one Member, known to be ardently attached to the Crown, as well as to the existing Government, declared his Disapprobation of any further Attempt to carry on military Operations beyond the Atlantic. Lord Nugent said, it would now be politic to acknowledge the Independence of the Colonies. Courtenay, though holding a Place under the Master General of the Ordnance, not only avowed that he never had considered the War against America, as expedient, politic, or wise; but, added, that he only voted for the Address, on the Assurances given by Persons in Office, that it did not pledge to the Prosecution of Hostilities for the Purpose of subjugating America. Lord North himself, two Days afterwards,

explicitly stated, when addressing the House, that they were not bound by their two recent Votes, to carry on either the American, or any other War; simply to provide for the necessary Expences of the Government. But, though the Continuance of *offensive* Hostilities in America, was thus unequivocally renounced by the First Minister, and virtually or silently acquiesced in by Lord George Germain; yet, so far did they seem from professing a readiness to acknowledge the *Independence* of the thirteen Colonies, that they warmly maintained the Wisdom and the Necessity of still prosecuting a *defensive* War in that Portion of the Globe. In the House of Peers, a still greater proportionate Majority supported Administration. When Fox, presuming on the Operation of the recent Misfortune in the Chesapeake, soon afterwards attempted to stop the Progress of the Supplies, in which Effort he was warmly supported by Mr. Thomas Pitt, the Opposition experienced a second Defeat; only seventy-seven Persons voting with them, while Lord North had one hundred and seventy-two. It seemed indeed by no means clear, during the first Fortnight after Parliament met, whether any official Change

whatever would take Place; or if an Alteration should be made in the Cabinet, to what Extent it would be carried. The national Forces, exhausted by so long a Contest, and now opposed in every Quarter by a vast Confederacy, were indeed evidently unequal to continue the Effort for subjecting America; and it therefore became obvious, that new *Measures* must speedily supersede those which had been prosecuted during so many Years. But, the same *First Minister* might remain in Power, under a total, or a partial Change of System; and in that case, all the Labors of the Minority would be frustrated, in the Moment of their expected Completion. The King's Firmness and Tenacity were well understood by all Parties. Lord North shewed hitherto no Disposition to resign, and Parliament had given no Indications of having withdrawn their Confidence from the Administration. Such appeared to be the Aspect of public Affairs, in the first Week of December.

[1st—10th December.] Though Fox and Pitt seemed at this Time to act in perfect political Union, yet no Man who attentively considered the different Spirit which ani-

mated their Speeches, whenever the Sovereign became indirectly the Subject of their Animadversion, could fail to remark their widely dissimilar Line of Conduct. Fox, whether he was impelled by his Consciousness that the King's moral Repugnance to many Parts of his private Character, and to the Irregularities of his Life, imposed insurmountable Obstacles to his ever attaining the Royal Favor; or whether, having already offended in his political Capacity, beyond the Hope of Pardon, he relied solely on his own Talents, aided by Party, to force his Way into the Cabinet, and to maintain himself in that Situation;—which ever of these Motives principally actuated him, it is indisputable that in all his Allusions to the King, although he might affect to shelter himself under the Forms of Parliamentary Language, yet Fox always chose to consider him as animated by Passions and Sentiments unbecoming his Station, as well as incompatible with the Benignity which constitutes the most enviable Attribute of Royalty. Fox designated or characterized him, in Fact, as under the Dominion of Resentment; unfeeling, implacable, and only satiated by the Continuance of War against his former Sub-

jects. In a Word, like James the Second, rather than William the Third: more as a Tyrant and an Oppressor, than as the Head of a free Country, the Guardian of a limited Constitution.

On the first Day of the Session, when an Address to the Crown was proposed by the Honorable Mr. Charles George Perceval, now Lord Arden; "Those," said Fox, "who are ignorant of the Character of the "Prince whose Speech we have just heard, "might be induced to consider him as an "unfeeling Despot, exulting in the horrid "Sacrifice of the Liberty and the Lives of "his People. The Speech itself, divested "of the Disguise of royal Forms, can only "mean, 'Our Losses in America have been "most calamitous. The Blood of my Sub-"jects has flowed in copious Streams, "throughout every Part of that Continent. "The Treasures of Great Britain have been "wantonly lavished; while the Load of "Taxes imposed on an overburthened Coun-"try, is become intolerable. Yet will I "continue to tax you to the last Shilling. "When, by Lord Cornwallis's Surrender, "all Hopes of Victory are for ever extinct,

" and a further Continuance of Hostilities " can only accelerate the Ruin of the British " Empire, I prohibit you from thinking of " Peace. My Rage for Conquest is un- " quenched, and my Revenge unsated: nor " can any Thing except the total Subjuga- " tion of my revolted American Subjects, " allay my Animosity.'" When we consider the Severity and Acrimony of these personal Imputations, we cannot wonder that they excited corresponding Sensations of Resentment in the Royal Bosom. What Accusations more wounding could we frame, what Motives of Action more atrocious could we suppose, and what Language more abhorrent to our Feelings, could we have attributed to that Monster, whose Crimes so long desolated France and Europe, than are here supposed to animate George the Third! It must be admitted even by his greatest Admirers, that Fox, however eminent were his Talents, yet by the Want of Moderation and Judgment, sentenced himself during his whole Life, to perpetual Exclusion from Office; verifying in his own Person, Juvenal's Remark upon the Injuries attendant on Eloquence, when he says,

" Torrens dicendi Copia multis,
Et sua mortifera est Facundia."

Pitt, on the contrary, even when he appeared to be most animated by Sentiments of Indignation against the Measures, or the Ministers; yet repressed any intemperate Expressions, and personally spared the Sovereign. He pronounced indeed in the most unqualified Terms, his Abhorrence of the further Prosecution of the American War; and on one Occasion I recollect his solemnly invoking the Divine Vengeance on the Heads of the Administration, who had reduced the Empire to such a State of Ruin and Degradation. But, with consummate Ability, he separated the King from his weak or evil Counsellors; admitted the Purity of Intention by which he was ever impelled; professed his ardent Attachment to the Person, as well as to the Family, of the reigning Monarch; and declared that it would be best manifested, by exposing the Delusion that had been practised on him. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, whose distinguishing political Tact, and keen Discernment in all Matters where his own Interest or Ambition were concerned, ena-

bled him to descry a Minister in Embryo; appears early to have been impressed with a Conviction of this characteristic Difference between the two Opposition Leaders. While he continued strenuously to support an Administration, the certain approaching Fall of which, he nevertheless probably anticipated; he lavished the warmest Encomiums from the Treasury Bench, on the hereditary Talents, the brilliant Oratory, and early Indications of Genius, in Pitt; under whose Protection, aided by his own parliamentary Powers, he speedily contrived, after Lord North's Resignation, to re-appear on the ministerial Theatre.

Notwithstanding the ostensible Degree of Harmony and Concert which seemed to animate Ministers in the House of Commons, during the first Days of the Session; yet before the Middle of December it began to be apparent, that some essential Disunion of Sentiment prevailed among the Members of Administration. Lord North in fact *might* continue, as many Persons imagined, first Minister, after the Avowal of American Independence. But, Lord George Germain *could not* by any Possibility, re-

main in Office a single Day after such a Recognition. At this Breach the Opposition poured in, and were aided by some of the Adherents of Government, who conceived that by separating the two Ministers, and dismissing the latter, Lord North could yet be preserved at the Head of His Majesty's Councils. Sir James Lowther having introduced a Motion on the 12th of December, tending to declare that "All "further Attempts to reduce the Ameri- "cans to Obedience by Force, would be "ineffectual; and contrary to the true "Interests of the Kingdom;" after a long and very animated Debate, the *Order of the Day* could only be carried by a Majority of Forty-one, in a crowded House, where four hundred Members were present. Some of the Circumstances attending that Discussion, were in themselves so interesting, as to lay peculiar Claim to Commemoration. Neither the personal Character, the Talents, nor the Eloquence of the Member for Cumberland, who originated the Question, could powerfully recommend it to Attention. But, it was far otherwise with the Individual who seconded it. Sir James Lowther's prodigious Property, and that only, gave Weight to his Exertions. Mr.

Powis, who represented the County of Northampton, combined very considerable Parliamentary Ability, with a most independent and upright Mind.

Never can I forget the Effect produced by his Citation from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," as applicable to the calamitous Position of Great Britain! With consummate Judgment, he selected some Passages of the celebrated Historian in Question, extracted from the Reigns of Honorius and of Valentinian the Third, which seemed almost prophetically to depicture or to describe the Events of the Hour, under George the Third. The Incapacity of the Government, the Contempt into which it had fallen with foreign States, the rapid Encrease of Taxation, the Corruption of the Senate, the Expenditure of Treasure, the Loss of Provinces, and the Pertinacity of the Sovereign in continuing a hopeless Contest with his revolted Subjects;——all these Facts, so apposite in themselves, were quoted, or rather were read by Powis in his Place, and constituted a Part of his Speech. Their Operation was perfectly theatrical. A Pin might have been heard to drop, such was the Silence, while

he pronounced it; and it seemed to spread a Sort of Dejection over the ministerial Side of the Assembly. Gibbon himself, who unconsciously furnished these Weapons against his Friend the first Minister, and who was at the very Time a Member of the Board of Trade; was personally present in the House. He had ceased at the last general Election, to represent a Cornish Borough, Leskeard, for which he was chosen in 1775, and now sate for Lymington. Lord North was so sensible of the Injury resulting from Powis's Appeal to the Passions of the House, sustained by the Artillery which he had borrowed from Gibbon, that he rose immediately, in Order to efface the Impression. In the Course of a laboured, able, and well considered Address, he endeavoured to demonstrate that the Motion, if carried, would incapacitate and cripple the Administration; which, if precluded, or prohibited from carrying on any military Operation on the American Continent, could not successfully combat our foreign Enemies in that Quarter of the Globe. But, he at the same Time declared his Opinion, that no further Hostilities ought to be persisted in, for the Reduction of the Colo-

nies, by sending Troops into the Interior of the Country. The Weakness of Government, and their Apprehensions of the Defection which might manifest itself among their Adherents, were sufficiently displayed by Lord North, in only moving the *Order of the Day,* instead of giving a direct Negative to Sir James Lowther's Proposition.

Burgoyne was not merely animated, but, personal, as well as pointed, in his Animadversions on Lord George Germain; and even by unavoidable Implication, on the Sovereign himself, whom he clearly designated in Terms too plain to admit of Mistake. After examining, as a Soldier and a Tactician, the Plan proposed by Ministers, for retaining Posts in America, and prosecuting a Species of defensive Warfare, he subjoined, "These "Observations may be called military Re- "marks; but, let the House remember, that "they are addressed to a military Secretary "of State. The Country has not forgotten "that he *was* a Soldier, the Country feels "that he *is* a Counsellor." Having expressed his Apprehensions for the impending Fate of Gibraltar, invested by the Forces of France and Spain, he made a Recanta-

tion of his Error in ever approving or aiding the Attempt to subjugate the Colonies; adding, "I am now convinced, on a full "Consideration of the Measures pursued "by Ministers, as Time has developed their "System, that the American War consti-"tutes only a Part of a general Plan le-"velled against the Constitution of Great "Britain, and against the universal Rights of "Mankind." Dundas having professed that Lord North's Declaration relative to future Hostilities beyond the Atlantic, had fully satisfied his Mind; protested, that had not the Chancellor of the Exchequer thus unequivocally renounced all further Attempt to reduce the Colonies by offensive Operations, he must have voted on the Side of Opposition. But, Burke, with great Powers of Wit, treated the Lord Advocate's Assurances, as a Subject of Derision. "An American "War," exclaimed Burke, "you must still "have; but, as Parliament has at length be-"come dissatisfied with the Manner in "which it was carried on, we will change "the Plan, say Ministers. An American "War you must still have. We will give "you your Diet differently dressed; but, it "shall nevertheless be the American War.

"Having squandered seventy Millions in one "Way, we will now expend seventy Millions "more in another Way." Fox, as well as Barré, exposed with equal Force, the fallacious, or loose and unsatisfactory Protestations of the first Minister. Lord George Germain at length rose; and the House, anxious to hear his Sentiments, though the Evening was then very far advanced, lent him an attentive Ear. As this Speech may be deemed the last that he pronounced in his own Defence, while Secretary for the Colonies; and as I listened to it with more than ordinary Interest, I shall commemorate some Passages of it.

He began by professing his Coincidence of Opinion with Lord North, as to changing prospectively the Mode of carrying on the War; a Sentiment, in which, he added, *all* the King's confidential Servants were united: but he contended, that though Circumstances justified and dictated such an Alteration of System, he could not concur in evacuating New York, Charles Town, and the other invaluable Possessions on the American Coast, still retained by Great Britain. "If," continued he, "the House

" should adopt the Motion proposed, I will
" instantly retire, as I consider it to include
" a Resolution of altogether abandoning the
" American War; and let the Consequence
" be what it may, I never will put my Hand
" to any Instrument conceding Independ-
" ence to the Colonies. My Opinion is that
" the British Empire must be ruined, and
" that we never can continue to exist as a
" great, or as a powerful Nation, after we
" have lost or renounced the Sovereignty
" over America. By this Opinion I will
" abide, because I am resolved to leave the
" People their Country." George Byng having, somewhat indecorously, and certainly in a Manner unauthorized by the Forms of Debate, said across the House, " You will not leave us any Country;" Lord George, irritated, instantly with considerable Emotion, exclaimed, " If the Honorable Gen-
" tleman believes himself warranted in im-
" peaching me, let him do it! But, let him
" do it in the Way warranted by the Consti-
" tution. Let him not convoke the People
" without Doors, and address *Them* to
" change the Administration! It is the Pro-
" vince of this House, with the Dignity be-
" coming its Character, to adopt a constitu-

"tional Measure. Let the House address "the Throne, if they think proper. If Mi- "nisters have merited it, let them be dis- "missed, impeached, and brought to Pu- "nishment. But, do not, from Party Vio- "lence injure the Constitution, and risk "the Subversion of the Country." These were nearly his Words, at the Conclusion of which he sate down. Mr. Byng, far from excusing the Interruption, justified it: "The "noble Secretary," said he, "calls on me "to impeach him. Let him only turn his "Eyes on those Persons who surround him, "and he will perceive the Reason that he is "not impeached. He will see a Phalanx of "hired Supporters, ready to protect him, or "any other Minister, against the Effects of "the American War. Give us only an "honest Parliament, and we should then "see if Security and Impunity would result "from Impeachment." No Notice was taken of these severe Imputations thrown upon the House, and the Debate soon afterwards closed. But, it became apparent how weak were the Foundations on which Lord North's Power rested, when the Defection of so inconsiderable a Number of Individuals as *Twenty*, going over from the Ministerial

Ranks, to the Opposition Side, would have laid him at the Mercy of his Enemies. And under the deplorable Circumstances of the War, of the Finances, and of the Country, there existed little Hope of a counter Desertion back to the Party of Government. Already the Minority anticipated with a Sort of Certainty, the approaching, if not the imminent Fall of Administration.

[14th December.] Nor was the Paucity of Numbers, the only Symptom that announced a ministerial Crisis. Two Days subsequent to the late Division, when the Secretary at War laid before the Committee of Supply, the Estimates of the Army; another Discussion of the American Question took Place, more decisive, if possible, than any which had yet arisen. Rigby and Dundas acting on this Occasion in Concert, called on Lord North to state in his Place, the Difference of Opinion which was presumed to exist in the Cabinet. Both of them at the same Time avowed and admitted, that no further Hope could be entertained of subjecting America by Arms. The First Lord of the Treasury, while he admitted the War with the Colonies, to constitute the heaviest Cala-

mity of his Life, and expressed his warmest Wishes for the Attainment of Peace; neither owned, nor denied the Charge brought forward by the Lord Advocate of Scotland and Rigby, though he attempted to evade it under some loose and general Declarations. Wearied at length, and attacked no less by his Friends, than by his Opponents, he adopted the singular Expedient of quitting the Treasury Bench, and withdrawing to one of the Seats behind it; leaving Lord George Germain alone in that conspicuous Situation, exposed to the Attacks of the Opposition. So extraordinary a Scene, which spoke with mute Eloquence, and from its Peculiarity attracted all Eyes; left no Room to doubt of the Dissimilarity of Opinion among Ministers, on the great Question respecting America.

I feel strongly impelled, if I were able, to attempt to lay before Posterity, the leading Features of that most interesting Debate; during the Progress of which, the Disunion between the two Cabinet Ministers in the lower House, became for the first Time so apparent, as to necessitate Lord George Germain's speedy Resignation. He rose at an early Period of the Evening; compelled

by the Assertions and Accusations of Mr. Thomas Townsend, who maintained that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary of State held different or conflicting Opinions, relative to the System of Warfare prospectively intended to be prosecuted beyond the Atlantic. Lord George having so recently stated, with his characteristic Frankness of Character, the Ideas entertained by him on the Point, and his Determination never to recede from them, could add little to his preceding Observations. He said, that "the King's Servants were unanimous on "one Point, namely, that it was inexpedient, "and would be injurious to the Country, "to withdraw the Forces from America." But, Lord North, well aware that the only Chance of protecting the King from being compelled to surrender at Discretion, was to slip himself out of the present ruinous Contest; to allow the American Secretary to retire, and then with the royal and Parliamentary Support that he possessed, to endeavour to extricate the Nation from its actual Embarrassments;—Lord North, impelled by these Motives, held a more equivocal, oracular, and inexplicit Language. Fox, sustained by General Conway, endea-

voured to force from him a definite Reply to their Demands; and he underwent during some Time, a Species of cross Examination. But, such was his Ability and Address in eluding or evading the precise Questions put to him, that little additional Information could be extracted from his Answers. The House remained, if I may so say, *at Fault.* Pitt, with great Judgment, selected this Moment of painful Uncertainty, for his Appearance on the Scene. In Terms of Energy he pointed out the Contradictions of the two Ministers with each other, and of Lord North with himself. "Here then," continued he, "we behold the Union and Harmony "between the Members of Administration. "One asserts that the Object of the Con- "test is not to be abandoned. The Other "gives a more qualified Interpretation to "those Words. The first maintains that "the Conquest of the Colonies is still to be "attempted. No, says the second, not to "be prosecuted by Force. Is it possible "that Men, thus ignorant of, or unac- "quainted with each other's Intentions, can "act in Concert, or be unanimous?"

It was on this Occasion, and not, (as I had

erroneously apprehended,) the first Time of of his ever speaking in Parliament; that Pitt, observing Welbore Ellis engaged in whispering Lord North and Lord George Germain; apparently with a View of mediating between them, or reconciling their discordant Declarations; stopped short. Then looking round upon the House, which was hushed in mute Attention, he said, with a Manner and in a Tone still more impressive than the Reproof, "I shall wait "till the Unanimity is better settled; and "until the sage *Nestor* of the Treasury "Bench, has brought to an Agreement, the "*Agamemnon* and the *Achilles* of the Ame-"rican War." The Observation, which, independent of its classic Beauty and its Severity, arose out of an Accident, impossible to have been foreseen, could not therefore be premeditated. Its Effect was electric, not only on the Individuals to whom it was personally directed, but, on the whole Audience. The two Ministers and the Treasurer of the Navy, in some Confusion resumed their former Attitudes. We cannot sufficiently appreciate or admire the perfect Self-possession, which, while addressing a crowded House of Commons, could dictate

to a Youth of little more than two and twenty, so masterly an Allusion. The Conclusion of his Speech breathed not a little of the Spirit of his deceased Father, while he seemed to lance the Vengeance or the Indignation of a suffering and exhausted Nation, on the Heads of Ministers; invoking in the same Moment, the divine Protection on "a great and innocent Family, who, "though they have not participated in the "Culpability, may, and probably will be "doomed to undergo the Consequences."

Rigby now unmasked his Battery, meant unquestionably to accelerate Lord George Germain's Resignation; and thereby to enable the first Minister, released from the double Burthen of the American War and the American Secretary, to ride out the Storm. The Plan was ingenious, if not solid, and seemed to promise Success. No Individual in Office, had so great a Stake to defend as Rigby. During thirteen Years and a half, he had occupied the Pay Office without an Associate; and he could not contemplate without natural Apprehension, an Event so injurious to his own Interests, as would be the Dissolution of Lord North's

Administration. Yet, if any Opinion may be formed from the Encomiums which he lavished on Pitt's resplendent, hereditary Talents and Virtues, at the Opening of his Speech; the Paymaster of the Forces might be thought to anticipate, as not distant, a new Order of Things, where Pitt would probably occupy an elevated Place. Rigby then animadverted with Force, on the discordant Sentiments expressed by leading Members of the Opposition, relative to America; some of whom, (Fox and Burke,) loudly called for the Concession of Independence to the Colonies; while others, (particularly, Dunning,) declared that the Minister who should dare to propose such a Measure, would be guilty of High Treason. While however he pointed out these Contradictions of Opinion among the Minority, he coincided fully with Pitt, that an evident Obscurity pervaded the Conduct of the two noble Lords in Office, which appeared to indicate Dissimilarity of Ideas. And he said that the House, as well as the Country, had a Right to demand Explanation. Still he maintained, we were not ripe for withdrawing the Troops from America. Nor could all Fox's Blandishments induce him

to suggest a Motion, by which, both Sides of the House concurring in it, as a Parliamentary Declaration, Ministers might be bound down in their future Conduct towards the Colonies. But, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who was seated on the Treasury Bench, between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the American Secretary; and who could not, any more than Rigby, look forward unmoved, to his own Fate, which must be involved in the Fall of the first Minister; answered to Fox's Invitation. Coming forward on this critical Occasion, with that manly Openness of Character, which, if not natural to him, he knew so well how to assume when it suited his Purpose, Dundas reiterated all the Sentiments already expressed by his Friend. "If," said he "there "is any one of His Majesty's Cabinet, base "enough to remain in Office, and to con- "duct Measures that he disapproves or "condemns, be he who he will, he is unfit "for Society." A Declaration so pointed, though ostensibly directed against both the Ministers, was in Fact intended only against one, Lord George Germain. If its Intention could indeed have been doubtful, Lord North's Act in removing from his accus-

tomed Place, to another Seat, while his Colleague remained at his Post, would have sufficiently explained the Mystery. This Piece of *Dumb Shew*, one of the most curious that I ever witnessed on that political Stage, the House of Commons, lasted for more than three Quarters of an Hour, while the Debate continued, or rather, languished. But, not one Word was uttered in further Explanation, by either of the two Ministers. How far Rigby's and Dundas's Conduct was concerted with, or in any Manner previously known to Lord North, I cannot presume to assert. Nor did Lord George Germain, as I believe, ever attain any Certainty on the Point. Probably it arose from their own View of Affairs, and was undertaken without communicating the Intention to the first Minister, though designed to facilitate or effect his Extrication. The Division which took Place on the Army Estimates, was carried by a very considerable Majority in Favor of Government, the respective Numbers being 166, and 84.

From that Evening, on which I accompanied him to his Residence in Pall-Mall, when he quitted the House of Commons,

Lord George with Reason considered his official Capacity as virtually terminated, though he continued to exercise its indispensable Functions, till a Successor should be appointed to the Department. The two Houses having shortly afterwards adjourned for the Christmas Recess, he came to a full Explanation with Lord North. At that Interview, after professing his Readiness to remain in his Situation, as long as it could be beneficial to His Majesty's Service, while the Independence of America was not formally recognized; he at the same Time earnestly besought Lord North to consider no Object, except the Preservation of the Ministry, and the Interests of their common Master. For that Purpose, he advised the first Minister to strengthen himself by a Negotiation with some of his political Enemies; and not to allow any personal Considerations towards him (Lord George), to delay, or to impede, for an Instant, the Arrangements judged to be proper for the general Security. Adding, that he had no personal Stipulations to make, nor Favors to ask; and that he would go down immediately to his Seat at Drayton in Northamptonshire, for two or three Weeks, in order

to allow Time to select a Successor for his Post; after which he would return, and deliver up the Seal of his Office, on the shortest Notice, into His Majesty's Hands. As the best Proof of his Sincerity in these Opinions, he left London a very few Days subsequent to the above Conversation.

[20th December.] It must be confessed that something unpropitious seemed to overhang the Councils, and to disconcert or overturn the best matured Measures of Administration, during the Course of the American War, so long as Lord North, Lord Sandwich, and Lord George Germain, presided at the Head of Affairs. This Remark or Admission may perhaps be considered as synonymous with pronouncing the Condemnation of those Ministers. But, it was indisputably Lord Sandwich's Fleet and Admiral, which gained the glorious naval Victory over de Grasse, only four Months later, though Fox and his Party received the Benefit of the Day. Just at the Time of which I now speak, Admiral Kempenfeldt having been dispatched with a Squadron of twelve Sail of the Line, in Order to intercept or engage a naval Force, intended by France for

the West Indies, fell in with the Enemy. As they had however been unexpectedly reinforced, so as to encrease their Numbers to eighteen Sail of the Line, Kempenfeldt could only capture some of the Transports, full of Troops, which he sent into our Ports. No sooner had this Intelligence reached London, than Fox indignantly protested in the House of Commons, that "nothing short of *Treachery* could have produced an Event so "disgraceful and ignominious. Incapacity "or Ignorance could not alone satisfactorily "explain it. An Enquiry, if not an Impeachment, must be instantly set on Foot, "against such a first Lord of the Admiralty. "How could they look their Constituents in "the Face, if they had the Baseness not to "address the Throne for his Removal?" Mr. Thomas Townsend asked, "how Gentlemen "could think of going out of Town to partake of Christmas Pastimes, at a Moment "when, in his Opinion, the Fate of the Empire would be irrevocably sealed in twelve, "or perhaps in six Months?" "Adjourn to "the 22d of next Month!" exclaimed George Byng, on a Motion to that Effect being made from the Treasury Bench; "Good God! "Mr. Speaker, at a Crisis like the present,

" all the Wisdom of the Country is required " to extricate us. The first Lord of the " Admiralty has ignorantly dispatched only " twelve or thirteen Ships of the Line, to " meet an Armament of nineteen. Is this a " Measure to be tolerated?"—Keppel, who, as a professional Man and a Seaman, could not be ignorant that these Accusations were exaggerated, if not altogether unjust, held a much more temperate and measured Language. He admitted that there did not appear to be any Treachery; but, he said, there was palpable Neglect and Want of naval Skill in the Board.

Lord North, not at all disconcerted by such a Load of Imputations, with great Calmness and good Humor assured the House, no less than Fox, that " the noble " Individual who presided over the Admi- " ralty, far from wishing to avoid an En- " quiry, was most desirous to meet it." In a Speech of considerable Length, Lord Mulgrave vindicated the Measure of sending out Kempenfeldt, as in itself highly judicious, though unforeseen Circumstances had operated to prevent its complete Success. But, Bamber Gascoyne, irritated at the harsh

Epithets which Fox had applied so generally to the Board at which he held a Place, and not restrained by any Delicacies where his own Character was in some Measure compromized, handled the Opposition Leader more roughly. "The Honorable Member," said Gascoyne, "is pleased to assert, that we "have never yet sent out an equal naval "Force, since the Commencement of the "War, to meet the French. Has he forgot-"ten *the 27th of July?* And when Admiral "Darby was dispatched to the Relief of "Gibraltar, if his Ships were so inferior to "the Enemy in Number as is pretended, the "Honorable Gentleman would do well *to* "*enquire among his Friends in France*, why "they did not give us the Meeting. Hard "Words are easily used; and the Admiralty "may be stigmatized from the other Side of "the House, as negligent, ignorant, corrupt, "and treacherous. With more Reason, and "at least as much Truth, may *They* be deno-"minated *the Friends of Mr. Laurens, and* "*the Correspondents of Dr. Franklin.*" After a protracted Conversation, rather than a Debate, accompanied on both Sides with much Acrimony, the first Minister was allowed to carry his proposed Adjournment; but, not

till George Byng, without a Division, had moved and carried, to call over the House on the 21st of January. Such were the humiliating Circumstances that attended, and ushered in the last Scene of Lord North's expiring Administration!

[21st December—21st Jan. 1782.] After the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, and the virtual Resignation of Lord George Germain, it might naturally be supposed that the first Lord of the Treasury would lose no Time in endeavouring to repair the Breach, and to strengthen himself previous to the Meeting of Parliament after the Christmas Holydays. Necessity dictated Measures of Energy, and the Respite which the Recess allowed for private Negotiation, afforded him Time for making every requisite Stipulation. Nevertheless, Lord North, though he did not either oppose, or refuse, by no Means however positively accepted, even the Resignation of the American Secretary. And when Lord George returned to London from Northamptonshire, towards the Middle of the ensuing Month; to his no small Astonishment, he found his Office still undisposed of, and his Successor not more fixed than be-

fore he quitted the Capital. He therefore waited patiently, till the Progress of Events should propel the Indecision, or hasten the Procrastination, of the first Lord of the Treasury.

Perhaps no Part of Lord North's Administration, and no Feature of his Conduct as first-Minister, during the twelve Years that he continued in Office, seems more extraordinary; it might be even said, inexplicable; than this Loss of Time at so critical a Juncture. He well knew the Opposition to be principally composed of two Parties, called after the Names of their respective Leaders, Lords Rockingham and Shelburne; which Bodies of Men, though they agreed in endeavouring to dispossess him of Power, agreed in no other speculative or practical Principle of Policy. Scarcely could they even be withheld from mutual Animosity, by the near Prospect of the Prize in View. If therefore, the Point of American Independence was once conceded by Ministers, there seemed to be no obvious Impediment that could withhold Lord Shelburne from accepting a Situation under Government. It was even well known, that he entertained

and avowed very strong Doubts, on the Propriety or Wisdom of making such a Concession to the Colonies, under any possible Circumstances; Doubts which were re-echoed by his Adherents in the House of Commons; particularly by Dunning. He could not, therefore, it was presumed, be altogether unacceptable to the King. He was, besides, a Man of great Abilities, the professed Disciple of the late Earl of Chatham, and possessed considerable Parliamentary Interest. Lord North held in his Hand, various Means of conciliating and acquiring his Support. Besides the Post of Secretary of State, and a higher Rank in the English Peerage, to both which he might aspire; *four Garters* were then lying on the King's Table, unbestowed; *one* of which Lord Shelburne actually seized on, as his Share of the Plunder, when he came into Ministry, within three Months from the Time of which I speak. All these Circumstances seemed therefore to point out that Quarter, as the obvious Point of Application.

I have had many Opportunities of discussing this Question, with those who were well informed in the secret Springs and His-

tory of Lord North's Administration. But they differed in their Solution of the Difficulty. It has been confidently asserted, that the King objected to disposing of one of the vacant *Garters* in Favor of Lord Shelburne; and absolutely refused to consent to it, when the Proposition was made to His Majesty, by the Minister. We must likewise recollect that George the Third, who at this Time had scarcely reigned more than twenty-two Years, was encouraged by his past Experience to imagine, that he might retain a Minister to whom he was attached, in Defiance of Unpopularity. In Fact, Lord North, from his first Entrance on Office, early in 1770, down to his final Resignation, never had been popular. Nor can we well doubt that if he had felt as strong a Desire to retain his ministerial Situation, and a Mind as determined to abide the Issue, as his royal Master manifested, he might have held out 'till the Victory of the 12th of April, would have raised the Siege. Sanguine Hopes were likewise entertained at St. James's, that even though all further Attempts to subjugate America should be abandoned, yet that the same Administration might still continue to conduct the national

Affairs. Nor was it at all clear that such Expectations were chimerical. The Session of 1779 had sufficiently proved, that even after being left in a Minority, on more than one great public Question, a Minister who wished to remain in Office, possessed the Means of doing it, almost in Defiance of the House of Commons. If America was admitted to be independent, and that great Impediment once removed, Peace would probably follow at no long Interval; and however unfortunate he had been in carrying on the War across the Atlantic, Lord North might still conclude an honorable Pacification with our European Enemies. In the House of Peers, he possessed a decided Majority; and in the lower House of Parliament, which had been recently elected, when once Government became emancipated from the American War, it was with Reason conceived that the Opposition would again diminish in Energy, as well as in Numbers. These Reasons, however destitute of Solidity they proved, if we try them by the Event, may perhaps satisfactorily account for Lord North's seeming Supineness, in not endeavouring, at so critical a Moment, to

divide his Opponents, or to augment his own Strength.

[21st—31st January.] When Parliament met again for the Dispatch of Business, Lord George Germain therefore attended in his Place, in the House of Commons: but the Tide of Opposition, which had been so long principally directed against *him*, as the American Secretary, took at first another Direction. Lord Sandwich was in turn attacked by Fox, for his asserted Mismanagement of the Admiralty Department; and the first Minister, unable to shelter him from Investigation, consented to institute an Enquiry. Fox said, that "as the naval Ad-"ministration throughout the Year 1781, "contained or exhibited an Epitome of all "the Blunders committed during the Course "of the War, he would, for the sake of "Dispatch, confine his Accusations chiefly "to that Period." Lord North, while, with more of the Spirit of Concession, than of ministerial Firmness, he gave way upon every Point; yet not only denied the Culpability imputed to the Earl of Sandwich, but, desired the House to observe that "his

"noble Friend, as well as himself, was "ready and prepared to meet an Enquiry of "a much more comprehensive Description." Pitt joining on this Occasion, the general Outcry raised against an obnoxious Minister, accused Lord North of attempting to evade Enquiry, by withholding Evidence of his Colleague's Mal-Administration: but, the chief Blame which could justly attach to the first Lord of the Treasury, was the too great Facility that he manifested in furnishing Documents; many of which, when laid on the Table of the House, though only in Substance, were of a very delicate Nature. The Solicitor General, and he alone, of all the ministerial Supporters, had the Boldness to oppose the Disclosure and Production of such Papers. Undismayed by the augmenting Numbers of the Opposition, or by the State of Depression to which he beheld his Friends reduced; Mansfield, with an Energy of Mind that extorted Admiration, entered his Protest against an Enquiry which demanded such preparatory Sacrifices. He declared his Astonishment at, and Disapprobation of, the Communications made in Compliance with Clamour. "By permitting "such an Investigation," said he, "and by

" producing such Materials, we destroy the " British Constitution, and deprive ourselves " of the Benefits arising from an executive, " as distinct from a legislative Government. " As well might we permit all the Opera- " tions of the Campaign to be discussed in " this House, as to produce upon the Table, " and thereby disclose to the Enemy, the " secret Information procured by Ministers." But, this single Reclamation, unsupported, proved wholly ineffectual to stem the Torrent; and after considerable Discussion, the 7th of the ensuing Month was finally fixed on for going into the Enquiry.

Among the most strenuous Defenders of the first Lord of the Admiralty, on this Occasion, was Lord Mulgrave; a Nobleman who occupied, himself, a Place at that Board. His early Expedition of Discovery towards the North Pole, had given him some naval Celebrity; and as he was formed on rather a heavy colossal Scale, the Opposition, to distinguish him from his younger Brother, the Honorable Charles Phipps, who enjoyed likewise a Seat in the House, denominated him " Ursa Major." They likewise gave him the Name of " Alphesibæus;" I

suppose, from some fancied Analogy between him and the awkward Imitator of the Dancing Satyrs, commemorated by Virgil, in the fifth Eclogue of his Bucolics. Lord Mulgrave was distinguished by a Singularity of physical Conformation, possessing two distinct Voices; the one, strong and hoarse; the other, shrill and querulous; of both which Organs he occasionally availed himself. So extraordinary a Circumstance, probably gave rise to a Story of his having fallen into a Ditch, in a dark Night; and, calling for Aid in his shrill Voice, a Countryman coming up, was about to have assisted him: but, Lord Mulgrave addressing him in a hoarse Tone, the Peasant immediately exclaimed, "Oh, if there are two of you in "the Ditch, you may help each other out "of it." In Debate, if not animated, he was able, well informed, and pertinacious. Like Dundas, he contrived, after Lord North's Administration went to Pieces, to attach himself to Pitt; who, in 1784, made him Joint Paymaster of the Forces, and six Years later, raised him to the British Peerage.

Towards the last Days of January, after long Fluctuation, Lord North at length com-

municated to Lord George, His Majesty's Determination to consent to his Resignation, so repeatedly offered; and the Resolution taken to supply his Loss, by Mr. Welbore Ellis. It seemed difficult to have made a Selection, in Consequence of which less Strength would be acquired on the Side of Administration; Mr. Ellis's Talents being already engaged in Favor of Government, by a very lucrative Place, that of Treasurer of the Navy. His Abilities, however eminent and solid, aided by his long Experience of Parliamentary Business, were nevertheless, altogether unequal to contending in stormy Times, amidst universal Depression, with the vast Energies then collected on the Opposition Benches. He was, besides, far advanced in Years; and though his Faculties might have preserved all their Vigor or Freshness, he wanted the requisite Fire and Animation. His Appointment gave Satisfaction only to the Enemies of the Minister, who exulted in a Choice that proved the Paucity, or rather Nullity of the Sources, from which he now attempted to derive Support.

[February.] Just at this Period died Lord

Falmouth, at an advanced Stage of Life: a Nobleman, neither distinguished by his Talents or his Virtues; but, whose Name, *Boscawen*, is connected with Naval Recollections of the most gratifying Kind. Lord Falmouth commanded the Yeomen of the Guard, at the Time of his Death; but, my sole Motive for mentioning his Decease, is in order to commemorate an Anecdote respecting him. I have been assured, that towards the Conclusion of George the Second's Reign, when Mr. Pitt, afterwards created Earl of Chatham, occupied a principal Place in the Cabinet; Lord Falmouth having waited on him, at his Levee, stated his Wish to be recommended to His Majesty, for the first vacant *Garter*. The Secretary of State expressing a Degree of Reluctance to lay the Request before the King, and manifesting some Disapprobation of the Demand itself; "You will be pleased, Sir, "to remember," said Lord Falmouth, "that "I bring in five Votes, who go with Minis- "try in the House of Commons; and if "my Application is disregarded, you must "take the Consequence." "Your Lordship "threatens me," replied the Minister with Warmth; "You may therefore be assured,

"that so long as I hold a Place in the "Councils of the Crown, you shall never "receive the Order of the *Garter*." Then turning round, he exclaimed, addressing himself to those near him,

"Optat Ephippia Bos piger."

Lord Falmouth comprehending Nothing of the Meaning of these Words, but, conceiving that the Monosyllable *Bos*, must allude to his Name, requested to be informed what the Minister meant by so calling him? "The "Observation," replied Mr. Pitt, "is not "mine, but Horace's." As little familiar with the Name of the Roman Poet, as he was acquainted with his Writings, Lord Falmouth, apprehending that *Horace Walpole* had said something severe or disrespectful concerning him; under that second Mistake, "If Horace Walpole," said he, "has taken "any Liberties with my Name, I shall know "how to resent it. His Brother, *Sir Robert*, "when he was alive, and first Minister, ne-"ver presumed so to treat me." Having thus expressed himself, he quitted Mr. Pitt, leaving the Audience in Astonishment at the Effect of his double Misapprehension.

Early in the Month of February, Lord George Germain having resigned the Seal of his Office into the King's Hand, received, in Recompense of his Services, the Honor of the Peerage. The Particulars attending that Elevation, which became immediately afterwards a Subject of Discussion in the upper House, I received on the same Day when they took Place, from Lord George's own Mouth; and they are too curious, as well as characteristic, to be omitted in these Memoirs. The Separation between the Sovereign and the Secretary, was by no Means unaccompanied with Emotion on both Sides; which became probably augmented by the dark Cloud overhanging the Throne, together with the painful Circumstances that produced the Necessity for Lord George's Resignation. The King, who could not shut his Eyes to these Facts, doubtless foresaw the Possibility, if not Probability, of greater Changes in the Administration, as imminent; of which, the Removal of the American Secretary, was only the Forerunner and the Presage. After regretting the unfortunate Events that had dictated the Measure, and thanking Lord George for his Services; His Majesty added, "Is there

" any thing that I can do, to express my " Sense of them, which would be agreeable " to you?" " Sir," answered he, " if Your " Majesty is pleased to raise me to the " Dignity of the Peerage, it will form at " once the best Reward to which I can " aspire, and the best Proof of your Appro- " bation of my past Exertions in your " Affairs." " By all Means," said the King, " I think it very proper, and shall do it " with Pleasure." " Then, Sir," rejoined Lord George, " if you agree to my first " Request, I hope you will not think it un- " becoming, or unreasonable in me, to ask " another Favor. It is to create me a *Vis-* " *count*, as should I be only raised to the " Dignity of a *Baron*, my own Secretary, " my Lawyer, and my father's Page, will " all three take Rank of me." The King expressing a Wish to know the Names of the Persons to whom he alluded; " the first," replied Lord George, " is Lord Walsingham, " who, as Your Majesty knows, was for " some Time, Under-secretary of State in " my Office, when Mr. de Grey. The se- " cond is Lord Loughborough, who has " been always my legal Adviser. Lord " Amherst is the third, who, when Page

" to my Father, the late Duke of Dorset,
" has often sat on the Braces of the State
" Coach that conveyed him, as Lord Lieute-
" nant of Ireland, to the Parliament House
" at Dublin." The King smiled, adding,
" What you say, is very reasonable, it shall
" be so; and now let me know the Title
" that you choose." " I have already, Sir,"
answered Lord George, " in the possible
" Anticipation of Your Majesty's gracious
" Dispositions towards me, spoken to the
" Duke of Dorset, and obtained his Per-
" mission, as the Head of my Family, to
" take the Title of *Sackville;* having been
" compelled to renounce my own Name, in
" order to avail myself of the Bequest of the
" Estate of Drayton in Northamptonshire,
" made me by Lady Betty Germain, in her
" Will. I shall therefore in some Degree
" recover it by this Means." " I quite ap-
" prove of that Idea," replied his Majesty,
" and if you will state to me your Title, I
" will write it down, myself, before we part,
" and send it directly to the Chancellor."
The King immediately placed himself at a
Table, took the Pen and Ink lying upon it,
and having committed the *Viscounty* to
Paper, asked him what *Barony* he chose?

Lord George answered, "that of Bolebrook "in Sussex, being one of the most ancient "Estates belonging to his Family; and "contiguous to Buckhurst, the original "Peerage conferred by Queen Elizabeth, "on his Ancestor, the first Earl of Dorset." When the King had copied it, he rose up, and with the most condescending Expressions of Concern, as well as of Satisfaction, allowed Lord George to withdraw from the Closet. As this is one of the few Peerages, which, in the Course of half a Century, George the Third has been allowed to confer, wholly independent of ministerial Intervention or Recommendation, from the Impulse of his own Inclinations, its Origin and Creation attain an additional Interest. Lord North had not the smallest Share in the Business.

No sooner had the Intention of calling up Lord George Germain to the House of Peers, become publicly known, than the Marquis of Carmarthen immediately brought forward the Subject before that Assembly. He endeavoured to shew that it would be derogatory to their Honor, as a Body, to admit among them a Person still labouring under

the Sentence of a Court Martial: and though his Motion was rejected by a great Majority, on the 7th of February, yet he renewed the Attack as soon as Lord George had taken his Seat, on the 18th of the same Month. Conceiving that Lord North must, as first Minister, have advised the Measure, the Marquis attempted to involve him in the Responsibility or Culpability of giving such Advice to the Crown. But, Lord Sackville having exculpated the First Lord of the Treasury from any Participation whatever in the Transaction, gave the House clearly to understand, that it flowed solely from the Volition of the Sovereign. His Enemies themselves confessed, that never was a more able, dignified, or manly Appeal made within the Walls of the House of Peers, than Lord Sackville pronounced on that Occasion. He observed, that even admitting in all its Force, the Justice of the Sentence passed by the Court Martial, yet, that Tribunal had only declared him "guilty of disobeying Prince "Ferdinand of Brunswic's Orders; and "therefore had adjudged him *unfit* to serve "His Majesty in any *military* Capacity "whatever." But, they neither had imposed, nor could they inflict upon him, any

civil Disability or Incapacity. And the Attempt of the King, or of the Minister of that Time, to aggravate the Nature or Expressions of the Sentence, by any harsh Additions and personal Comments, could not add to its Force. If, after considering the *Sentence* published in the Case of the General Officer, who commanded on the Expedition sent in 1806, against Buenos Ayres, we contemplate the Tenor of the *Orders* that accompanied it; and then compare them with those used in the Instance of Lord George Sackville; we shall perceive the Contrast presented by the Conduct of the two Sovereigns, in the strongest Point of View. Though General Whitelock was adjudged to be "cashiered, and declared "totally unfit *and unworthy* to serve His "Majesty in any military Capacity whatever;"—consequently, though the Sentence implies a much deeper Degree of Error or Culpability, than was attributed to Lord George Sackville at Minden, as well as a Fault far more clearly established and recognized; yet George the Third, unlike his Predecessor, subjoins no injurious Reflections, but, simply enjoins the Publication of it, as a Memorial and Warning to other Officers.

The Duke of Richmond, who took a very active Part in the second Debate upon Lord Sackville's Elevation to the Peerage; endeavoured to prove, from the Length of Time which elapsed after his Reception of Prince Ferdinand's Orders to advance, that Disinclination only on his Part to obey them, could have produced such a Delay. As the Duke had been personally present at Minden, and as he declared that he held his Watch within his Hand, during the whole Time lost in obeying the Prince's Orders, which, he asserted, amounted to an Hour and a Half; his Speech might have been expected to make an Impression on the House. But, only twenty-eight Peers could be found on either Debate, to support Lord Carmarthen's Motion; though the Number voting against it, rose from seventy-five to ninety-three, between the two Divisions, on the 7th and the 18th of February. It happened likewise, most unfortunately for the Duke of Richmond, that while he thus attempted to attack Lord Sackville's personal Courage, his own lay under very general Suspicion. He had brought forward, only a few Days before, in the House of Peers, the Case of an American Colonel Haynes, executed at

Charlestown, under Lord Rawdon's Authority, in the preceding Year. The Expressions or Assertions which His Grace used, when relating this Transaction, gave such Offence to the Nobleman against whom they were levelled, that he soon afterwards called the Duke to a severe Account. But, as he declined giving any individual Satisfaction for an Act done in his Parliamentary Capacity, Lord Rawdon compelled him to declare in his Place, that by his Accusation "he had not intended any Attack on Lord "Rawdon's Justice or Humanity:" a Declaration, apparently at Variance with his preceding Charge. Lord George Lenox, as I know, entertained a very different Opinion of Lord Sackville's Behaviour at Minden, as well as of the Sentence pronounced on his Conduct, from the Ideas expressed by the Duke, his Brother. Not two Years after the Facts just related, had taken Place, I dined in a select Company with Lord Sackville and Lord George Lenox, at the House of a General Officer in London. When we went up to the Drawing Room after Dinner, no Entreaties could prevail on Lord George to walk first out of the Apartment. "As the "Son of a Duke of earlier Creation, I would

" do it," said he to Lord Sackville; but, as " a General Officer, nothing can induce me " to precede your Lordship." Lord Sackville was restrained by the Exhortations and Advice of Lord Amherst, from calling on the Marquis of Carmarthen to answer to him personally, for his double Attack. I had the Honor to know him, before, as well as after, he became Duke of Leeds. He was a Nobleman highly accomplished, of the most pleasing Manners, of very elegant Deportment, of a lofty Mind, and of considerable Talents. But, the Part which he took on this Occasion, did not constitute the most commendable Act of his political Life. Posterity will form their Opinion on it, divested of Prejudice. His Contemporaries saw it merely through the Optics of Party, the most deceptive of all Mediums. While only twenty-eight Peers supported the Motion on both Occasions, nearly a hundred voted against it on the final Debate. These aggregate Numbers appear indeed small *to us*; but, we must recollect the limited Extent of the Peerage, compared with the present Times. It was neither Lord Bute, nor Lord North, but, Mr. Pitt, who augmented the Members of that House, if not with a pro-

fuse, yet unquestionably with an unsparing Hand. In 1782 there existed only one hundred and eighty-seven English Peers. We have now above three hundred. Perhaps, however, that Augmentation, great as it is, bears only a relative Proportion to the Encrease of national Revenue, Population, and Territory, within the last thirty Years.

[6th—20th Feb.] While Lord Sackville was *personally* attacked in one House of Parliament, the Earl of Sandwich underwent no less severe an Enquiry into his *official* Conduct, as first Lord of the Admiralty, in the House of Commons. Fox, acting as his Accuser, united the keenest Sarcasms, with the most able and laborious Investigation of the Naval Administration. He was sustained in all his Charges, by Mr. Pitt, by Admiral Keppel, and by Lord Howe. Under this Accumulation of Talent and of Eloquence, the Minister labored hard to protect his Colleague: but the House began to manifest some Indications of Reluctance to extend further Support. Animated by such obvious Symptoms of the Decline of Lord North's Influence in that Assembly, the Opposition renewed their Efforts. And

if they did not overthrow, they at least shook to its Base, the Ministry. After two Debates, protracted to a late Hour, in the first of which, the Members present, fell little short of four hundred, a Majority of only *twenty-two* appeared on the Side of Administration. In the second Debate, on the 20th of February, where more than four hundred and fifty Persons actually voted, a still smaller Majority, consisting only of *nineteen*, negatived Fox's Proposition, attributing "gross Mismanagement" to the Nobleman at the Head of the Admiralty. Two such Divisions, following close upon Lord Sackville's Resignation, afforded ample Triumph to the Minority, while they diffused proportionate Apprehension among the Adherents of Government.

I was present at both those Debates, and voted on both Evenings, with Ministers. Not that I either then thought, or am even now of Opinion, that no Degree of Error, perhaps, of Blame, might justly be attributed to the Earl of Sandwich. Fox assumed indeed, as a Principle, that "it was not neces-
"sary to criminate a Minister, in Order to
"address the Throne for his Removal from

" Office. If he was incapable, or *unfortu-*
" *nate,* or *disliked;*—any one of those Causes
" constituted sufficient Reason for his Dis-
" mission." That Lord Sandwich was eminently unfortunate in the Selection of naval Commanders, with almost the single Exceptions of Barrington and Rodney, cannot be denied. Nor was he more fortunate in saving our homeward and outward bound mercantile Fleets, many of which fell into the Enemy's Hands. Neither did our Squadrons intercept, combat, and vanquish the Fleets of the House of Bourbon, as they had done during the preceding War. All these Facts must be conceded. It is equally true that he had incurred a great Portion of national ill Will, and had made inveterate Enemies, particularly in the Navy. He was become very generally unpopular in 1782. If therefore, those two Reasons are esteemed sufficient to call for his Dismission, no Doubt Fox had Reason on his Side. But, on the Article of Inability, his Attack was altogether untenable. Few Men of high Rank possessed and manifested more Energy, Industry, Enlargement of Mind, and Variety of Talent, than that Nobleman. He found, on coming into Employment, as Head of the

Admiralty, the Magazines and Store-houses of all the Dock Yards, exhausted, or empty. He replenished them. He had, by the Vigor of his Exertions, overcome the dangerous Combinations formed by the Workmen in the royal Yards. He had repaired near one Hundred and fifty Ships of War, during his naval Administration. But, Unanimity, Concord, Enthusiasm, he neither could preserve, nor create, nor revive, among the Officers under his Department. Probably, this Calamity originated more in the Nature of the War, than from the Fault of Lord Sandwich: the Obloquy and the Punishment however fell upon *him.*

The two Debates, of the 7th and the 20th of February, had, each, their peculiar Features. In the first, Fox performed the principal Part, as Lord Mulgrave did the second; one attacking, the other defending the Nobleman whose Administration was under Parliamentary Enquiry. Keppel said little; but, Lord Howe flung all his Weight into the Scale of Opposition. Pitt likewise added his powerful Eloquence to that Party. If ever I beheld Lord North in earnest, by which I mean, anxiously desirous to protect

and to justify his Colleague, it was on the Evening in Question. He doubtless felt, that having lost Lord George Germain, and only metamorphosed the Treasurer of the Navy into a Secretary of State, by which Transmutation, no Accession of Interest or of Ability would be gained to Government; ——if Lord Sandwich should likewise be driven from his Situation, his own Continuance at the Head of His Majesty's Councils, must become very precarious. While however he highly justified, and even extolled the Earl of Sandwich's professional Services, he admitted that many of the most popular naval Commanders were unemployed and disgusted; but, he denied that their Disgust was by any Means attributable to Ministers. Sheridan availing himself with great Ingenuity and Promptitude, of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Assertion, called on the Admirals present by Name, and invoked them to declare the Reasons of their respective Retirement from active Service. Nor did he fail to represent Lord North's Expression, as insulting to those Officers, as well as deficient in Modesty or Decency. Lord Howe nevertheless declined to say one Word in Explanation of his own Motives for with-

drawing from Employment, though the House waited for some Moments, in silent Expectation of his gratifying their Curiosity. But, Pigot, either more irritated against the first Lord of the Admiralty, or more implicitly devoted to Fox, rose, and explained the Causes of his Dissatisfaction. They were singular, and obtained Belief, when he asserted that having made an Offer of his Services to Lord Sandwich, that Nobleman in Reply asked him for his Interest at the India House, where several of his own Friends were under Prosecution for having arrested and confined Lord Pigot, when Governor of Madras. "On my refusing," continued the Admiral, "to take Part in "Favor of Men who had caused my Bro-"ther's Death, Lord Sandwich, with a Sneer "informed me, that he would lay before His "Majesty, my Readiness to serve him: but "from that Hour, I have never received any "Answer."

I have heard it confidently asserted by Persons who were conversant in the secret History of those Times, that between the first and the second Debate, Lord Sandwich received a Proposition, the Object of which

was to induce him to give in his immediate Resignation; offering him, as a Recompense for this Service done to the Crown and to Administration, the Order of the *Garter*, together with a Pension of four thousand Pounds a Year for Life. I have not the least Doubt of the Truth of this Anecdote. Indeed, Fox alluded to it, in the Course of the second Discussion relative to the Nobleman at the Head of the Admiralty; but he affected to consider it as merely a Report set on Foot by Ministers, in Order to serve the Purpose of the Day, and to mislead the Country Gentlemen with Promises or Expectations never intended to be realized. Lord Sandwich rejected the Proposal, though coming from Lord North; and though the State of his private Fortune was so limited or so embarrassed, as by no Means to place him above the Necessity of looking to official Situation. Such a Rejection seems to indicate that he entertained the most sanguine, though, as the Event proved, the most fallacious Expectations, of the Duration of Ministry; or that he grossly miscalculated his own Interests. In less than six Weeks afterwards, I saw his Furniture carrying off from the Admiralty, of

which official Residence, Keppel, just named his Successor, was taking Possession.

[20th February.] Fox, who opened the second Debate on Lord Sandwich, as he had done the first; elated, as it was natural he should be, at the Division on the preceding Question, began by observing that "under any other Administration than the "present, the Number of Persons who had "voted with Opposition on a former Night, "would have been regarded as a Majority." "For," added he, "they certainly consti-"tuted the Voice of the People; nor would "any Minister except the noble Lord in the "blue Ribband, presume to retain a Man "in Employment, against whom the popu-"lar Sentiment had been so loudly pro-"nounced." The Motion, which attributed "great Mismanagement to His Majesty's "naval Affairs in the Year 1781," was seconded by Pitt; and I believe, it forms the only Instance on Record, where the one of those two illustrious Individuals moved, and the other seconded the same Question, during their long Parliamentary Career. In the Progress of the Debate, Pitt took an active Part, enforcing with great Warmth,

the Proofs adduced of the Inability or Misconduct of the first Lord of the Admiralty. From every Quarter, Government was assailed. General Conway, Dunning, and Sheridan, united on the same Side, the Powers of Reason, Wit, and Argument; while Admiral Keppel and Lord Howe attacked in Detail, by a Statement of Facts, the official Administration of Lord Sandwich; which they stigmatized as deficient in Judgment, Energy, and Activity. Lord North remained silent; but, Lord Mulgrave maintained with no inconsiderable Ability, the Claims of his Principal, to national Respect, Approbation, and Gratitude. Dundas, who never absented himself, or shrunk from the Call of political Adherence, came forward manfully on the Occasion. It was however from another Individual that Administration received the most seasonable, as well as efficacious Aid. Sir William Dolben, whose double Capacity, as a Country Gentleman, and as one of the Representatives for the University of Oxford, gave him a proportionate Weight; though he admitted the alledged Mismanagement to be sufficiently proved by the Contents of the Papers laid on the Table, yet refused to

support a Motion for the Dismission of Lord Sandwich. Still less, he said, could he concur in a Vote for bringing that Nobleman to Trial. In vain Mr. Thomas Pitt, with the wheedling and querulous Eloquence which characterized him, endeavoured to demonstrate the Inconsistency or Contradiction of such a Line of Parliamentary Action. Vainly he tried to shew that no Man who concurred in finding the Culpability, could hesitate to punish the Offender. Sir William Dolben stopt short; declaring at the same Time, that he should not even support the present Question, if it was intended or understood to be a Preliminary to stronger and more personal Steps. It became therefore evident that there was a Point, at which Individuals who were of no Party, would make a Stand, and withhold their Support from Opposition.

[22nd February.] Every Day, from this Time down to the Hour when Lord North suddenly threw up the Administration of Affairs, was marked by the most violent Exertions on both Sides. Incredible Efforts were made to procure Attendance in Parliament. The Opposition, conscious that not

a Moment should be lost, allowed the Minister no Respite. Having compelled the Colonial Secretary of State to give in his Dismission, and impressed an indelible Mark of Parliamentary Condemnation or Censure on the first Lord of the Admiralty, they directed their next Operations against Lord North himself, as the Head of the State Machine. Scarcely forty-eight Hours after the last Debate on Lord Sandwich, General Conway introduced a Motion for addressing His Majesty, "to renounce any "further Attempts to reduce America by "Force." Notwithstanding the Eloquence of the new Secretary of State, Mr. Ellis, who on this Occasion displayed very considerable Talents, it became impossible to induce the House to maintain the Contest. Burke, in Addition to all the Arguments suggested by the Nature of the Subject, and the exhausted Condition of Great Britain; oppressed the recently appointed Minister, under the Flashes of intolerable Wit, supported by the keenest Ridicule. Never on any Occasion was he more happy in his Allusions, or more pointed in his Irony! After felicitating Mr. Ellis on succeeding as Heir to the noble Viscount, at whose Feet he had

been brought up, and whose political Opinions he implicitly adopted; Burke compared him to a Caterpillar, who having long remained in a torpid State, within the silken Folds of his lucrative Employment as Treasurer of the Navy, now bursting his Ligaments, fluttered forth, the Secretary of the Hour. Pursuing this Comparison with inconceivable Humor, he directed the whole Force of his powerful Mind, in impelling his Audience no longer to support a hopeless, ruinous, and unavailing Conflict. I have always considered this Debate, as one of the most interesting of any at which I ever was present. General Conway performed the principal, but, by no means the most brilliant Part in it. The Opposition, during the Course of this great Siege, which in 1782 had already lasted nearly as long as the War of Troy, selected their Assailants for each progressive Attack, as Homer does his Heroes. The General, on whom fell the present Effort, was not distinguished by the Superiority of his Eloquence. Nevertheless, he drew universal Attention, when, addressing himself to the new Secretary of State for America, he demanded what were the Right Honorable Gentleman's Inten-

tions, or on what Principles he meant henceforward to conduct the Trans-Atlantic Contest. Nor was the Attention diminished, when, expressing his Apprehensions that in Mr. Ellis would survive all his Predecessor's political Sentiments, Conway exclaimed in the Words of Horace to the Roman Republic, after the Fury of the civil Wars,

> O Navis! referent in Mare te *novi*
> Fluctus?——

Lord John Cavendish was chosen to second the Motion. It must be owned that Ellis's Position demanded Talents of no common Order, to enable him to meet so severe and so formidable an Inquisition. The Opposition Rows, full in his View, were crowded with eager Candidates for Power, animated by Hope, and impelled by Ambition; while a deep Cloud overhung the Treasury Bench, and spread its chilling Influence over that Part of the House. The new, but, aged Minister, felt all the Awkwardness, Difficulties, and Embarrassment of his Situation. There was even some Degree of Ridicule attached to a Man of Seventy accepting such an Employment,

under the desperate Circumstances in which he had taken it, on Lord Sackville's Resignation. In Order to obviate these Objections, Mr. Ellis, after acquitting himself with great Circumspection, Gravity, and Ability, in the Course of a long Speech, finished by observing, that "he had come into the Office which he held, to employ the Remains "of Vigor left him by Age and Infirmity, "for the Benefit of the State." "I have "now made," said he, "my Confession of "Faith, and trust it may prove satisfactory "to the House." Burke instantly fastened like a Vulture, on the Secretary's Declaration. "A Confession of Faith," observed he, "more obscure, more absurd, more in-"comprehensible, was never framed or deli-"vered for the Delusion and Calamity of "Mankind! Like Confessions of Faith of "the same unintelligible Description, it can "only be supported by Miracles. For, "what Satisfaction has the *young* Secretary "given to the House? Not one Word have "we been able to extract from him, which "the last American Minister has not told "us, five Years ago. The Name may indeed "be changed, and henceforward it may be "denominated a French War, carried on in

" the Fields of America: but, the fatal Sys-
" tem remains unaltered." Then fixing his Eyes upon Ellis, " I may assert," continued he, " that the late Colonial Secretary, though " called up by Patent to another House, " still occupies in Effigy his antient Seat. " There we behold him, with all the Plans " for reducing America, thick upon him. He " is the universal Legatee of the noble Lord, " who has bequeathed to him all his own " Projects; nay, his very Language and " Ideas; his *ipsissima Verba*. He still lives " and speaks among us, only transformed " into the Appearance and Form of the " Right Honorable Gentleman."

Jenkinson having risen soon afterwards, with the Intention of explaining to the House, the precise Description of the War prospectively intended to be carried on beyond the Atlantic, and thus satisfying the Enquiries of Opposition; observed, that "his " Idea embraced only *a War of Posts;* to " retain henceforward no regular Army in " the Field; but, while we kept Possession " of certain military Positions, to attack the " Enemy whenever any favorable Occasions " should present themselves." As Burke

had pounced upon the Secretary of State, so Fox started up to answer the Secretary at War. After congratulating the House and the Country, that *two Hundred and nineteen* independent Men had been found on the recent Question respecting the Nobleman at the Head of the Admiralty; he observed, that if the People would only consider the Number of Placemen and Contractors, who most unworthily occupied Seats in that Assembly, the late Division must be esteemed an unequivocal Majority against Administration. "I am however glad," exclaimed he, "to have at length ascertained from the "Speech of the Right Honorable Gentle-"man that has just sat down, who is that "evil Spirit which produces all our Calami-"ties. It is *an Individual higher than the* "*noble Lord in the blue Ribband:—for,* "*that noble Person is only his Puppet, and* "*acts under his Direction.* The Right Ho-"norable Member has spoken out, and I "will take the Word of *a Principal.* Those "ostensible Ministers who occupy Seats on "the same Bench near him, are merely *se-*"*condary and subordinate Agents. That in-*"*fernal Spirit which really governs, and has* "*so nearly overturned this Country; a Spirit,*

"*which, though not so visible as Ministers, is* "*far greater than them; has spoken through* "*the Mouth of the Right Honorable Gentle-*" *man.* We now perceive that the War be-" yond the Atlantic, is to be prosecuted as " violently as heretofore; but it is to be car-" ried on *with* America, and not *in* Ame-" rica." Jenkinson rose, solely for the Purpose of disavowing that he was animated by any Spirit except his own, and the Debate took a new Turn.

When we reflect on the Import of Fox's Expressions, and consider how obviously, or rather unavoidably they applied to the Sovereign;—if we further call to our Attention, that Fox was at that very Moment a Candidate for high Office, and became actually Secretary of State to the Prince against whom he had levelled such Imputations, within six Weeks after he used them in Parliament; we ought not to be surprized that His Majesty could not immediately obliterate them from his Recollection. Even had they been as well founded, as I consider them to have been erroneous or exaggerated, they were not the less contrary to every Dictate of Prudence. Pitt,

however violent and personal he might be against Ministers, yet observed Measures in his Indignation. The different political Fortune of the two Individuals, flowed principally from this opposite Line of Conduct. Fox, in the Ardor of his Pursuit, forgot that any Moderation was necessary, either towards the King, or towards Lord North. He ought nevertheless to have foreseen, how soon Contingencies might impel him to coalesce with the Minister, whom he now held up to national Aversion. And he should have remembered that it is easier to force the Barriers of State, than to stand firm within them. He seemed never to recollect that the Marquis of Rockingham's *first* Administration lasted scarcely ten Months. His *second* Possession of Power, was fated to be of much shorter Duration. So difficult is it, even under the British Constitution, to govern without the Consent or Inclination of the Monarch!

Lord North, who never wanted Presence of Mind, or betrayed any Defect of Capacity; and who knew that however odious the American War had become, he was personally beloved; endeavoured to stimulate

the Opposition to propose an Address to the Crown for his Removal, as being, He said, a Measure more advantageous to the State, than to leave him ostensibly possessed of Power, while his Hands would be fettered by Resolutions of the House. But, Fox and his Adherents well knew that they could not carry any such Proposition. They were only powerful upon one Point. Fox endeavoured on his Side, to induce the Lord Advocate of Scotland to vote with them for the Termination of the American War; charging him with Inconsistency, or with personal Animosity towards the late American Secretary, if he should now support the very Measures when proposed by Mr. Ellis, which he had reprobated from the Lips of Lord George Germain. It must be owned that Dundas lay open to that Imputation, as did Rigby; though they both justified themselves with Ingenuity. The Paymaster of the Forces, while he avowed that no Hope of reducing the Colonies to Obedience now remained, and professing at the same Time his ardent Desire of Peace, yet refused to tye up the Powers of the executive Government. Both the *Pitts*, William and Thomas, exerted their different orato-

rical Efforts on that Night, and might be considered as well entitled to

"Pursue the Triumph, and partake the Gale."

The former, dignified, impressive, collected, was always heard with a Sort of Veneration, as the living Substitute of him who under two successive Reigns had subjected our foreign Enemies, while he trampled Opposition under his Feet. The latter, solemn and declamatory, if not theatrical; sometimes whining, yet often appealing with great Effect to the Passions, or to the Understanding of the House, scarcely drew less Attention. Their joint Co-operation unquestionably conduced to the Success, which crowned the Party at the Conclusion of the Debate. On that Night, the American War may indeed be said to have virtually terminated; the Question being carried on the Part of Government, by only *one* Vote, though near three hundred and ninety Members divided. Many of those who supported the Minister, seemed not less rejoiced at the apparent Conclusion of the War, than the Persons on the opposite Side: and it has been supposed, with Reason, that Lord North

himself, whose Disinclination to prosecute Hostilities beyond the Atlantic, was well known; did not really regret, though he was necessitated to oppose, the Motion of General Conway. Far from manifesting any Intention of laying down his Office in Consequence of it, he performed one of the most important Functions of First Minister, only three Days afterwards, by opening the *Budget*, and proposing a Loan. It is true that he postponed the Task of stating the Taxes to be imposed; but he did not the less declare his Determination to continue at the Head of His Majesty's Councils: nor did those Persons who were most in his Confidence, either question his Sincerity, or doubt his Resolution.

[25th February.] Retaining, as it was natural that he should do, a deep and acute Recollection of the severe Investigation, (which Fox denominated *Chastisement*,) inflicted on him for the Terms on which he had concluded the Loan of the preceding Year; Lord North adopted every Precaution on the present Occasion, to protect himself from similar Animadversion. Instead therefore of allowing Individuals to make private

Offers, he preferred a close Subscription with two different Sets of Men, each ignorant of the Conditions proposed by the other. Notwithstanding this Renunciation of all ministerial Influence in the Distribution of any Part of the Loan, he by no Means succeeded in disarming his Opponents, or in silencing calumnious Imputations. George Byng attacked the Terms, as in themselves bad, though he admitted them to be far less exceptionable than those of 1781. But, Fox inveighed against "the Mode adopted by "the noble Lord, of limiting Loans to a few "Individuals, which he maintained to be "merely a Manœuvre of Government." "Under that dark Cloak," exclaimed he, "are concealed all the Douceurs given to "Members of this House, to Placemen and "Contractors. Here we may perceive how "the Majorities were procured, which have "voted the Prosecution of the American "War, as well as the Rejection of the Mo-"tions relative to the Navy." Justly indignant at such a Charge, and conscious of the Rectitude of his ministerial Conduct, Lord North rose to repel the Accusation. "I "solemnly and seriously protest," said he, "that so far from having negotiated the pre-

" sent Loan with any View to Influence, I " have not, directly or indirectly, recom- " mended one Person for the smallest Share " or Portion of it. Nor do I even know by " whom the ostensible Contractors for it, " are supported in making their Payments. " Two Millions of it were indeed offered to " me, to be filled up with whatever Names I " might select; but I peremptorily refused " the Proposal."

Still incredulous, or more properly to speak, determined not to be convinced, Mr. Thomas Townsend affected to suppose, that though the First Minister had not interfered personally in the Distribution of the Loan, yet the official Persons who surrounded him, were unable to make the same Declaration. " Would the two Secre- " taries of the Treasury venture to assert, " that they had not recommended Indivi- " duals to fill the Lists of the ostensible " Contractors for the Loan?" This Question called up Robinson, who protested upon his Honor that he neither had recommended, nor would mention any Person to be placed on the List. Sir Grey Cooper reiterated the same Assurances; adding, that they could

not, even had they been so inclined, disobey the positive Injunctions of the first Lord of the Treasury. Burke pretended, notwithstanding such specific Declarations on the Part of Men in Office, to consider the Bargain as calculated to conceal, while it promoted, ministerial Influence. It is however well known that never was any Measure of Finance conducted on Principles more pure, disinterested, and wholly exempt from a View to sustain Administration. It was indeed so exempt from any Imputation or Reproach of that Nature, by the total Exclusion of Members of Parliament who had anticipated a Share in it, as to have occasioned in Consequence of the Disappointment, some mercantile Catastrophes, and even some more melancholy domestic or personal Scenes, over which I draw a Veil. Lord North having stated the Amount of the Loan, and the Nature of the Terms proposed, entreated of the House to excuse him if he did not enter on the Enumeration of his intended Taxes, for a few Days; "pos-"sessing," he said, "neither Strength of "Body, nor sufficient intellectual Power and "Clearness of Understanding, to comply "with the ordinary Practice of laying before

" them on the same Evening, both the Loan " and the Taxes." This Indulgence was not denied him.

It became indeed apparent, that though a Majority of the House of Commons might be still disposed to support the Ministry, they were altogether weary of continuing that Contest for the Reduction of America, which during near seven Years had produced only an Accumulation of Expense, of Disgrace, and of Misfortune. But, on the other Hand, the Opposition soon discovered that the compulsory Termination of the American War, and the Resignation of Lord North, constituted by no Means, as they had flattered themselves, things synonymous, or inseparable. When General Conway, encouraged by the Event of his late Motion, brought the Subject again before the House, he indeed out-numbered the Minister on the Division, by *nineteen*, leaving him thus in a Minority.

[27th February.] On this Occasion Conway attempted to induce, or rather to oblige Dundas and Rigby to vote with him, by reminding them of their late Declarations

respecting the American War. And he observed, that "if he might borrow an Allu-
"sion from the sacred Text, he should say
"that they, as well as many other Members
"of the House, had received the Gift of
"Tongues. Cloven Tongues had alighted
"upon them. Not, indeed, Tongues of
"Sincerity and Truth; but, *double Tongues;*
"one for Parliament; the other for private
"Society." This singular Metaphor, drawn from such a Source, excited no ordinary Sensation. Lord North, who no doubt felt that his own Sincerity might become questionable at St. James's, if he did not strenuously oppose the Motion; endeavoured by every Pledge and Assurance that he could give, to prove that Ministry had renounced all Intention of carrying on offensive War beyond the Atlantic. "If, however," he added, "no Faith was lent to these Pro-
"testations, and that the Truth or Integrity
"of Ministers was doubted, it became the
"House to address the Crown for their
"Removal, and for the Appointment of
"Successors entitled to Parliamentary Con-
"fidence. Should this House," continued he, "withdraw from me the Confidence
"which they have so long reposed in me,

" it will become my Duty, without staying " for an Address to remove me, to wait on " my Sovereign, to present him the Seal of " my Office, and to say, Sir, I have served " you long and zealously; but, your Par- " liament will no longer confide in me. " Suffer me therefore to resign into Your " Majesty's Hands, all my Employments, " in Order that they may be bestowed on " some other Person, who, with better Suc- " cess, though not with more Fidelity or " Zeal, will give Satisfaction to the Coun- " try." Then adverting to Conway's Re- proach of the " cloven Tongues." He sub- joined with more than common Emphasis, " I do not wish for the Support of any such " double-tongued Senators. I desire to " stand this Night, solely on the Merits of " my Cause. And I now call upon all my " Friends to put out of their View, every " Consideration personal to myself. Let " them vote according to the Dictates of " their unbiassed Judgment! The Removal " of Ministers, forms no Punishment. His " Majesty has a Right to call to his Coun- " cils, or to exclude from them, whomever " he may please. I thank God, Mr. Speaker, " that mere Disgrace, in the ministerial Sense

" of the Term, constitutes no Crime! The " Constitution has conferred on the King, " the Power of dismissing his confidential " Servants at his Pleasure: but, it has pro- " vided that the Dismission shall not entail " any Criminality; because in the Eye of " the Law, no Individual can be pronounced " criminal without a fair Trial." Never, probably, in the Records of Parliament, was a more manly, yet affecting Appeal made by any Minister, to the Feelings and Principles of his Audience. When Lord North sate down, the Attorney General rose; and after pointing out the Impediments that presented themselves to an immediate *Peace* with the Colonies, proposed a *Truce*, as at once more judicious, beneficial, and practicable. He added, that he had already prepared a Motion for Leave to introduce a Bill, enabling the Ministers to treat on this Ground. And with a View to Expedition, in Order that not a Moment might be lost, he concluded by moving that " the present Debate be ad- " journed for a Fortnight."

Alarmed at the Idea that in Consequence of the Attorney General's Proposition, the Prey which they had so nearly hunted down,

might yet escape them; the leading Members of Opposition fastened upon it with equal Violence and Ability. Pitt led the Way, and endeavoured to demonstrate, as he had done in preceding Debates, that no Confidence could be reposed in the ministerial Promises. "Was there," he demanded, "one Assurance which they had not falsi-"fied? Was there any Plan of Operations "in which they coincided? No! Their "whole System was incessant Vacillation; "in which the House could place no Trust." With uncommon Ingenuity and Acumen, Dunning, who already beheld a Coronet, as Macbeth does a Dagger, marshalling his Way; and who within five Weeks afterwards, actually kissed the King's Hand, on being raised to the Peerage;——Dunning attacked the Minister's Speech, as the most unintelligible and incomprehensible Farrago, ever pronounced within the Walls of the House. He protested that he did not understand one Syllable of it; that it was a mere Specimen of human Duplicity, calculated for Purposes of State Deception, unworthy of Reply. His learned Friend, (Wallace's) *Truce*, he treated as a wretched Stratagem of an expiring Party, only designed to allure over to the

Minister's Side, three or four undecided Votes. With persuasive Earnestness he entreated the Assembly to support the Motion proposed by Conway, as the only temperate and conclusive Measure for binding down the Administration. Fox added his Weight to these Arguments; and stigmatized the proposed *Truce*, which he denominated a Trick, adopted for the Purpose of protracting the Existence of Ministry, who hoped thereby to gain the Respite of a few Days.

The new Secretary of State took no active Part in the Discussion of that interesting Evening, nor once opened his Lips. He seemed indeed not to have recovered the Effect produced by Burke's insulting Irony, only a few Days earlier, and contented himself with giving a silent Support. Not so Dundas. The characteristic Energy of his Mind always propelled him forward; and having answered General Conway's Imputation of speaking with *a double Tongue*, which Act of Inconsistence he disclaimed, either in, or out of Parliament, he warmly supported the Attorney General's Proposal. But, it was likewise sustained from another Quarter. Sir William Dolben, who had

voted with Opposition on the 22d, rose for the Purpose of declaring that he considered the proposed Measure of a *Truce*, as the most proper to be adopted, and refused to proceed another Step against the existing Administration. As his Example might operate with great Effect among the Country Gentlemen, who formed so large, as well as so respectable and independent a Portion of the Assembly, Sir William was instantly assailed from a Variety of Quarters. Mr. Thomas Townsend besought him to examine his Conscience, before he gave so inconsistent a Vote; while Powis lamented the Defection of an Individual, whose private Character justly excited universal Respect. "As a "Friend," said he, "I regret, but, as a "Member of this House, I reprobate his "Line of Conduct. Nor do I comprehend "how, after such contradictory Behaviour, "he can look his Constituents or his Coun-"try, in the Face." Sir Fletcher Norton endeavoured to demonstrate, that the former Motion of Conway, and the present, were in Fact the same: adding, that there had not happened any Change of public Affairs, which could warrant or justify an Alteration of Sentiment in the Honorable Baronet.

Sir William nevertheless remaining inflexible, and having risen a second Time, in Order to explain more accurately the Principles which determined his Resolution; Sheridan opened on him a Battery of Wit, calculated to expose him to universal Ridicule. It is however probable that had Lord North survived the Session, and continued at the Head of Affairs, so important a Service, rendered at a Crisis of such general Depression and Dismay, would not have remained unrewarded. A Peerage might with Reason have been conferred on a Man, whose Support was above all Estimation under the existing Circumstances. The Detestation nevertheless, universally excited by the American War, had reached such a Point, as to overbear every Attempt to prolong its Duration. Previous to the Debate, the Sheriffs of the City of London had presented at the Bar, a Petition from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, imploring the House to interpose in such Manner as they should conceive to be most effectual, for terminating further Hostilities against the Colonies. Many of the most ancient Adherents of the Minister, began to waver. Sir Gilbert Elliott, who had hitherto uni-

formly supported Administration, made his Retractation, and joined the Opposition. Soon after one o'Clock in the Morning, the Cry of Question became general. Two Hundred and thirty-four Persons voted with Conway. Only two Hundred and fifteen adhered to the Minister. No sooner was the Result known, and the Triumph over Lord North ascertained from the Chair, than the Acclamations,—for, such they might be justly denominated;—pierced the Roof, and might have been heard in Westminster Hall. Two of the *Tellers* on that eventful Night, still survive: I mean, the Earl of Lauderdale, and Mr. Baron Adam. The other two, Robinson, and George Byng, are long since dead. Information of the Event was instantly transmitted, notwithstanding the advanced Hour, to His Majesty, at the Queen's House. Conway following up the Blow, carried without any Division, before the Assembly adjourned, an Address to the Throne, soliciting the Sovereign to "stop "the Prosecution of any further Hostilities "against the revolted Colonies, for the Pur"pose of reducing them to Obedience by "Force." It was ordered to be presented by the whole House.

[1st—4th March.] Under these critical and portentous Circumstances, which seemed to announce still greater Changes or Convulsions as imminent, opened the Month of March. The King nevertheless retained all his Firmness; and though the Reply that he made to the Commons when they arrived at St. James's, was couched in gracious Language, yet the Terms of it might be esteemed vague and general; only stating that "he would adopt such Measures as he "should think most conducive *to restore* " *Harmony* between Great Britain and her " Colonies," without specifically promising not to carry on any further *Operations of War* for their Reduction by Force. A Fact which made a still deeper Impression upon the public Mind, and which the Opposition considered as eloquently developing the royal Feelings towards his American Subjects, was the Appearance of General Arnold at Court, when the King received the Address. So obnoxious an Individual, known to breathe an inveterate Aversion towards his insurgent Countrymen; standing close to His Majesty's Chair on such an Occasion, and at his right Hand, inspired Alarm, while it produced Animadversion.

Lord Surrey, than whom no Man of whatever Rank, inherited more of the rough Spirit of the Barons who forced John to sign the "Magna Charta;" and who was never deterred by any Delicacy or Respect for the Prejudices of a crowned Head, from uttering his Opinions, however unpalatable they might prove;——this Nobleman, who began already to perform a prominent Part under Fox, in the Parliamentary Drama; rising in his Place, a few Days afterwards, reprobated in the warmest Manner, "the wanton "and indecent Insult," as he denominated it, offered by Ministers in the Drawing Room, to the Representatives of the People. No Notice having however been taken of his Complaint, from any Part of the House, it did not produce any further Debate or Proceeding.

[4th March.] General Conway, now completely Master of the Deliberations of the lower House, on the Subject of America; and not conceiving the Renunciation of all future Hostilities against the Colonies, to have been expressed from the Throne, in Words sufficiently affirmative; presented himself once more to public Notice. While

he proposed and carried another Address to the Sovereign, thanking him for his gracious Reply; with some Inconsistency he moved immediately afterwards to declare "Ene-"mies to His Majesty and to their Country, "all those who should advise or attempt to "prosecute offensive War on the Continent "of North America." The first Lord of the Treasury, after exposing the Contradiction of the Mover's Conduct, in thus affecting to offer their Acknowledgments to the King for his Answer, and in the same Breath manifesting their Doubts of his Sincerity; observed, that whatever might be his private Opinions, he conceived it his indispensable Duty to obey the Orders of a Majority of that Assembly. "But," added he, "Par-"liament having expressed its Commands, "it is scarcely possible that any Minister "can be found, sufficiently bold, daring, and "infamous, to advise his Sovereign to act in "Opposition to their Wishes. I cannot "therefore conceive that the present Motion, "which assumes and pre-supposes the Exis-"tence of such a Minister, can ever be ne-"cessary." Nor did this Objection constitute the sole Ground on which Lord North combated the Proposition, as he asserted that very considerable Obscurity pervaded

the Orders themselves; which Circumstance might incapacitate even the best intentioned Cabinet from knowing with Certainty, whether they were adhering to, or deviating from, the Pleasure of the House.

After a Discussion of considerable Length, in which Thomas and William Pitt, both, took Part, as well as many other Members; but, without materially elucidating or explaining the Points under Investigation, Fox rose, and began by expressing his total Dissatisfaction with the Answer of the Crown. He observed, that he was not present in the House, when they voted an Address of Thanks to the King, as he understood, unanimously; though, had he been there, he should certainly have coincided in that Testimony of personal Respect to the Sovereign. The Ministers alone ought to be deemed criminal, for advising their royal Master to follow a Plan of Conduct opposed to the Advice of his faithful Commons. Then directing his Discourse personally to Lord North, in Answer to the Professions of Deference which he had made for the Orders of a Majority of that Assembly; Fox, with more Asperity than was natural to him, inveighed against these illusory Protestations, only

adopted or forgotten, just as the Exigencies of his Situation dictated. "The Position "of the noble Lord," exclaimed he, "is "truly embarrassing. The Majority of this "House has been, and is against him. Yet "still he retains his Place. He stands in a "Predicament unprecedented since the Re- "volution. He remains in Office, when the "Commons have condemned his System. "Under Circumstances so unconstitutional "and humiliating, he must necessarily ad- "dress his Sovereign when he enters the "royal Presence, in Language to the fol- "lowing Effect, 'I come, Sire, to advise "you to adopt a Measure totally opposite "to my own Opinion; but, it is the Opinion "of a Majority of the House of Commons.' "Is then this Country so reduced by Cala- "mities, so poor in Spirit, or so indifferent "to all Events, as to permit a Minister to "conduct Affairs, in a Moment big with "Danger like the present, who dares not "carry into Execution his own Plans?—No "Man respects more than I do, the free, in- "corrupt Voice of the Majority of this "House: but, when I contemplate the Ma- "jority composed of Contractors, procured "by Means the most corrupt, who have

" been declared ineligible to sit here, I do " not respect such a Majority."

" I thank God," continued Fox, " that " the House of Commons has come to the " Resolutions which terminate the Ameri- " can War! Those Resolutions have utterly " destroyed and annihilated the Principle, " they have subverted the Basis, of the pre- " sent System, *Corruption.* It is not credi- " ble that any Minister, however daring or " profligate he may be, can presume to re- " tain his Employment after the Intelligence " which has just reached us, of the Capture " of Minorca, where fifteen Hundred Troops " have surrendered Prisoners of War. The " Loss of that valuable Possession, in the " Year 1756, drove from their Seats an Ad- " ministration, far more able and powerful " than the present Cabinet. This Day, a " Report is current that St. Kitt's has been " taken by the Enemy; the most important " Island, with the single Exception of Ja- " maica, which we still continue to retain in " the West Indies.—The only Victory to " which the People of this fallen Country " look with Hope, or which they hear with " Exultation, is the Triumph recently gain-

" ed within these Walls, over His Majesty's " Ministers, who are universally regarded as " the Enemies of their Country. This Tri- " umph coming now, has overcome *Corrup-* " *tion.* Its Reign is terminated. If the Con- " quest had sooner taken Place, perhaps " some paltry, insignificant *Coalitions* might " have been contrived, which would have " rendered less unpalatable the System it- " self. But, now, however Ministers may " hold out for a Day, a Week, a Month, or " even for a Year, the Foundation is sub- " verted. It must collapse; and then effec- " tual Measures may be devised to prevent " its future Revival."

Such was nearly the Substance of this memorable Speech, unquestionably one of the most able, as well as persuasive, ever pronounced by Fox, and which produced a proportionate Effect on the Audience. Many Parts of it were indeed unanswerable; and the new Secretary of State scarcely could reply to the concluding Enquiries of Fox relative to the Fate of St. Kitt's, which he however did in a few hesitating, spiritless Sentences. Lord North remained silent, nor did the Lord Advocate advance to his

Assistance; and under so depressed a State of Things, the Speaker had already prepared to put the Question, when Rigby rose. Never could he have appeared more opportunely on the Scene, or at a Moment when his Exertions were more necessary to re-invigorate the ministerial Ranks. His very Figure and Aspect, unblushing, fearless, confident, as if formed to stem the Torrent of Opposition even when most violent, powerfully aided the Effect of his Oratory. He commenced by observing, that though it was not his Intention to divide the House, yet he should unquestionably give his Negative to the Motion, in order that it might not pass unanimously. And he remarked on the Singularity, as well as Inconsistency, of disapproving His Majesty's Answer, and yet returning him Thanks for it. This Conduct sufficiently proved that the Charge so often made against Ministers, of being divided among themselves, might with more Justice be applied to Opposition. "As to the Mo-
"tion," subjoined he, "declaring Enemies
"to their Country, all such as should advise
"the King to continue War against the Co-
"lonies, I consider it nugatory: because I
"cannot suppose that any Member of Ad-

" ministration, will dare to disobey the po-
" sitive Injunctions of this House. But,
" probably it has been devised and adopted,
" merely to calm tender Consciences, there-
" by to conceal Dissensions. Thus, the
" Vote of Thanks, and the present Motion,
" are intended to balance each other. I ima-
" gine, one Set of Men may have consented
" to support the first; under the Condition,
" that another Description will agree to vote
" the second."

"Much has been said," continued Rigby, " about *Majorities* which have voted against " the noble Lord in the blue Ribband. " And how has he got the better of those " Resolutions? Why, by other Majorities. " It has always been the Cry, that the *Ins* " were corrupt, and the *Outs* were fac- " tious. But, it forms no political Pheno- " menon, that a Minister should retain his " Place after he has been left in a Minority. " All Sides of this House have been occa- " sionally wrong. Lord Rockingham's Ad- " ministration, which repealed the Stamp " Act, yet declared the *Right* of Parlia- " ment to make Laws for America. Even " the Honorable Member who now repre-

"sents Westminster, voted for the *Boston* "*Port Bill.* If so little Faith is to be re- "posed in the Assurances of His Majesty's "Ministers, better move at once to remove "them from their Employments!" The blunt, not to say contemptuous, Levity, accompanied with some personal Observations of a disagreeable Kind, which characterized Rigby's Speech from its Commencement to its Close, gave a new Color to the Debate, while it excited no ordinary Commotion among the Opposition Ranks. Fox, whose early Parliamentary Transgressions, when formerly seated near Lord North on the Treasury Bench, frequently appeared to him, like Brutus's evil Genius; started up to explain his unfortunate Vote on the Boston Port Bill. His Excuse seemed, I believe, even to his Friends, not the most satisfactory; as he could assign no better Reason for it, than that Lord North had pledged himself, if the Tea which the Americans threw overboard, was paid for by them, he would drop all further Idea of Taxation.

Rigby having, in the Progress of his Speech, said rather unadvisedly, that "he "was tired of the American War, though as

" Paymaster of the Forces, he was by no " Means tired of receiving Cash;" which singular Expression he however qualified by " adding, that he could nevertheless speak " his Opinion honestly, uninfluenced by his Place;" Mr. Pitt remarked with great Severity on the Words. He observed, that " if " the Right Honorable Gentleman was not " tired of receiving, the Nation was weary " of paying, Cash to a Person, who profited " more by the War than any four Members " of that Assembly." Almost any other Individual than Rigby, would have been disconcerted by so invidious a Comment, coming too from such a Quarter. But, he, far from shrinking back, or exhibiting the slightest Mark of Discomposure, stood up; and directing his Looks, as well as his Reply, to Pitt and Fox, who sate very near each other on the Opposition Side of the House, almost under the Gallery, " I will just venture to " remark," said he, " that however lucrative " my Office may be, it has been held by *the* " *Fathers of the two Honorable Members who* " *spoke last;* and I make little Doubt that " whenever I may be compelled to quit it, " *those Gentlemen themselves may have an* " *Eye to getting Hold of it.* I repeat, I am

"not at all tired of receiving Money; but I "am not to be told, because I receive the "Emoluments of my Place, that I am there- "fore the Author of my Country's Ruin." Neither Fox nor Pitt attempted any Retort. The former, indeed, on all Occasions treated Rigby with marked Regard; and more than once had spoken in his Place, of that Gentleman's Ability, Independence of Mind, and political Principles, in Terms approaching to Panegyric. But, Barré, after complaining that he had retained in his Hands as Paymaster, an enormous Balance of public Money amounting to near 900,000*l.*; adverted with much Acrimony to the Aspersions thrown out against the Opposition, as being only a Rope of Sand. Conscious how much they were divided in Sentiment upon almost every Point, he endeavoured to derive an Inference from that very Dissimilarity of Opinion, favorable to their Principles. "A "Desire to prevent the Ruin of their Coun- "try, which the present Ministers," he said, "had nearly effected, formed the Tye that "bound them indissolubly together." The Debate now drew to a Close, General Conway's Motion passing without any Division. Rigby had acted the most conspicuous Part

in the Discussion, had gallantly exposed himself, and had covered the Minister's Retreat, though the Enemy kept Possession of the Field. These were Services, at such a Crisis, of no ordinary Description, and could scarcely have been performed by any other Member of the House. Indeed, had Lord North been animated by the same tenacious, firm, and buoyant Spirit, which the Paymaster of the Forces displayed, he would probably have surmounted the Storm. Already Sir George Rodney had reached the West Indies, and was preparing to attack the Fleet of France. But, his Administration was destined to a speedy Extinction.

[5th March.] If the Debate of which I have endeavoured faithfully, though imperfectly, to trace the Outlines, unveiled so much of the concealed Machinery, and private Feelings, of both Parties, during the Convulsions that preceded Lord North's political Exit; the Discussion, or rather, the Conversation of the following Evening, disclosed Matter not less interesting. The Attorney General having moved for Leave to bring in a Bill "to enable His Majesty to "conclude a *Truce* or *Peace* with the re-

"volted American Colonies;" Fox, aware that unless he could blunt this Weapon, the Minister might cut his Way by means of it, through the Opposition Squadrons which now nearly hemmed him in, rose instantly to force it out of the Hands of Government. "The only Treatment properly applicable "to such a Proposition, coming from such a "Quarter," he said, "would be to burst into "Laughter, and instantly to quit the House. "Ministers, after leaving us scarcely any "Possession except Jamaica and Gibraltar; "after refusing to suffer American Agents "to meet our Plenipotentiaries, under the "offered Mediation of foreign Powers; now "pretended to desire Peace. Let the learn- "ed Gentleman only look to his right and "to his left, he would there discover in the "Persons of the Ministers, his Friends, the "greatest Impediments to a Pacification. "But, before he sate down, he had a Propo- "sal to make to Administration." "I can "inform them," added he, "as a Matter of "Certainty, that there are Persons now in "Europe, fully authorized to negotiate Peace "between us and the Colonies. *And though "I believe, those Individuals will not treat "with the present Ministers, yet I can put*

" *them in the Way to make Peace. Nay* " *more, should they dislike personally coming* " *forward, I would undertake, myself, to* " *negotiate it for them.*" Observing a Smile on more than one Countenance opposite to him, he added, that in making such a Proposal, he was not more inconsistent than the noble Lord acted, who condemning the Resolutions moved by General Conway, yet advised his Sovereign to execute them. " Our Affairs," continued Fox, " are so des- " perate, that Ministers must either quit " their Places, or the Country is lost! Let " *Them* enjoy then the Emoluments which " they hold so precious, provided *I* can only " save the Empire. *If Peace can be pro-* " *cured, I am ready to serve them in any* " *Capacity, even that of a Commis, or of a* " *Messenger.*" Conscious that this patriotic Ebullition might subject him to some Comments, and perhaps apprehensive that it bore the Appearance of personal Approximation to a Government, the Members of which he had during many successive Years held up to national Condemnation or Contempt; he subjoined, " I request it may be clearly un- " derstood, that in making the Proposition, " I mean not to enter into any Connexion

" with Ministers. *From the Instant when I*
" *so act, or come to Terms with one of them,*
" *I will rest satisfied to be deemed infamous.*
" *I cannot for a Moment contemplate a Coa-*
" *lition with Men, who, as Ministers, in every*
" *Transaction, public or private, have proved*
" *themselves devoid of Honor or Honesty.*
" *In the Hands of such Men, I would not*
" *entrust my own Honor for a single Minute.*"

This extraordinary Declaration, one of the most imprudent and ill advised which Fox ever made in the Course of his long Parliamentary Life; was probably intended by him to impress a Belief on his Hearers and the Public, of the Facility with which *He and his Party* could obtain an honorable Peace. Nor, if considered under that Point of View, did it fail, like other political Delusions, practised in all Ages, to produce a temporary Effect. Wearied with the War, People of every Description, readily supposed that he could succeed in disposing the Americans to Conciliation. And they assumed with the same Credulity, that Administration would either find or fabricate Impediments to a Consummation so generally and anxiously desired. Unquestion-

ably therefore, the Expressions used by Fox, operated favorably to the Views and Objects of Opposition. I will fairly own that I was, myself, in some Degree duped by them, in common with others; and expected from Mr. Fox's Entrance into Office, the Return of Peace, as if by a Charm. The Event greatly deceived Expectation. In whatever Way however Fox's Speech affected Parliament and the Nation, it drew from the Minister a Reply full of Dignity, Independence of Mind, and becoming Resentment. Nor did he fail to mix in the Dose, some Portion of that Wit, without a few Grains of which Ingredient, Lord North rarely addressed the House. He began by denying in the most forcible Terms, the Disinclination to Peace, charged against himself and his Colleagues in the Cabinet. Then adverting to the *kind Offer* which Fox had just made of his Services, coupled at the same Time with his severe Language relative to Administration; Lord North observed, "These are good and substantial Reasons "for not trusting his Honor in my Hands. "Better Reasons cannot be assigned; and "as they are such, they shall serve me "against the Honorable Member. I will

" never employ a Person, who publicly de-
" clares that he can repose no Confidence in
" me. Thinking of him as I do, I am de-
" termined not to make him my Negotiator.
" He seems in a great Hurry to get Posses-
" sion of our Places. I am however yet to
" learn, that among those who are so im-
" patient to succeed, there exists any settled
" Agreement or System of Action. It will
" therefore be for the public Good that I
" should remain in Office, in Order to pre-
" vent, as I have hitherto done, Confusion
" in the State, and the Introduction of un-
" constitutional Principles. *I am for that*
" *Reason resolved not to quit my Post, until*
" *I shall receive my royal Master's Com-*
" *mands to leave it; or 'till the Will of this*
" *House, expressed in the most unequivocal*
" *Terms, shall point out the Propriety of my*
" *withdrawing from Employment.* As to
" the Emoluments of my Situation—God
" knows, were they forty Times greater than
" they are, they could form no adequate
" Compensation for my Anxiety and Vex-
" ations, aggravated by the uncandid Treat-
" ment that I frequently experience within
" these Walls! It is not Love of Power or
" of Greatness, that retains me in my Place.

" I speak in the Presence of Individuals who
" know how little I am attached to either:
" but I will not resign, till I can do it with
" Gratitude to my Sovereign and to the
" Public."

Fox attempted partly to explain away the harsh Epithets which he had applied to the Minister, and partly to hold up the Speech just pronounced, to Ridicule or Condemnation. But, its Impression was indelible. Neither Wolsey, nor Strafford, nor Clarendon, ever made a finer Appeal to their Contemporaries, nor to Posterity! In Reply to Fox's Accusations, accompanied with a Sneer at his asserting that he continued in Place, to prevent Confusion, Lord North humorously observed, " I undoubtedly have
" prevented much Confusion; and if I have
" not prevented more, it is only because
" there are others who possess greater Abi-
" lities in creating Confusion, than I have to
" prevent it. But, so long as Parliament
" shall not think proper to remove me,
" either by a Vote, or by wholly withdraw-
" ing from me their Confidence; the Honor-
" able Gentleman must excuse me, if I de-
" termine to hold my Situation." Who, after

so precise, so public, and so reiterated a Declaration, could have anticipated or expected, that within fifteen Days, though the House had *not* withdrawn from him its Confidence, Lord North would, standing in the same Place, and in the Midst of the same Assembly, lay down his Office! Fox made no further Answer, and the Attorney General's Motion passed without any Division: while the Minds of all Men were attracted towards the final Termination of a Scene so interesting to every Individual; but, the Issue of which, it was as yet impossible to foresee, from the Conduct or the Protestations of the first Minister.

[6th March.] With a View to the great Object of keeping alive public Clamour against Lord North, and above all of not allowing the Irritability of Parliament to subside; when that Nobleman, on the following Day, requested the Indulgence of the House for postponing the Taxes, on Account of the Hurry of Business, Burke and Fox, both, declaimed with Violence on the Subject. The former, after enumerating the Articles of Necessity or of Luxury, on which Taxation had already fallen within

the last few Years, and deploring the State of financial Exhausture into which we were plunged; concluded by making an ingenious and fanciful Exposition of our national Condition, viewed under a mercantile Form. "On one Side," said he, "we have *Debtor* "by Loss, One Hundred Millions of Money. "On the other, *Creditor* by Loss, One Hun- "dred Thousand Men; thirteen American "Provinces; an annual Revenue of Four "Millions, five Hundred Thousand Pounds; "five West India Islands; besides Florida "and Minorca." This Picture, addressed strongly to the Imagination and the Passions, highly colored, was likewise false or exaggerated. St. Christopher's, one of the Islands which he included in his List of Losses, founding his Assertion on false Intelligence industriously propagated, had not been captured by the Enemy. New York, as well as Charles Town, were held by our Forces, and might form Objects of Cession, or Negotiation. St. Lucia and Pondicherry,—one the Key of the West India Chain of Islands; the other, valuable as being the Capital of the French Establishments on the Coromandel Coast;—had both been subjected by our Arms, and were in our Possession.

But, these Facts or Considerations were wholly overlooked in a Moment of national and ministerial Depression. Then diverging with his characteristic Impetuosity, to Lord North's Declaration of the preceding Evening, that "he would not resign till "he could do it with Gratitude to the So-"vereign and to the Public;" Burke exclaimed, "The noble Lord's *Gratitude!* Oh! "Mr. Speaker, it resembles that of another "fallen Angel like himself,

> "The Debt immense of endless Gratitude,
> "So burthensome, still paying, still to owe."

Fox, on his Part, attacked the Minister with no less Animosity, and declared that all the Acts of his Administration were founded in systematic Delusion, sheltered by Obscurity, and stamped with Ignorance. He added that "as the parting Proof of the "noble Lord's *Gratitude*, when Jamaica and "Barbadoes, our only remaining Settlements "of Value, were lost, it might be presumed "he would think of retiring from Office." No Reply was made from the Treasury Bench, to such declamatory Charges, calculated for sustaining and inflaming the general Fermentation.

[8th March.] Unable nevertheless to effect Lord North's Removal, or to provoke his voluntary Resignation, by any Censures passed on the Conduct of the American War, or by any Interdictions of its future Prosecution; the Opposition became of necessity compelled to bring forward a personal Question, inculpating Administration. And it must be allowed, that in conducting this Measure, they proceeded with judicious, as well as with cautious Steps. A retrograde Movement, or an unsuccessful Attempt, they were well aware, would at once undo all that had hitherto been effected. Lord North, who was individually beloved, in, and out of the House, even by those who most disapproved or opposed many of his Measures; was likewise steadily supported by the Sovereign: while in the House of Lords, no Prospect of any Defection or Change had hitherto manifested itself. The Session moreover advanced rapidly; and if Easter arrived, Experience had proved that a full Attendance could not be obtained after that Period of the Year, except with the utmost Difficulty. All these Facts having been maturely considered in the Meetings which took Place among the Opposition

Leaders, they determined to try the Temper of the House of Commons, without Delay. Lord John Cavendish, seconded by Powis, introduced various Resolutions, finally imputing the Misfortunes of the War, to the "Want of Foresight and Ability" in Ministers. After a very long Debate, in a crowded House, the Administration not venturing directly to negative the Proposition, yet found themselves unable to carry the Motion, though only for the *Order of the Day*, by a greater Majority than *Ten*.

Of Lord John's Speech, no Trace remains on my Mind; but Powis's Address to the House, was calculated to produce the deepest Impression. He was indeed a Man of great Parliamentary Talents, and of distinguished Integrity, though by no means unaccompanied with deep Ambition. For, from 1782, till 1797, during fifteen Years, he seems, under successive Administrations, never for an Instant to have lost Sight of the Peerage to which he ultimately attained. After disclaiming all personal ill Will against Ministers, he adverted to Lord North's recent Declaration, that whenever Parliament should withdraw from him its Confi-

dence, he would then retire. "That Period," said Powis, "is arrived! Parliament has "withdrawn its Confidence from the noble "Lord. The Fetters which this House has "imposed on him, constitute the strongest "Proof of the Fact. He has likewise assert- "ed, that he only continued in Office, with "a View to prevent Confusion. But, who "are the *Men* likely to succeed him, and "what are the *Principles* to which they stand "pledged? Their first Pledge is, to check "Profusion and Prodigality in the Expen- "diture of public Money. Their second En- "gagement is, to explore the dark Recesses of "the Civil List, and to introduce Retrench- "ment into that *Sanctum Sanctorum* of Go- "vernment. Lastly, they have solemnly pro- "mised to adopt some Plan for improving the "national Representation within these Walls: "not, indeed, visionary Plans: but, such as "may tend to diminish, if not to eradicate "the Causes of Parliamentary Venality. "Such are the *Men*, from whom the Chan- "cellor of the Exchequer pretends to appre- "hend Confusion! Men, among whom are "to be found the Descendants of the most il- "lustrious Families, possessed of the largest "Property, distinguished by the most splen-

" did Talents. Among them is the admired " Son of a Statesman, who carried the Bri- " tish Name and Arms to the Summit of " Glory; and who only quitted his Situa- " tion, when he discovered, that *a baneful,* " *but, secret Influence, prevented him, either* " *with Honor to himself, or with Advan-* " *tage to the State, from carrying into* " *Execution those Counsels, which he was* " *no longer permitted to direct.* Yet from " such Men does the noble Lord anticipate " Confusion!"

After touching with the Hand of a Master, these great political Keys, while the House listened in Silence; Powis drew in the same able Manner, the Contrast presented by *Ministers,* when compared with the principal Individuals constituting *Opposition.* Commencing his Delineation with the new Secretary of State, who sate opposite to him, " that Right Honorable Gentleman," observed he, " gives us no Encouragement to " hope that such Measures will emanate " from his Department, as can be beneficial " to the Country. He has presented us a " Sketch of his *Creed:* but I cannot deno- " minate it a sincere Profession of *Faith.*

" At best, I regard it only as an Act of " *occasional Conformity*. He has retracted " no Error. He has abjured no former " Principle, though he may have yielded " somewhat to the Feelings of the Times. " Once we remember him loud in declaim- " ing on this Side of the House; but he is " now sunk into ministerial Dependency. " All the Starch and the Buckram of his " Composition is dissolved, and he seems " reduced to a State of complete Pliability. " The noble Lord in the blue Ribband, " is formed of the same ductile Materials. " Destitute of any System of Action, *im-* " *pelled by a secret, concealed Influence,* " he submits to adopt the Principles of " others. He now stands in a Predicament " altogether without Example, having lost " the Confidence of Parliament. What " stronger Proof of it than those already " exhibited, does he demand?" Proceeding to delineate in the same caustic and contumelious, or invidious Colours, the remaining Members of the Cabinet, he concluded by a forcible Appeal to the Gentlemen of landed Property, Representatives of Counties or of Cities. " Would they," he asked, " con- " tinue to support an Administration, which

" had ruined their Country; while Order, " Regularity, and Success, might justly be " expected to arise from the Exertions of " the Men who must succeed them in " Power?" The Secretary at War now rose;—for the Occasion fully called on him to come forward in so desperate a ministerial Emergency. Within the Compass of a few Periods, he compressed almost every Fact or Argument which could be adduced, in Justification of his Colleagues. Never, indeed did Jenkinson abuse the Patience of his Audience, or lose Sight of the principal Object for which he presented himself to Notice, by Flights of Fancy, or Digressions of Imagination. He admitted that the War had been unsuccessful, but he denied that its Principle was unjust. " Great Power," he observed, " necessarily produces Envy. " Our splendid Successes during the last " Contest with the two Branches of the " House of Bourbon, had raised us so " high, that those Powers now eagerly " seized the Occasion to humble us. Hence " too we were without Allies. The Mo- " narchies of Austria and of France had, " each in turn, suffered the same Depres- " sion from similar Causes. But, were Mi-

" nisters on that Account criminal? With-
" out attempting therefore to negative Facts
" which were undeniable, he would move
" the *Order of the Day.*"

At greater Length, though with no less Ability, Ellis addressed the House. In Reply to Powis's Charge of subservient Pliability, the Secretary of State remarked that there existed no strong Temptations to induce him to covet his new Office. " When " I accepted the Seal," said he, " I was " possessed of a lucrative Employment, to " which no Responsibility attached. I was " undoubtedly in a warm, comfortable Bed, " out of which I have been summoned to " take an active Part in the Ship of State, " assailed by Storm and Tempest. I find " myself now in a Place of Responsibility, " by no means unaccompanied with Dan- " ger. When these Circumstances are duly " weighed, Gentlemen will find little Cause " to accuse me of such excessive Pliability." The Occasion was too favorable for Burke to lose. Starting up as soon as the Secretary had finished, he attacked the new Minister with those Shafts of classic Wit, Satire, and Ridicule, which he knew so

well how to launce against his Opponents. Shakespear, as well as Milton, was ever ready at his Call. "It was true," he allowed, "that the Treasurer of the Navy "had quitted a warm Bed, with his Eyes "hardly open; and ventured into a Vessel, "leaky, foundering, and tossed by tempes-"tuous Winds."——"He has been most un-"wise so to do; and to him I may apply the "Words of Brutus, when he asks his Wife,

"Wherefore rise you now?
It is not for your Health, thus to commit
Your weak Condition to the raw cold Morning."

"The Right Honorable Secretary declares "that he has left a warm Bed for a Post of "Danger. In my firm Belief, it has been "left merely with the Intention of intro-"ducing *a Scotch warming Pan.*" The Allusion to Dundas, which was too palpable to be mistaken, excited no little Laughter; and received in the Course of the Evening, a most appropriate Reply. Burke proceeding in his Career of Sarcasm, answered Ellis under the triple Character of a Lawyer, a Physician, and a Divine; in each of which Capacities, he asserted that the

Secretary had spoken. Nor, when tired with oppressing him under Tropes and Metaphors, did Burke fail to adduce more solid Arguments in Support of the Motion, derived from the Expences, the Disgraces, and the Calamities of so many Trans-Atlantic Campaigns. Far from being abandoned however on that Night, by the Country Gentlemen, various of them stepped forward to the Support of a first Minister, who had in Fact committed no Fault, except attempting to subject an insurgent People, placed at a remote Distance from Great Britain. Sir John Delaval, Sir Harry Hoghton, Lord Nugent, Sir Edward Deering, all professed that the Support which they extended to Administration, arose from their Conviction that the Cabinet, however unfortunate, "wanted neither Foresight nor Ability."

Among the most able Defenders of Ministry in 1782, might be justly accounted Mr. Adam, who then held the Post of Treasurer of the Ordnance. His Duel with Fox, when added to his Parliamentary Eloquence, and the Vigor of his Character, had already acquired him no ordinary Celebrity. From no Individual in the House did Fox indeed ex-

perience so personal, and probably so painful an Attack, in the Course of the present Debate, as from Adam. Reminding Fox of his Assertion made on a former Occasion, while addressing the House, that "the Man, "who on coming into Office, should forget "or renounce his early political Principles, "would be infamous;" Adam implored Parliament to pause before they called into Power, a Person professing Tenets repugnant to, or subversive of, the British Constitution. As the best Proof of the Justice of his Allegations, he charged the Honorable Member with having more than once declared, that "*the Sense of the People was* "*to be collected without Doors, from the* "*People themselves, and not from their* "*Representatives.*" Nor was this the only Sentiment calculated to produce Confusion, held and recommended by him. Two others, equally opposed to the Wisdom of our Ancestors, had been avowed from the same Authority. He had professed himself "*an* "*Advocate for annual Parliaments*, and he "had expressed his Desire *to alter the* "*Representation of the People.*" Burke, on his Part, stood pledged *to reduce the Civil List.* And Adam then asked, "what na-

" tional Concord or Unanimity we could " reasonably expect, if Men professing such " Principles, should seize on the Govern- " ment, at a Moment when general Har- " mony was universally admitted to be in- " dispensable for our Extrication and Pre- " servation?"

It is probable that Fox, like other Demagogues who have made their Way up to Power, in free States, by mounting on the Shoulders of the People, and professing Opinions calculated to gain popular Favor; would gladly, when he had attained his Object, have turned his Back upon the Ladder which facilitated his Ascent. Not that I believe he cherished any Principles inimical to constitutional Freedom: but, Poverty and Ambition combining in the same Individual, naturally produce Asperity of Language; and he had remained more than seven Years excluded from Office. Even now, though apparently near his Prey, it might still elude his Grasp. We must likewise recollect, that if ever there was a Time in the modern History of this Country, when Reform seemed to be universally demanded, it was towards the Close of the American

War; when our Humiliation, our Losses, and our critical Position, surrounded by Enemies, inflamed the Minds of Men against a Government, which had produced so much Calamity. Pressed therefore by Adam, Fox rose; and as Welbore Ellis had done on a former Night, made his reluctant political Profession of Faith. He did it in that manly, open Manner, characteristic of his Mind, which disdained Reserve; and might rather be accused of Inconsistence or Imprudence, than of Duplicity or Disguise; Artifices foreign to his Nature. "Two leading Prin-
"ciples," he said, "in which he differed
"from Ministers, were the Prosecution of
"the American War, and the Influence of
"the Crown. The general Principle of
"reducing that Influence, he strenuously
"approved. The Corruption of the House
"of Commons had become intolerable; and
"to all the Resolutions for excluding Con-
"tractors, Members of the Board of Trade,
"and of the Green Cloth, he gave his
"cordial Assent. If Placemen and Con-
"tractors were subducted from the late Di-
"vision respecting the American War, when
"Ministers had remained in a Minority of
"*Nineteen;* the Majority against Admini-

" stration would exceed a *Hundred* on " that Question. To *all* the Details," continued Fox, " prepared for the Reduction " of Influence, I do not subscribe: but I " maintain that this Assembly ought to be " made *the Representative of the Nation.* " I likewise think that the Duration of Par- " liament ought to be *shortened,* but I ad- " mit that it is a Point on which honest Men " may differ. I am however of Opinion that " *annual, or triennial* Parliaments would be " calculated to preserve the Privileges of " the People from the Encroachments of the " royal Prerogative, and therefore would " form an Amelioration of the Constitution."

Having thus answered Mr. Adam's Queries, though without noticing specifically the Idea of introducing an Alteration into the Representation of the People; he diverged to another Point of a very interesting, because, of a personal Nature. " It has been asserted," said he, " that an *Administration of Pro-* " *scription* is to be formed. I deny posi- " tively the Fact. *I have only declared that* " *I can form no Connexion with the present* " *Cabinet; and that if I do, I shall be in-* " *famous.* But, it is the Desire of those

" with whom I have the Honor to act, to " collect all the Ability, Talents, and Con- " sideration of the Country, and to employ " this Body of national Strength, for the De- " liverance of the Empire. I hope we may " soon behold an Administration settled on " a broad Basis, in which Confidence may " be justly reposed: it is however only by " driving the present weak and wicked Ad- " visers of the Crown, from about His Ma- " jesty's Person, that Great Britain can ever " hope to recover from her actual Disgraces " and Misfortunes." Such were nearly Fox's Expressions on that memorable Evening. The Lord Advocate of Scotland, who always knew when to interpose with the greatest Effect in Debate, and who waited to answer the Opposition Leader; instantly rising, began nevertheless by directing his Discourse in the first Instance, not to Fox, but, to Burke. " The Honorable Member," observed Dundas, " whose classic Redun- " dancy of Wit always charms this Audi- " ence, has been pleased, when addressing " the Secretary of State near me, to mention " his quitting a snug, warm Bed, in Order " to make Room for a *Scotch warming Pan.* " Now I see no Reason, when I look at the

" Gentlemen opposite me, if their eager Ex-
" pectations of coming into Power are fulfil-
" led, why it should not be *an Irish warming*
" *Pan* which is to be introduced into that
" Bed." A Retort so apposite, turned the Laugh against Burke. In Fact; scarcely three Weeks elapsed, before Barré was made Treasurer of the Navy. Having professed his Inability to comprehend how a broad bottomed Administration, such as Fox pretended to desire, could ever be formed, which must proscribe half the Ability of the Empire, the Lord Advocate called on him to explain more intelligibly his Meaning. Then pushing the Enquiries, which Adam had commenced, to a greater Length, he demanded, " if Fox should come into Office, and
" should find himself left in a Minority on
" any of his popular, or patriotic Questions;
" whether it was his Intention in such Case,
" to avail himself of the Right which he had
" frequently maintained? Did he mean to
" appeal from that House, to the People?
" Would he resort to his other Parliament
" convened in Westminster Hall, or in Palace
" Yard, and complain of the Parliament
" sitting within those Walls? Would he tell
" the People, that they were betrayed; and

"induce them, like certain Associations "which of late Years had been formed, to "adopt Resolutions, calculated to operate "as a Controul upon the House of Com- "mons?" To these Questions he demanded a Reply.

Under so embarrassing a Load of Enquiries on Subjects so delicate, Fox delivered his Opinion with great Ability; neither abandoning his former Professions, nor yet maintaining them in all their Force. Relative to the Administration which might be formed, he declared that "they would pro- "scribe no Individuals, of whatever Prin- "ciples, *except the five or six confidential* "*Advisers of the Crown, who had produced* "*the actual Calamities of the Country.* They "did not mean to proscribe the learned Lord "himself, however strongly they might re- "probate his constitutional Principles. With "Regard to the People without Doors, he "conceived that *they possessed a Right to* "*declare their Opinion of Men and Things;* "*in Order to do which, they might meet and* "*consult together, provided they did it in a* "*peaceable, orderly Manner.*" "I will further "add," continued he, "that whenever this

"House shall become lost to all Sense of "public Duty, so sunk in Corruption as to "abandon the Rights of the People, and to "become the passive Instruments of the "Crown; *then it may be justifiable to revert "to the original Principles of the Constitu-"tion, and to resume the Direction of their "own Affairs, so that the popular Weight "may be preserved in the Scale of Govern-"ment.* The present Administration is the "first since the Revolution, which has dared "to deny this Right." Perhaps, in Fox's Position, no Words more judicious, or less exceptionable, could easily have been found. Nevertheless, Sheridan, who manifested on many Occasions a sounder Judgment than his Friend, and who beheld in full View the promised Land of Power from which the Party had been so long excluded; apprehensive that Fox's Expressions might appear rather those of a *Tribune*, than becoming a Man who now aspired to *Consular* Offices and Dignities; presented himself to the House. Directing his Discourse pointedly to Dundas, he demanded of the learned Lord, whether, because his honorable Friend had maintained the *Right* of an Appeal, under certain Circumstances, to the People,

he could be suspected of ever exercising it, when he should become a Minister? Did no obvious Distinction exist, between a private Member of Parliament applying to his Constituents, and a confidential Servant of the Sovereign, holding an Office at His Majesty's Pleasure, appealing to the People in that Capacity, against Parliament? "No!" added he, "were my Honorable Friend in "the noble Lord's Place, and should he "ever forfeit the Confidence of Parliament, "*He* would neither fly to the People, nor to "the Throne, for Support. *He* would not "cling with the convulsive Grasp of De-"spair to the Helm, which he could no "longer conduct. *He* would follow the Ad-"vice given by that learned Lord himself, "to a late Minister. *He* would instantly "retire;—not, indeed, probably, to another "Assembly, but, to a Situation more honor-"able in the Hearts of the People."

Lord North rose when Sheridan sate down, and replied with his accustomed Ability; though, as I thought, not with all his usual Animation; but, the Feature of the Debate, which attracted universal Attention towards its Close, was the Declaration made

by Pitt. After holding up the first Minister to Condemnation under various Points of View; and observing, that a Change of Administration presented the only Chance for national Extrication; he subjoined, "It is "not for me to say, nor for this House to "dictate, who may be the Persons chosen to "fill the Offices under a new Administra-"tion. All that I feel myself compelled to "declare, is, *that I cannot expect to take any* "*Share in it; and even if the Attainment of* "*such an Object were within my Reach, I* "*never will accept of a subordinate Situa-*"*tion.*" These Words, which undoubtedly had been well weighed before they were pronounced; disclosed without Disguise, not only the Elevation of his Views, and the well founded Confidence that he reposed in his own Talents; but, likewise, his perfect Independence of the two Leaders, whose Followers were now preparing to storm the Cabinet, Side by Side. He served indeed, in their Camp, as a Volunteer and an Auxiliary, though without looking up either to the Marquis of Rockingham, or to the Earl of Shelburne, for immediate Advancement. Relying with Reason, solely on his personal Abilities, aided by Patience, Judgment, and

the Nature of the Times; he doubtless anticipated at no remote Period, his Attainment of every Object of well regulated Ambition. The Division did not take Place till a very late Hour; and the Majority in Favor of Ministers was so small, that a Desertion of only *six* Individuals from the Government Side to that of Opposition, would have left the whole Cabinet at the Mercy of their Adversaries. Yet, as only four Hundred and forty-six Members voted on the Question, even including the four *Tellers*; and as consequently one Hundred and eleven were absent, many of whom might probably attend on a future Evening, sanguine Expectations were entertained by both Parties. It might indeed have been supposed that a Government which rested on so precarious a Basis, was already virtually at an End. But, Lord North gave the best Indication, as it was considered, of his own Intention to remain in Office, by proposing, only three Days afterwards, the new Taxes which he meant to impose for the Service of the Year. The contending Parties, therefore, prepared for fresh Struggles; and from every Part of the Kingdom, as well as from foreign Courts, Attendance was procured. The Duration

of the Ministry being now evidently at Issue, and probably about to be decided in a very short Time, not exceeding three Weeks; it is difficult to convey an Idea of the Anxiety which agitated the Court, the Capital, and the Country.

[15th March.] On the last Debate which preceded Lord North's Resignation, Sir John Rous moved to declare, that "the House had no farther Confidence in Ministers." The Opposition imagined that if this Motion was carried, no Administration would venture to continue in Office; or if they should be bold enough to defy the Indignation of Parliament, the same Majority would, it was presumed, next address the Crown for their Removal. There then remained only one Step more to Impeachment. But, so equally balanced were the two Sides, that though four Hundred and sixty-seven Members, including the Tellers, voted on the Division, scarcely any Ground was lost or gained. Government still remained in a Majority of *Nine*, thus losing *One* since the preceding Debate. Yet, even that single Vote being in Favor of the Opposition, in so full a House, seemed to indicate that they

were progressive in the public Esteem. In Fact, twenty-one Members more voted on this, than on the preceding Division. Among the interesting Features of the Debate, must be accounted the Appearance of Mr. George Onslow on the Scene. He was one of the two Representatives for the Town of Guilford, and a Man of much Eccentricity, as well as Irregularity of Deportment. He seldom spoke; but, his Speeches, if they did not abound in Wit, were marked by great Freedom of Language and Opinion. Without Circumlocution of any Kind, he accused the Opposition Leaders, as the principal Instrumens in dissevering America from her Allegiance to Great Britain. "General "Washington's Army," exclaimed he "has "been called by Members of this House, "*our Army*; and the Cause of the Rebels "has been denominated, the Cause of *Free-* "*dom*. Every Support has been given the "Americans, who have placed their Confi- "dence on the Encouragement extended to "them within these Walls. Franklin and "Laurens are here made the Subject of daily "Panegyric; and the weak Parts of our "interior Government, have been exposed or "pointed out to the Rebels. *It has even*

" *been reported, and I believe it is true, that* " *Information has been transmitted from* " *hence to the Court of Versailles.*" A loud Cry arising from the Opposition Benches, calling on him to *name* the Individuals to whom he alluded, Onslow declined Compliance; adding, that " he could not tell; " or, if he could, he would not; but, that " he retained his Conviction of its Truth." He concluded, by declaring his Belief that the ill Success of a War, in the Principle of which, almost the whole Nation concurred at its Commencement, might be with Reason ascribed to those Persons, who had not scrupled uniformly to avow, that they should deeply lament its being crowned with fortunate Results. Lord North himself might be said to give some Countenance to these Assertions or Accusations of Onslow:—for, in the Course of a long and masterly Appeal to the House, some Parts of which he pronounced with evident Emotion; he observed, that " far from feeling either the Contrition " or the Repentance for the Acts of his past " Administration, which, Gentlemen opposite " asserted would become him; he experi- " enced on the contrary the most perfect " Calm, arising from the Consciousness of

"not having done any Wrong." "If, in-
"deed," continued he, "in any of my
"Speeches in this House, or in any which
"I have made out of Doors, or in any Part
"of my Conduct, *I had held out Hopes to*
"*the Americans, that they possessed Friends*
"*in this Country, professing to be their Ad-*
"*vocates, and who embraced every Occasion*
"*to advance their Interests, in Preference to*
"*those of their native Country;——then I*
"*confess I should think I had acted in a*
"*Manner, that called for deep Contrition and*
"*sincere Repentance: nay, even for Humi-*
"*liation, for Self-abasement, and for Shame.*"
He could not more clearly designate, nor reprobate in stronger Terms, the Line of Conduct adopted by the Chiefs of Opposition, throughout the whole Progress of the American Contest.

Reverting next to the Conduct of that War, "I deny," said he, "that its Com-
"mencement is in any Degree to be attri-
"buted to His Majesty's present Ministers. The Stamp Act was repealed, and the Declaratory Act had passed, before I was called to the Cabinet, though I voted for them both, as a private Member of Parlia-

" ment. I came into Office, at a Moment of " Crisis, *when Others had deserted the Helm*, " and I have exerted my best Endeavours to " serve my Country." His Allusion to the Manner in which the Duke of Grafton abandoned the Reins of Government, was rendered more striking by the Circumstance of that Nobleman's accepting the Privy Seal under the new Administration, only a few Days afterwards. When Lord North came to speak of the Misrepresentations which he was accused of using, with a View to persuade Parliament to the Prosecution of Hostilities for so many unfortunate Campaigns; and particularly, with declaring that we had numerous Friends in America; he spoke under visible Embarrassment. It became requisite, in Order to exculpate himself, that he should inculpate his late Colleague, Lord Sackville; nor did he hesitate so to do. " *The Declaration in Ques-* " *tion,*" observed he, " *came not from me,* " *but, from another Minister.* It fell not " indeed, within the Range of my Depart- " ment, to receive such official Information. " Not that I doubted it; for, I am convinced " that the Minister who made the Assertion, " spoke from good Authority. I believe,

" we not only had, but, that we still retain, " numerous Friends throughout the Colo- " nies. *I confess at the same Time, that I* " *never thought those Friends sufficient in* " *Point of Numbers, nor in any Point of* " *View whatever, either to justify our com-* " *mencing, or our continuing the War,* " *solely on their Account.*" These significant Expressions undraw in a considerable Degree the Veil from before the Cabinet; and like Don Cleofas, in the "*Diable Boi-* "*teux*," we are admitted behind the Scenes. How far the first Minister acted with his accustomed Prudence or Elevation of Mind, in making such an Avowal, in such a Place, Posterity will best decide. His Position, still in Office, and intending, as he asserted, to remain at the Head of his Majesty's Councils, unless driven out by a Vote of the House of Commons; was in itself most painful and delicate. Probably he thought, by sacrificing in some Measure a Member of the Cabinet who was now no longer in Office, and who had reached the upper House, he might conciliate his Enemies. But, in his Accusation of the late American Secretary, he virtually enveloped his Sovereign in the same Charge. Fox's Opinion of

it, may be collected from his own Comments, when he replied to Lord North. "Up to "this Day," said he, "I always considered "the noble Lord to have acted generously "by his Colleagues, as he uniformly pro- "fessed to share in their Guilt, whatever "might be its Extent. But, on the present "Evening, he throws the Responsibility and "the Blame on another Minister, for having "deceived us by erroneous or exaggerated "Accounts, respecting the Number of our "Adherents beyond the Atlantic. The "noble Lord has, however, himself, deluded "and deceived Parliament, in a Variety of "Instances."

The Conclusion of the first Minister's Speech was unusually pathetic, as well as interesting. I sate near him, and his Words were well calculated to remain engraven on the Memory. It is, indeed, probable, whatever Assurances he might give to the King, or to his Friends and Adherents, that he nevertheless considered himself as near his political Extinction. "My Wish," exclaimed he, "is not only for Peace, but, for "an Administration that may act with Un- "animity and Effect towards the general

" Safety! *I will not form any Obstacle to a* " *Coalition, in which I shall have no Share* " *or Place.* There are indeed Those who " well know that for some Years past, I " have been ready and willing to make Way " for such an *Administration:* nor is it " owing to any personal Desire of mine, that " I have so long remained in my Situation. " *I declare to God, that no Love of Office* " *or of Emolument, should detain me for a* " *Moment in Place, if I could with Honor* " *leave it; and if certain Circumstances,* " *which I cannot now explain, did not pre-* " *vent my Resignation!* A Time may come, " when I can better speak upon this Point. " I act in Obedience to a Sense of Duty, " and neither Advice nor Menaces can in- " fluence me to abandon it. Never will I " subscribe to the Idea, that provided Mi- " nisters will only quit their Places, Pu- " nishment shall not follow. I neither de- " sire to avoid Censure nor Punishment. " My only Demand is, that the Proofs of " *Neglect,* or of *Guilt,* may be established " against Ministers, before *Censure* is voted. " If we deserve *Censure,* it ought to be fol- " lowed by *Punishment.*" It is impossible not to suppose that " the Circumstances"

to which Lord North so pointedly alluded, but, "which he could not explain;" were the Solicitations of his Sovereign not to desert him, as had been done by his ministerial Predecessors, Lord Bute, and the Duke of Grafton. There were Passages in this Speech, which reminded me of Wolsey's Language to Cromwell, when he says,

——"I feel within me
A Peace above all earthly Dignities;
A still and quiet Conscience."——
——"I am able now, methinks,
(Out of a Fortitude of Soul I feel,)
To endure more Miseries, and greater far,
Than my weak-hearted Enemies dare offer."

Indeed, so much did Lord North feel the Degree of Similitude between his own Situation and the Fall of Wolsey; that, adopting the Expression of the Cardinal, when one of his Friends waited on him a few Days afterwards, to offer his Condolences, accompanied with some Marks of Surprize, at his Resignation; he answered, with the utmost good Humor and Complacency, in Shakspeare's Words,

"What, amazed
At my Misfortunes?—Can thy Spirit wonder
A great Man should decline?"

So much did his constitutional Suavity and Amenity of Character, enable him to surmount every Vicissitude of Fortune! And so naturally did his improved and classic Mind suggest to him, the historic Images analogous to his Situation!

Fox, in his Reply on that Night,—for he would allow no Person to answer the Minister, except himself;—made some Observations tinctured with more Severity, than his placable Nature usually dictated to him. Only four Days earlier, having indulged in similar Remarks upon Lord North, when he laid before the House, his proposed Taxes for the Year; Fox, either conscious that he had trespassed beyond the Bounds of Liberality, or impelled by his own generous Character, made the Chancellor of the Exchequer an ample and a voluntary Apology. "I do assure the noble Lord," said he, "that "in all I have stated on the present Occa- "sion, or at any former Time, I mean not to "press upon him, to goad him, or to run "him down. Still less is it my Intention "to say any thing that should hurt his "Mind, or give him Uneasiness. Upon my "Honor, I nourish no such Design; and

"though I neither ask Pardon of the Chair-
"man, nor of the Committee, for any Ex-
"pression that I may have used, yet I ask
"Pardon of the noble Lord if I have of-
"fended him;—for, I meant it not." We cannot help admiring a Man who united such a Disposition, with Talents so pre-eminent. Pitt, however superior he was to Fox in Judgment, and in various other Respects, wanted that noble, winning, and open Spirit, which conciliated so many Friends, and retained them in Defiance of Adversity, Poverty, or Exclusion from Power. In the Course of the present Debate, which may be considered as the last that took Place previous to Lord North's Surrender, various Members of the House rose, to attack, or to defend him. Sir William Dolben not only voted with him, but, pronounced an affecting Encomium on his Integrity, Honor, and domestic Virtues; from which no Individual had attempted to detract, and to which so many had borne Testimony. Having expressed his anxious Wishes, that a Coalition might yet be formed between the noble Lord and his principal Opponents, seated on the opposite Benches; he added, "If neverthe-
"less a Change should take Place, to the

" total Exclusion of the present first Minis-
" ter, either in Consequence of a Vote of
" this House, or from his own spontaneous
" Movement; I am persuaded that he will
" exhibit a Phenomenon to this Country;
" namely, *a Minister out of Office, support-*
" *ing the Government that expelled him, in-*
" *stead of opposing, thwarting, and embar-*
" *rassing their Measures.*" The Lord Advocate did not abandon his Principal, but, sustained him with Eloquence and Ability. " A Union of Parties," he admitted, " seemed
" to be not only the general Wish, but, co-
" incided with his own individual Opinion.
" It was however to be effected by the sub-
" stantial Connexion of both Sides, not by
" putting the Government exclusively into
" the Hands of Opposition. The noble
" Lord in the blue Ribband had declared his
" Readiness to facilitate such a Coalition,
" and that he would not stand in the Way of
" its Accomplishment."

Indignant at the Idea of Lord North's attempting to capitulate, to protract, or to make any Conditions before he laid down his Employments; Pitt rose to answer Dundas. His Speech, though not long, breathed

the most determined Hostility, couched in Language of no ordinary Warmth. Reprobating the Proposition itself, as an Insult to Parliament, not deserving an Instant's Attention, he said he thanked God that an End was likely to be put to the present Government; but, he trusted, the House would not contaminate its own Purpose, by allowing Ministers to manage the Appointment of their Successors. It neither was the Province of that House, to settle the *Men* who were to succeed, nor to indicate the *Measures* proper to be pursued. "I ask Pardon," concluded he, "of this Assembly, if I have de-"livered myself with too much Heat; but I "cannot help feeling for my Country, under "the distressful Situation of being governed "by Ministers, who manifest neither Sensi-"bility nor Shame; and who are as devoid "of Feeling, as of every other Quality of "Statesmen." To these bitter and humiliating Reproaches, no Answer was attempted from the Treasury Bench, though the new American Secretary spoke for a few Minutes, to an impatient Audience loudly demanding the Question. Its Result, when notified, inspired the Opposition with new Energy, in the same Degree that it spread Dismay over

the ministerial Benches. Fox gave immediate Intimation to his Friends, of a Motion similar in its Import, for the following Wednesday; which Notice he reiterated in the House, on the subsequent Day. Among the Members who voted with Lord North on the two last Divisions, of the 8th and the 15th of March, I must not omit *Gibbon*, the celebrated Historian. He had likewise supported Administration on General Conway's second Motion for terminating the American War, when Government was left in a Minority of Nineteen. Gibbon then sate in Parliament as one of the Members for Lymington, and attended constantly on great Questions; but I believe he never attempted to address the House. *Addison* had not displayed any Parliamentary Talents, though he occupied the high Office of Secretary of State, for a short Time. We know that *Johnson* was anxious to obtain a Seat in the House of Commons, with a View of sustaining Lord North by his Eloquence. We may however reasonably doubt whether, notwithstanding his gigantic Abilities, he would have succeeded better on that Theatre, than his *Irené* did at Drury Lane. Oratory appears to have no Connexion

with historical, poetical, or philological Capacity.

Every Artifice of Party was used by the Opposition, to encourage their Friends, and to terrify, or hold out to popular Odium, the Adherents of Administration. Lists were published, and disseminated throughout the Kingdom, containing the Names of the Members who voted on each Question; those voting on the Side of Government, being printed in *red* Letters, while the Names of the Minority appeared in *black* Type. Unimportant or contemptible as this Circumstance may appear, it produced nevertheless a powerful Effect on weak, or timid Individuals; and bore some faint Resemblance to the Proceedings of the memorable Parliament which met in 1640, under Charles the First. Lord North appeared likewise to entertain strong Apprehensions respecting the Consequences, which might ultimately result to the King, if not to himself, from the Struggle in which Ministers were engaged. It was generally believed that he had stated these Fears to His Majesty with so much Earnestness, and had so warmly depictured the painful Situation in which the Sovereign might

be personally involved, if his Cabinet should be taken by Storm; as to have obtained the royal Permission for negotiating, and even surrendering *on Terms*. His Expressions in the last Debate, which intimated his Readiness or Disposition to withdraw from Office, and not to form any Impediment, if a Coalition could be formed for carrying on the public Service; seemed fully to justify the Belief, that he was authorized to make such Propositions. They were, however, treated with affected Ridicule or Scorn, by his Opponents, both in, and out of the House; as only calculated for Purposes of Delusion, in order to weaken or distract their Efforts. Far from listening to any Overtures of Accommodation, they anticipated a certain Triumph. Never were Moments more precious, or more critical. It being well known that the House of Commons would, according to regular Usage, adjourn on the 28th of March, for ten or eleven Days, till after the Easter Holidays, which in that Year happened to fall early; Lord North consequently might calculate almost the Number of Hours that he had to hold out against his Assailants:— for, no sanguine Expectation of successfully renewing their Attack upon Ministry, after

the Recess, could be entertained by the Opposition. Every Effort therefore, it was evident, must necessarily be wound up within a Week or two, and Government made the strongest Demonstrations of abiding the Issue.

[16th—19th March.] In all the Departments, positive Assurances were given, that no Compromise or Resignation was intended. Robinson protested the same Thing to me, at his House in St. James's-square; the same which is now occupied by Lord Castlereagh; and to which splendid Residence Robinson had only recently removed, from a small House in Parliament Street. Lord North himself, whatever Fluctuations of Mind he might internally undergo, personally reiterated those Declarations to his nearest political Connexions. On the 18th of March, Monday, he came down to the House of Commons; spoke in Reply to Sir Edward Astley, on the Subject of some Tax Bill, then on its Passage through Parliament; and displayed all his characteristic good Humor, mingled with Gaiety. No Man on either Side of the House, doubted the Firmness of the Sovereign, or suspected him of

abandoning his Ministers from personal Timidity. Each Party therefore prepared to try their Force, and both expressed themselves confident of Success. I can assert, however, from the best Authority, that if the Contest had been maintained, it would, according to every Probability, have terminated numerically in Favor of Administration. Robinson, then Secretary of the Treasury, and who knew better than any Man, the Secret of Affairs, has many Times assured me, that Government would have infallibly divided *from fourteen to twenty* Majority, on the Day when Lord North resigned; Robinson having received the written Assurances of *Attendance and Support*, from many Members who were absent on the last Question. Even various of the Country Gentlemen who had hitherto voted with Opposition, hesitated, or refused, to push the Struggle to the utmost Extremity. They had put an End to the American War, which they reprobated; and they wished for a Change of Men, as well as of Measures, and of System: but they wished it with Moderation, and were averse to using the last Expedients which the British Constitution admits, lest the Constitution, or the State itself, should suffer in the Shock.

[20th March.] On the other Hand, I know from authentic Channels of Information, that Lord North, during the last four Months of his Continuance in Office, repeatedly tendered his Resignation to the King; which His Majesty as often declined, accompanying his Refusal with the most gracious and encouraging Expressions. On Tuesday, the 19th of March, the First Minister, apprehensive of the Event of the Debate which was fixed for the ensuing Day, in the House of Commons, wrote to the King in the most decided Terms, resigning his Employment; and His Majesty being down at Windsor, Lord North dispatched a Messenger with the Letter. When it arrived, the King was going out to hunt: having perused its Contents, for which he was probably not unprepared, he calmly put it into his Pocket, made no Observation, and mounted his Horse. But, he had not proceeded more than a few Paces, when a Page came running after him, to say that Lord North's Messenger had received Orders to bring back a Reply. "Tell "him," said the King, "that I shall be in "Town to-morrow Morning, and will then "give Lord North an Answer." Two Noblemen were with him at the Time, one of

whom was the late Duke of Dorset: the other, Lord Hinchinbrook, (afterwards Earl of Sandwich,) related to me these Particulars. Turning immediately to them,—"Lord "North," observed *His Majesty*, "has sent "me in his *Resignation*; but *I* shall not ac- "cept it." If, however, the King was apprized of Lord North's Intention or Determination to resign, it was by no means known in London; and on the Morning of the very Day, I believe that few Individuals of either Party, entertained a Doubt of the Continuance of the Struggle. Still less did any Person conceive, that the First Minister would spontaneously lay down his Office, without giving Notice to his *Friends*, and contrary to his own recent Professions. He went soon after one o'Clock, to the Treasury, from whence he was to repair to St. James's, where the King, as usual, had a Levee. Robinson told me, that previous to his quitting the Treasury Chambers, they held a long Conversation together; in the Course of which, he shewed Lord North, on Paper, the Names of those Members who had promised to support him on the ensuing Question, to the Number of nine, ten, or eleven, at least; not one of whom had been present in the

preceding Division. And he did not, himself, entertain the slightest Suspicion of the First Minister's Resignation; from whom he received the most satisfactory Assurances of his Intention, in every Case, to abide the Issue of the approaching Debate. After standing together at the Fire in the Board-room, till Lord North's Carriage drew up, they parted about ten Minutes after two o'Clock; the Minister driving strait to St. James's, while the Secretary, after dispatching a Variety of official Business, repaired soon after four o'Clock, to the House of Commons.

It is probable that the Conversation which took Place between the King and Lord North on that Occasion, was never minutely reported by either, to any third Person: but we may safely assume, that His Majesty endeavoured to prevail on his Minister not to abandon him. Robinson professed himself ignorant of all the Particulars; though he entertained no Doubt that Lord North, whether from Weariness and Disgust, or Apprehension of the Consequences that might accrue to his Sovereign, to himself, and to the

Country, had made up his Mind as he drove to St. James's, to state at once to the King, the Determination that he had irrevocably embraced, of laying down immediately his Power; a Resolution which he had notified under his Hand, on the preceding Day. It is certain that the Interview between them was long; lasting above an Hour and a half, without any Witness present; at the End of which Time the Minister withdrew, in Order to attend the House of Commons. I have rarely witnessed so full an Attendance, at so early an Hour, as on that Day; not less than four hundred Members having taken their Seats before four o'Clock; both Parties appearing impatient to proceed to Business. The only Delay arose from the Absence of the First Minister; and he being every Instant expected to arrive from St. James's, all Eyes were directed towards the Door, each Time that it opened. The Members on both Sides, who, it was generally understood, would speak in the Course of the ensuing Debate, were well known; and as the Ground of Controversy had been so often gone over, as well as on Account of many Invalids who attended, and who were

unable to remain long, it was thought that the Question would be brought on before Midnight.

At length Lord North entering in a full dressed Suit, his Ribband over his Coat, proceeded up the House, amidst an incessant cry of "Order, and Places." As soon as he had reached the Treasury Bench, he rose, and attempted to address the Chair; but Lord Surrey, who had given Notice of a Motion for that Day, being consequently in Possession of the Right to speak first, and having likewise risen, a Clamour began from all Quarters, of the most violent Description. In the Course of this Scene of Disorder, Pitt, Fox, and various other Members spoke to the Point of Order or Precedence; the Opposition loudly demanding that Lord North should not be permitted to address the House, or to propose an Adjournment, till the Earl of Surrey had been heard. The Confusion lasted for some Minutes, with more or less Violence, in Defiance of every Effort made by the Speaker to enforce Silence; 'till in Consequence of the Earnestness with which the Minister besought a Hearing, and some Expressions relative to

the Importance of the Communication that he had to make, which pervaded the Tumult; Fox having moved that "the Earl of "Surrey do now speak," Lord North availed himself of that Proposition, to obtain a Priority. An instant Silence succeeded to the late Storm; and as he prepared to begin his Discourse, it might have been truly asserted that

——————— "his Look
Drew Audience and Attention still as Night."

After justifying himself from the Imputation of having improperly occasioned the recent Disorder, by the public Notice given in the House, both of Lord Surrey's intended Motion, and of its Purport; he stated that he had come down on that Day, in Order to announce from Authority, his Majesty's Determination to change his Ministers. He should, himself, form no Obstacle to that Consummation; and he therefore conceived it unnecessary to debate a Question, which had for its Object, a Removal already produced. Having then returned his Acknowledgements to the House, for their long and steady Support extended to him, he added, "A Successor of greater Abilities, of sound-

" er Judgment, and better qualified for his " Situation, it is easy to find. One more " zealous for the Glory and Interests of his " Country, or more anxious to advance " them; animated by more Loyalty to his " Sovereign, or *more desirous to preserve the* " *Constitution whole and inviolate*, may not " be so easily found. The Crown has deter- " mined on choosing new Ministers; and I " hope to God, whoever they may be, they " will embrace such Measures, as may ex- " tricate us from our present Difficulties, " may render us happy at Home, and suc- " cessful abroad! I know that I am respon- " sible for my public Conduct, whenever " my Country calls on me to answer for it. " I do assure this Assembly that I shall not " run away, nor will I avoid any Enquiry " which they may think proper to institute " respecting me." He concluded by moving that the House should adjourn, in Order to allow His Majesty Time to make new ministerial Arrangements. It is not easy to conceive the Effect which this Declaration produced in a popular Assembly, scarcely an Individual of which did not hear it with lively Sentiments of Exultation or of Concern, both which Emotions were heightened by Surprize.

Fox having advised Lord Surrey not to withdraw, but, to reserve his proposed Motion, for the ensuing Monday, in Case the Minister's present Declaration should not be fully and completely verified; observed, that whoever might be the Persons called to the Councils of the Crown, he should hold them infamous if they abandoned their Principles, on obtaining Possession of Power. He added, that as the House had now proved their Abhorrence of a Government of Influence, the new Ministers must ever bear in Mind that Fact, and remember that *to the House they owed their Situations.* Rigby, who probably was more prepared for Lord North's Resignation, than most other Individuals present; after professing the highest Respect for him, as a Man and as a Minister, yet admitted that "after the Division of "the preceding Friday, he was not only "justified in laying down his Office, but, "that he had, himself, advised the first Lord "of the Treasury to retire. A Majority of "*Nine,* opposed to a Minority of *two hun-*"*dred and twenty-seven,* which had grown "out of the Distresses of the Country, in "Consequence of the War, must overbear "any Minister, let his Abilities be ever so "resplendent." "As for the new Adminis-

" tration," continued he, " I hope it will be " formed on a broad, solid Basis; and I " sincerely wish they may prove equal to " extricating the Country. It has been as- " serted that some Men can make Peace " better than others, and that the Americans " will more readily treat with Gentlemen on " one Side of this House, than with those " who occupy the opposite Benches. *I shall* " *be happy to find the Prediction verified by* " *the Fact.*" These Words were not forgotten, when it was ascertained how inefficient and unsuccessful Fox's Attempts to open Negotiations with Holland and America, subsequently proved.

Powis concurred with Fox, in exhorting Lord Surrey to suspend his Motion for a few Days; " but," added he, " if by Monday next, " every Atom of the present Administration; " —*those Ministers who are behind the Cur-* " *tain,* as well as the ostensible Men;—*the* " *invisible, as well as the visible Agents,* who " have so long governed, and precipitated to " the Verge of Destruction, this Country, are " not swept away; then I shall wish my " noble Friend to renew his Motion." The Treasury Bench observed a profound Si-

lence, neither Ellis, Dundas, nor Jenkinson pronouncing a single Word throughout the Course of the Debate. But, a Species of Dialogue or Interlude was exclusively performed by Burke and General Conway, which lasted a considerable Time; each complimenting the other on the Situation which, it was probable, they would respectively fill in the new Order of Things, under the Government about to be formed. Burke, indeed, disclaimed having any such Views or Expectations; while Conway contented himself with only declaring that "whether he "should be a Minister, or a private Member "of Parliament, he would always approve "himself the determined *Enemy of* Corrup-"tion." Affecting to moderate the tumultuous Joy of his Friends at this sudden Change of Affairs, Burke implored them "to be "calm; and to remember that the Ministers "who were retiring, did not quit Office in "Consequence of any Address to the Throne "carried on that Day. They were neither "tired of occupying their Situations, nor "was the Sovereign weary of them; and "therefore the great Work just atchieved, "would prove incomplete, if the indepen-"dent Members, who had effected it, did

"not support the Ministers whom they "themselves had raised to Power."

Lord North did not however remain without Testimonies to his public Talents, Integrity, and Virtues, even on this Day of his Fall. Sir John Delaval expressed his high Admiration of that Nobleman's great, as well as amiable Qualities, and his Regret that such Abilities would now be lost to his Country. Courtenay, with great Pertinacity, and greater Wit, addressed an Audience which refused him a Hearing; and though he assured them that he was neither of a Disposition, or Temper, or Nation, to be intimidated, yet his Voice could not surmount the impatient Exultation of the Opposition Benches. The Tribute that he paid to the expiring Minister, derived a peculiar Zest, if I may so express myself, from the Circumstance of Courtenay's having always lamented the American War, as inexpedient, impolitic, and even unjust. Indeed, he animadverted with no little Severity, both on the Country Gentlemen who had originally propelled or encouraged the Attempt of Parliament to tax America; and on the Members seated opposite, whose clamorous

and indecorous Testimonies of Satisfaction, overbore his Voice; humorously comparing the latter to *Nell* in the Farce of "the Devil to Pay," when, to her Astonishment she wakes in *Lady Loverule*'s Bed. Lord Surrey at length rising, acquiesced sullenly and reluctantly in the Advice of his Friends to postpone his Motion; which Act he however accompanied with a Menace, that if any Part of the Administration should remain in Office upon the following Monday, he would come forward with a Motion of a very different Nature, and far more personal to Ministers. This Declaration was received with loud Cheers. The House now unanimously agreed to adjourn to the subsequent Monday, the 25th of the Month; and the Members, actuated by very opposite Emotions, dispersed in all Directions, to spread the Intelligence through the Capital. A more interesting Scene had not been acted within the Walls of the House of Commons, since February, 1741, when Sir Robert Walpole retired from Power. Nor did the First Minister of George the Second, by any means display in the last Moments of his political Life, the Equanimity, Suavity, and Dignity, manifested by his Successor. Lord

North ordered his Coach to remain at the House of Commons in waiting, on that Evening. In Consequence of so unexpected an Event as his Resignation, and the House breaking up at such an early Hour, the Housekeeper's Room became crowded to the greatest Degree; few Persons having directed their Carriages to be ready before Midnight. In the Midst of this Confusion, Lord North's Coach drove up to the Door; and as he prepared to get into it, he said, turning to those Persons near him, with that unalterable good Temper which never forsook him, "Good night, Gentlemen, you see "what it is to be in the Secret."

However extraordinary and unexpected Lord North's Resignation appeared at the Moment when it took Place; and however certain I esteem it, that he would have carried the Question, on the Evening when he laid down his Office, by a larger Majority than had supported him on the preceding Debate of the 15th; yet it must be admitted that he could assign, not only to himself, but, to his Sovereign, and to the Country at large, many cogent, if not unanswerable Reasons, for retiring from Power. The Nation,

he well knew, was universally weary of a War, the Misfortunes that had attended which, though originating in the very Nature of the Contest, and perhaps justly imputable to many other Causes or Persons, rather than to him, were attributed principally to his Errors or Mismanagement. He beheld himself now engaged in Hostilities, direct or indirect, with half Europe, in addition to America. Ireland, availing itself of our Embarrassments, loudly demanded commercial and political Emancipation. On every Side, the Empire appeared to be crumbling into Ruin. Minorca, long invested, had already surrendered, some Weeks earlier, after a Defence protracted to the last Extremity. Gibraltar was closely besieged. In the East Indies, our Difficulties, financial, as well as military, threatened the total Subversion of our wide extended Authority in that Quarter of the Globe; where Hyder Ally, though expelled by Sir Eyre Coote, from the Vicinity of Madras, still maintained himself in the Centre of the Carnatic. If the First Minister looked to the West Indies, the Prospect appeared still more big with Alarm. St. Christopher's, attacked by the Marquis de Bouillé, might be hourly ex-

pected to surrender; and he had already re-captured St. Eustatius, either by Surprize, or by corrupting the Officer who commanded the Garrison. Among all the Chain of Caribbee Islands which had belonged to the Crown of Great Britain at the Commencement of the War, only Antigua and Barbadoes remained. Such was our maritime Inferiority, that Sir Samuel Hood, whose Abilities had been vigorously exerted at the Head of the Fleet, to defend St. Christopher's, found himself unable to hazard an Engagement with de Grasse. Rodney had indeed sailed from England, with a considerable Reinforcement, in the Month of January, to join the British Admiral at Barbadoes. But, Lord North could not foresee, nor did the most sanguine Adherents of Lord Sandwich venture to predict, the splendid Victory which Rodney obtained over de Grasse, scarcely more than three Weeks after the Resignation of the first Minister. That naval Triumph, which, if it had taken Place sooner, might have saved the Administration, only served to illustrate Lord Rockingham's short Ministry.

Far from anticipating any such Event, the most alarming Apprehensions were enter-

tained relative to the Safety of Jamaica itself. If the combined Fleets of France and Spain in the West Indies, after the Reduction of St. Christopher's, should effect a Junction, they would have exceeded fifty Sail of the Line; while Rodney's whole Force scarcely amounted to more than thirty. And it was very doubtful whether such a Junction could be prevented by any Exertion of Vigilance, Courage, or Skill. The Loss of Jamaica would complete the Measure of the national Calamities, by involving our Commerce and our Finances in almost total Ruin. Under such an Accumulation of Defeat and of Disaster, the Vengeance of the Country might demand some Victim; and the Leaders of Opposition, though neither sanguinary nor vindictive in their Disposition, might be compelled to yield to the Torrent of popular Indignation. Fox, as well as Burke and Barré, had in Fact many Times alluded to the Axe and the Block, amongst the opprobrious Epithets that they lavished on the ministerial Errors; and such Menaces might be realized in a Moment of national Depression or Violence. The Crown might be even unable to extend Protection to its Servants; and the Scenes of the Year 1641, might be

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Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 21 October, 2015